

1.0. CHAPTER ONE: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF KENYA FROM 1960 AND THE LOCAL ROMAN CATHOLIC CONTRIBUTION

1.1. African Context and Underdevelopment

1.1.1. Background and Rationale: Meaning of Underdevelopment

The starting point of this chapter is the observation that underdevelopment still persists in a number of third and fourth regions of the earth.¹ Its rationale is to demonstrate the extent to which such a global issue can be more broadly understood in Kenya within the African context of the relevant socio-cultural background. In this chapter, the question of investigation is posed from a social ethical point of view. It is meant to ask how the social economic underdevelopment in Kenya can be attributed in part to the politico-cultural background of the African context.

1 John Paul II, *On Social Concern: Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* 14, *The Social Teaching of the Church* 9 (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1987), p.19ff. References to the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* will be given by the initials SRS followed by the paragraph and page numbers. The third and fourth regions of the earth refer to the countries that are on the way to development such as Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, and those which have fallen behind their way to development, for instance, Somalia, owing to social economic and political barriers. Such barriers are the lack of a stable central government due to intermittent clan wars, which make it unsafe to work for meaningful development in Somalia. The fourth regions of the earth represent not only such less advanced countries, for instance, in Africa and Latin America, but also the pockets of enormous poverty in countries of medium and high income such as Great Britain and the USA.

The concept underdevelopment of denotes generalized poverty. As Mwangi described it thus:

Poverty is the absence of the material goods needed to sustain one's life at a level and in a manner that accords with the dignity of the human person. Therefore, poverty affects everything that is human. Poverty also results in a lack of power, a lack of the social capabilities to participate in the political and economic arenas. More than being merely a socioeconomic or a political problem, poverty raises important religious and ethical questions as well, questions about human dignity, human rights and justice.²

An example of the all-inclusive aspect of poverty was elaborated in a recent United Nations' report.³ In this chapter we will explore the overall rationale of this study.

In the next section we will explore how underdevelopment can be broadly understood in Kenya. This aim will be attained, in part, in terms of ideologies and mentalities of the Kenyans seeking happiness, which is to say, well being in the search for integral development. For the purposes of a proper methodological approach, a concise geographical and historical background of the African context of the nation-state of Kenya will be given prior to the exploration as follows.

1.1.1.1. Geographical Setting of the African Context

Kenya lies between four degrees north and four degrees south latitude and between thirty-four and forty-one degrees east longitude.⁴ As such, the equator divides it into two equal parts. The country lies on the east of the African continent. Its surface area is 582,646 square ki-

2 Mathew T. Mwangi, The Meaning, Causes and Solutions of Poverty in the papal Encyclicals(1878-1992) and the Documents of Vatican II: An African Theological Critique (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UIM Services, 1992), p. 258.

3 Daily Nation Newspaper, Nairobi, February 28 2007, p.1”UN Report-Big Divide: Kenya’s richest and poorest: New study reveals shocking inequity and says 50 per cent live in poverty.”

4 <http://Kenya.rcbowen.com/geography>, p.1

lometers. Kenya is known as a land of contradiction, meaning the geography of Kenya is diverse. This can be seen in its different physical features and climatic variations. The country is hot and humid at the coast. The weather is temperate inland. There are perpetual glaciers at the top of the second highest mountain in Africa. This is Mount Kenya at 5,199 meters above sea level. Low plains rise from the coastal belt below 152 meters above sea level to the central highlands over 900 meters above sea level. The highlands are bisected by the Great Rift Valley running from the Dead Sea, in the Middle East, to the east coast of Mozambique in Africa. This valley is a fertile plateau or extensive level ground of high rising land to the west of the country at an altitude of 3,085 meters in Eldoret.⁵ The Mau Forest in southeastern Rift Valley is the biggest forest range in East Africa. It forms, together with Kakamega Forest to the west of the country, part of a thick equatorial forest beginning all the way from Congo.

The main occupation in Kenya is mixed farming, i.e., practicing agriculture and animal husbandry. The above mentioned Kenyan highlands are some of the most productive regions in Africa. Tea and coffee are grown in the highland for export. Maize and beans, which are the staple foods of the people, also thrive in the highlands. In four-fifths of Kenyan territory there is insufficient rainfall,⁶ which means that social economic inequalities are accountable, in part, to the different climatic factors in various regions of the country. For instance, the productive highlands in the west of the Rift Valley and the Mount Kenya region with plentiful rainfall compare adversely with the dry North-Eastern Province. As Tames expresses the comparative analysis:

Regional differences are significantly related to rainfall. North-East Province, with two percent of the country's population spread over more than twenty percent of its territory, receives 300 millimeters of rainfall a year, Central Province more than three times as much. Not

5 <http://kenya.rcbowen.com/geography/climate.html>, p.1.

6 Richard Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations (London – Blackie, 1982) p.16.

surprisingly small holders growing tea and coffee are clustered heavily in that area.⁷

Similarly, we will also note that the prices of primary products, such as tea and coffee, fluctuate and remain generally low. They are not enough to meet the basic needs of the rising population. Some farmers have uprooted their coffee plantations because of meager profit margins. The end result is generalized poverty: “poverty of the very poor is not a matter of relativities but of absolutes for most of Kenya’s people life is hard and many do not have an adequately balanced diet.”⁸

- 7 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 20. . Tea and coffee are cash crops, which are grown for export as well as for home consumption. The foreign exchange earned is used to import manufactured goods and industrial products such as tractors for commercial farming and trucks for transportation of goods. Besides such cash crops as tea and coffee as well as rice and wheat, farmers in Kenya also grow sustainable crops, such as corn and beans which constitute the staple food of the majority of the population. Except in times of severe drought, the country is self-sufficient in food crops. See also Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 2. According to available stateistics primary products contribute well over 80% of all exports. On the problem of globalization and economic imperialism in the international context of the foreign exchange of goods, we have argued in the concluding chapter of the study that no modern nation-state is completely self-sufficient, which means the delivery of goods for the satisfaction of the needs of the people. As we have also shown in the concluding chapter President George Bush admitted that even America is addicted to foreign oil. It is heavily dependent, for instance, on the exploitation of foreign oil in African countries including Nigeria and Angola. But the exploitation of oil, for instance, in Nigeria, has resulted in the degradation of the environment, such as the ecological poisoning of rivers, which makes them unsuitable for human consumption and fish life. The unfair distribution of revenue occurring from the sale of crude oil, especially among the inhabitants surrounding the oil producing foreign companies and their constructions, has resulted in sporadic wars between the central government and local militants. The latter are fighting for a fair share of the wealth from the oil so as to reduce poverty arising from the expropriation of their land and the poisoning of the environment.
- 8 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 22. See also p.163 in this work: Ways and means of avoiding the scourge of poverty in adverse environmental and climatic conditions are illustrated, for instance, in the endeavor to reclaim arid and semi-desert lands through irrigation schemes in Kenya.

Ultimately, we will also observe that owing to, in part, harsh weather conditions, there is a scarcity of resources such as agricultural land and forest reserves for water catchment and timber industry in Kenya. This scarcity has at times, for instance, led to intertribal fighting for insufficient water pods and rivers as well as limited grazing land. At other times, power hungry politicians foment the ethnic clashes. These politicians incite one tribe to fight against a different ethnic community. The morally deficient politicians make the claim especially in the fertile Rift Valley that invaders from outside the region have unjustly grabbed ancestral land belonging exclusively to the indigenous people. The introduction of multiparty politics in 1992 in Kenya led to the ethnic cleansing of some tribes. These tribes are perceived to be opposed to the parliamentary re-election of divisive politicians. At such times of ethnic cleansing, houses and granaries are burnt and able-bodied persons killed.⁹ This devastation or wanton destruction of lives and property has taken place since 1992. It happened every five years during the general elections except in 2002. It has resulted in generalized poverty and structural injustice, which then results in discriminated and displaced people. These marginalized people are forced to live in shanty makeshifts in major towns like Nakuru and Nairobi.

1.1.1.2. Eastern African Context and Sub-Saharan Heritage

The Eastern Africa context of the nation-state of Kenya can, among other things, be well indicated by the prevalence of cross-border languages and cultures. The linguistic and cultural prevalence can be traced back to the inherited colonial borders at the time of independence. These borders divided into different nation-states some tribes

9 Human Rights Watch, Slaughter Among Neighbors (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 101ff.

speaking an identical African language and practicing a common culture. An example of such borders is Kenya's southern frontier with Tanzania. This border divides the Maasai into two nations. Similarly, in the western frontier there is the Bukusu ethnic community in Kenya and Uganda.

According to some African statesmen a common language within a nation or across borders is a national asset and an interregional common good.¹⁰ Such a language raises a national awareness or forges interregional cooperation. This cooperation would overcome poverty and achieve greater national and interregional economic development. A prominent example of the above was Pan-African leader Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. He used a common language, i.e., Kiswahili, to forge national unity in Tanzania and promote interregional cooperation in Eastern Africa. He meant to widen the circle of human solidarity from Tanzania to the entire region of Eastern Africa. Nyerere was a staunch spokesman for the unity of Eastern Africa. To build the Eastern African community, he withstood the divisive politics of the cold war between the super powers. As he prophetically warned in 1961 against the divisive war by proxy for political influence in third world countries like Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania:

The poor countries of the world should be very careful not to allow themselves to be used as the tools of any of the rich countries of the world, however much the rich countries may seek to fool them that they are on their side ... the rich countries – both capitalist and communist – are using their wealth to dominate the poor countries.... If we in Africa were left on our own, we would achieve unity on our continent, but ... I do not believe we are going to be left alone.¹¹

The Kiswahili language is commonly spoken in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in Eastern Africa. It is also understood and spoken to a considerable extent in Burundi and Rwanda as well as the Eastern

10 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_language, p.4.

11 "World Assembly Forum No.40. September 1961" in Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, pp. 39-40.

region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The *lingua franca* facilitated considerably the emergence of the colonial East African Federation. The federation was comprised of a postal union in 1911 and a customs union in 1917.¹² Joint boards, such as the East African Railways and Harbors, controlled the various communication systems.

It is with the foregoing geopolitical or colonial background that the Kiswahili language continued to play its dominant socio-cultural and economic role in the post-independence Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania since the 1960s, for example, in the continuation of common services, such as telecommunications, within the newly found East African community based at Arusha in Tanzania. However, owing to borrowed or foreign-based ideological differences the East African

12 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 39. Kenya serves as the economic hub for Eastern and Central Africa. That means more trade (*a la* globalization) would bring more foreign exchange, which would mean better lives for Kenyans. In this way, we can say that economic development (i.e., growth) is an intrinsic or necessary part of integral development. The latter means social progress or the self-fulfillment of the whole person (i.e., mind, body, and soul), all peoples and entire nations. For instance, the development of the mind in the intellectual form of education is a condition *sine qua non* for integral development, which includes economic development in a parts-whole relationship. Economic development is not then a sufficient causal element of integral development. For instance, even in the face of enormous economic development in the form of superb superstructure in the former Apartheid South Africa there was not integral development. That means that the majority of the people were excluded from active participation in the national life of the state. In sum, in the parts-whole relationship between economic development and integral development, the primacy of the whole as a final cause over the parts as consequent effects is clear. As Paul VI said in his, On the Development of Peoples 35, p. 19ff: “we can even say that economic growth is dependent on social progress, the goal to which it aspires, and that basic education is the first objective for any nation seeking to develop itself. Lack of education is as serious as the lack of food; the illiterate is a starved spirit. When someone learns how to read and write, he is equipped to do a job and shoulder a profession, to develop self-confidence and realize that he can progress along with others.”

community collapsed in 1977. These ideological differences emanated to a greater extent from the cold war between the communist and capitalist nations. As a consequence of the historical fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, marking the end of the Cold War, there were more rapprochements between the East African countries in the 1990s. The new political initiative took the form of a preferential trade agreement. It is a revival of the colonial customs union meant to facilitate the free movement of goods within the new Eastern African common market. It is still gathering momentum. It comprises Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and recently Rwanda and Burundi.

Ultimately, for the purposes of the present study, we will observe a common Sub-Saharan feature in Kenya and other neighboring Eastern African countries. This is the geophysical feature of climate change. That means, a desertification of the Sub-Saharan savannahs or grasslands is gradually taking place in Kenya and its neighbors owing partly to global warming and overgrazing to support an ever-rising population. This climatic change is also due to the deforestation or falling of woodland trees for firewood and clearance of farming grounds for the growing population. The over cultivation of wetlands, such as Mau Forest, has caused the drying up or disappearance of wells, springs, and rivers. The disastrous consequence of the lack of proper management of land and animal husbandry is that there has been scarce rainfalls and prolonged drought. The adverse climatic effect on the ecosystem is that the Sahara desert has been constantly expanding southward. It has been expanding to southern Sudan and its neighboring countries, such as Chad, Kenya and Uganda. The Sahara desert is also becoming drier than ever before, owing to global warming. In Kenya, as well as other sub-Saharan countries, farmers are experimenting with cross-fertilized drought resistant crops, such as cassava and maize so as to avoid famine and overcome generalized poverty.

1.2. Historical Scope of the African Context

The European super powers divided the African states along their existing borders. They did so in the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885. The Eastern African territory was assigned to Germany and England. However, the Arab sultan of Zanzibar laid a prior claim to the same territory. These conflicting claims called for a military intervention. On August 7, 1885, five German warships arrived at Zanzibar.¹³ They threatened the sultan with orders from Bismarck. He was called to surrender to the German emperor his Eastern African mainland territories. Failure to do so would have caused the bombardment of the sultan's palace. In the meantime, Britain intervened. It brokered a tripartite diplomatic compromise. The sultan gave up most of his Eastern African mainland territory. The compromise also stipulated the formation of a joint Anglo-German boundary commission. This commission devised the division of the territory ranging from the Indian Ocean and the Great Lakes region.

Furthermore, in November 1886, the super powers conceded that the sultan would be left with a ten-mile wide coastal strip. It was also agreed that along the southern border of the sultanate coastal strip, a line would be drawn up to Mountain Kilimanjaro. It would go further to Lake Victoria at latitude four degrees south.¹⁴ The British territory would be to the north of the line. The German sphere of influence would lie south of the latitude. This latitude still marks the border between Kenya and Tanzania.

The British government mandated a commercial company to administer and develop the British East African territory. The company was set up in 1888. It was known as the Imperial British East Africa Company. To export raw materials, such as cotton, from Uganda, the company built a railway line from the coast to Lake Victoria. In this way, Uganda also came under the influence of the British Empire in East Africa. The British government also made a historic decision at

13 <http://www.ezакwantu.com/Gallery%20History%of%20Kenya.htm>.p.1

14 Ibid.

the beginning of the twentieth century. It decided to initiate commercial farming by European settlers in Kenya's highlands. As we have already seen, these highlands are fertile ground for farming. The climate is also temperate in the highlands.

The newly arrived farmers of European origin excised extensive African land for cultivation and animal husbandry. The indigenous population was confined to remote African reserves. This marginalization of the African population, among other factors, brought about a shortage of labor force on the European farms. To make up for the shortage, the African "natives" were subjected to hut and poll taxes.¹⁵ This taxation policy forced them to take up wage labor so as to pay the taxes. The forced labor and imposed taxes caused a generalized resentment against the settlers, in particular, and the colonial government in general. This resentment was accentuated prior to the "Devonshire Declaration" by the British government in 1923.¹⁶ The declaration was meant as a warning or reminder that "primarily Kenya is an African country and . . . the interests of the African natives must be paramount . . . and when those interests and those of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."¹⁷ This means that the white settlers alone were, since 1919, allowed to elect members to the legislative council. In this way, the legislative power was not given to the other two races in the colony. These other races are the native Africans and the trading Asians. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the native Africans had seen about 16,000 square miles of their best land excised to the European settlers.¹⁸ They were constantly harassed and inspected by policemen as well as arrested without warrants for failure to carry identity cards or produce receipts of payment for hut and poll taxes.

As early as 1921 the indigenous people asserted their African right to representation in the legislative council. They also claimed

15 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 8.

16 Ibid

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

the human right to recovery of their land. This is the land appropriated unfairly by white settlers. The claims went generally unheeded by the colonial government during the 1930s and 1940s. However, in the early 1950s the British colonial rule was faced with an alarming challenge. The historical challenge was by 1952 a movement of armed freedom fighters. They called themselves Mau Mau. The noble aim of their struggle was to gain political independence. Another end of the freedom fighters' movement was the recovery of land expropriated to the white settlers. The Mau Mau struggle for independence lasted from 1952 through 1960. In this year, a conference in London gave Africans the majority of seats in the legislative assembly. This conference was meant to pave the way for national independence in 1963. It is against the foregoing brief colonial historical background that the focus of this study is the post-independence period of development in Kenya since 1960 to 2009.

1.2.1. Colonial Heritage and English Liberalism

The rationale of the present section is to relate the above stated colonial heritage to its theoretical source of origin. This source is the philosophy of English Liberalism, which means the dominant social economic and political ideology in England determined to a great extent the imperial policies in Kenya. It did so also elsewhere in the British territories. As J. Salwyn Schapiro illustrates from the example of the progressive liberal ideology in Britain after the Second World War:

As usual in Britain when a liberal advance was made at home, a like advance was made in the Empire. Southern Ireland, renamed "Eire", and Burma were granted complete independence. India, Pakistan and Ceylon were granted dominion status. Ghana (formally the Gold Coast in Africa) became the first Negro colony to attain virtual independence as a Dominion. The admission of non-Europeans on the basis of equality with whites marked a notable liberalization of the commonwealth.¹⁹

19 J. Salwyn Schapiro, Liberalism: Its Meaning and History (New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold. Co, 1958), p.47

It can also be argued that by their association with whites, the native Africans came to learn and appreciate the liberal values of freedom and self-governance. For example, during the First World War (1914-1918), the conscripted African British subjects joined the English soldiers in fighting against the German invaders. This war was waged along the southern border between Kenya and Tanganyika. The African soldiers learned in combat the liberal values of national sovereignty and self-rule or government by the consent of the governed. After the war, the veterans fomented the initial liberation movement against the British occupation in Kenya. As Tames indicates:

African discontent was organized, on lines suggested by early Indian welfare associations, by the Kikuyu, a section of Kenya's largest ethnic group, the Bantu, and the one directly affected by the arrival of the white farming elite which had dispossessed it of its tribal homelands. The Kikuyu Association, established by ex-servicemen in 1920, was followed in 1924 by the Kikuyu Central Association whose general secretary from 1928 onward was Johnstone (later Jomo) Kenyatta.²⁰

Similarly, after the Second World War (1939-1945), many soldiers who were honorably discharged from the King's African Rifles (KAR) made good use of their worldwide military experiences to advance the cause of armed struggle against British colonial rule in Kenya. These African soldiers had been deployed in various parts of the African continent, such as Ethiopia and Madagascar. They were also sent abroad to the Middle East and Burma. Upon their return home, these ex-servicemen masterminded the armed Mau Mau liberation movement. The aim of the movement was national independence and the redress of political economic structural injustices. In military terms, the Mau Mau rebellion lasted from 1952 to 1957. This followed the capture and hanging by the rope of its Field Marshal, Dedan Kimathi, in 1956. However, the Mau Mau rebellion proved to the British government that the prevalent liberal idea in England "that white supremacy was acceptable to the African inhabitants of Kenya

20 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 8

was . . . quite demonstrably false.”²¹ It paved the way, as previously mentioned, to the London Conference in 1960. This conference gave majority seats to the African people in the colonial legislative council. It prepared the ground for an internal African self-government in 1961. The way was then cleared for the people to gain complete political independence in 1963.

We will also observe that many of the first post-independence leaders were educated to accept as good liberal political economic policies. For instance, the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, retained the detested “authority of British-appointed chiefs.”²² He appointed some of the colonial chiefs and other functionaries as his senior executive officers. This tendency to accept liberal policies may be attributed, in part, to his liberal education in the prestigious London School of Economics as well as his travels to and acquaintances in Europe. As Tames described Kenyatta’s lifestyle in Europe:

From 1929 to 1946 Kenyatta traveled, studied and lived in Europe, marrying an Englishwoman and writing a study of the Kikuyu, *Facing Mount Kenya* which was both an anthropological treatise and political tract. Upon his return to Africa he became leader of the Kenya African Union (KAU) the leading political organization opposed to colonial policies.²³

Ultimately, we will observe the most widespread and effective way in which colonialism left its lasting mark on the African psyche. This means, according to Nyerere, envying the affluent Western lifestyle and its underlying liberal values.

In the old days the African had never aspired to the possession of personal wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows . . . but then came the foreign capitalist. They were wealthy and the African naturally started wanting to be wealthy too. . . . our first step, therefore, must be to re-educate ourselves, to regain our former attitude of mind.²⁴

21 Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 10.

22 Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 9.

23 Ibid.

24 Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 26. The critique is not against lib-

Nyerere proposes the re-education or social consciencization of the African mind as an effective remedy against underdevelopment. This remedy is proposed as a cross-cultural encounter between the traditional African worldview and the Western philosophy of the political economic liberalism.

The philosophy of liberalism traces, from a political point of view, its origin to John Locke (1632-1704). In his theory of the state, Locke claims that the civil government arises as a consequence of a mutual consent by the governed. This government is then limited and democratic in scope. It does not abrogate the natural rights of individuals. It regulates them to avoid conflict and maximize the public good. Among the individual rights is the right to legitimate defense against an authoritarian government. The state government is then accountable to the people composing the civil society of a nation. Such accountability was conducted through the House of Lords and House of Commons in England. It is similarly carried out by means of regular general elections to legislative bodies, such as Congress and Senate as well as Parliament elsewhere in the world.

In brief, the starting point of the philosophy of liberalism is the centrality of man in the universe, i.e., a belief in the inestimable worth of the human dignity. The seat of this dignity is seen in the individual conscience. Freedom of conscience as the absolute norm of moral goodness and intellectual autonomy is, among other tenets, a fundamental value in the philosophy of liberalism. This freedom is governed by objective or universally valid natural laws discoverable by reason. Ultimately the freedom of conscience is inviolable, for instance, in religious beliefs. It calls for religious tolerance and ethical pluralism according to Locke.²⁵ As Schapiro describes liberalism:

eralism as such (i.e., desire for self-governance). It is about free market capitalism (i.e., desire for unlimited wealth).

25 John Locke, Letter Concerning Toleration (London, 1800), pp.19-21, 85-87, 102-104. It is true that liberalism did not uphold all tolerance. For instance, it did not defend the rights of Catholics to become members of Parliament un-

What has characterized liberalism at all times is its unshaken belief in the necessity of freedom to achieve every desirable aim. A deep concern for the freedom of the individual inspired its opposition to absolute authority, be it that of the state or of the church or of a political party. The fundamental postulate of liberalism has been the moral worth, the absolute value and the essential dignity of the human personality. Every individual is therefore to be treated as an end in himself not as a means to advance the interests of others.²⁶

Similarly, the philosophy of liberalism traces from an economic point of view its origin back to the British Scotsman Adam Smith (1723-1790). His liberal economic theory can be termed as the *laissez-faire* philosophy of capitalism. According to this philosophy, the capital or means of production and economic growth ought to be left free from state regulation. It should be in the hands of private individuals. It is in this way of individuals looking out for their own personal interests that the wealth of a nation accrues. As Smith stated:

Everyman as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way and bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men. The sovereign is completely discharged from a duty in the performance of which he must always be exposed to innumer-

til 1829 in England. But it is also true that liberalism has been growing and now encompasses more and more people. This view is well articulated by Fukuyama as quoted in Alan Thomas Poverty and Development into the 21st Century (Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.32: “Today virtually all advanced countries have adopted, or are trying to adopt, liberal democratic institutions, and a great number have simultaneously moved in the direction of market-oriented economics and integration into global capitalist division of labor... As modern technology unfolds, it shapes modern economics in a coherent fashion, interlocking them in a vast global economy. The increasing complexity and information intensity of modern life at the same time renders centralized economic planning extremely difficult. The enormous prosperity created by technology-driven capitalism, in turn, serves as an incubator for a liberal regime of universal and equal rights in which the struggle for recognition of human dignity culminates... The world’s advanced countries have no alternative model of political and economic organization other than democratic capitalism to which they can aspire”.

26 Schapiro, Liberalism, p. 105.

able delusions, and for the performance of which no human wisdom or knowledge could ever be sufficient the duty of superintending the industry of private people, and of directing it toward the employment most suitable to the interest of society.²⁷

According to the above stated *laissez-faire* philosophy, the negative role of the state is to prevent encroachment upon private property. As we will see, it is for that reason it came to acquire the pejorative name of a “night watchman” state. This philosophy can be reviewed as an economic application of the Lockean political liberalism, which means the democratic concept of good governance as free mutual consent by the governed. Similarly, good entrepreneurial management would require a free or unregulated consent, i.e., wage contract between an individual employee and his or her employer. The regulatory mechanism was left to the impersonal natural laws of demand and supply. That is to say, for instance, in the troubled waters of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, desperate workers hired themselves for the lowest wage among competing poor people. This freedom of contract existed, then, between isolated competing individuals. It would be interfered with, according to the classical English Liberalism of the Manchester school of thought, if associations between either workers or employees were legalized by the state. As Schapiro evaluates the precarious condition of labor, “the School upheld the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and strongly opposed the intervention of the state on behalf of the workers, especially in the field of legislation of social legislation.”²⁸ The end result was social economic poverty of the majority of the people and material influence of the few rich Englishmen.

27 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* ed., E. Cannon (London 1930), II, pp. 184-185; I, p. 421. See also Schapiro, *Liberalism*, p. 86ff. It is clear here that all government intervention is not bad. For instance, as it is the case with the economic recession in the USA today and elsewhere in the world, the Great Depression in 1929 led people to believe that the government’s regulatory power over economic enterprise works well to facilitate everyone’s advantage so as to avoid social instability.

28 Schapiro, *Liberalism* p. 43.

According to John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), the colonial English liberalism lost its moral authority following the wide gap between the rich and the poor. He conceived of a better democratic liberalism. In contradistinction to the century of the classical liberalism it would seek to promote the “greatest happiness of the greatest number.”²⁹ Mill repudiated the *laissez-faire* theory that the distribution of wealth depended solely on the impersonal or natural economic laws of supply and demand. The distribution called for a central planning or regulation on the part of a civil government; “The power of the state was to be used to promote reforms in the economic order by removing the fear of underserved misfortune, the lot of many because of unemployment, sickness, low wages, and old age.”³⁰ That marked the transformation of the *laissez-faire* “night watchman” state into the liberal social welfare state. The latter has the positive role of catering to the public good of all individuals, especially the tenets of a comprehensive distributive justice: “It aimed to guarantee a minimal level of subsistence for all from the cradle to grave. The guiding principle was to distribute the national income in a manner that would allot fair shares to all elements of the population.”³¹ It took root in Britain after the Second World War. The most intensive and comprehensive form of the interventionist welfare state in Britain and elsewhere in Western Europe as well as North America saw its heyday in the 1950s through 1970s.

The welfare state was able to reach its peak moment of reformative or progressive social programs by means of higher taxation of the wealthy to everyone’s advantage, i.e., raising the standard of living of the poor worker as tangible proof of distributive justice. In the end, the lessening of the extremes of wealth and poverty for the public

29 Schapiro, Liberalism p. 45.

30 Schapiro, Liberalism p. 48.

31 Ibid. See also Schapiro, Liberalism, p. 86ff. The author discusses a distinctive American version of the welfare state known as the New Deal following the emergence of the Great Depression. It was related to the Keynesian economics propounding the social economic theory that it is the role of the government to spend when private institutions cannot deliver goods.

good of all the civil society was the aim for which Adam Smith conceived his *laissez-faire* philosophy of social economics. It is for this reason that Edward H. Carr said that the “night watchman” state and the social welfare state are convertible.³² A reformatory or legislative transformation of one to the other is the catalyst of change. As Carr said from historical background: “There is no more fascinating theme in contemporary history than to follow the stages through which the *laissez-faire* ‘night watchman state’ of the nineteenth century has been transformed into the ‘welfare state’ of today at one and the same time its logical opposite and its logical contrary.”³³

According to Anton C. Zijderveld, the social welfare state declined after the 1980s and notably following the fall the Berlin Wall in 1989.³⁴ This fall witnessed the demise of the socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe. The decline of the welfare states in Western Europe and the fall of socialist states in Central and Eastern Europe had something in common. They witnessed the rise of a worldwide neo-liberal capitalism.

32 Edward E. Carr, “The Moral Bankruptcy of Liberalism” in Harold J. Schultz, ed., English Liberalism and the State: Individualism or Collectivism? (London: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972), p. 20. The aim of the welfare state is to even out class barriers owing to impoverishing social economic inequities. The welfare state is then a structural form of government intervention seeking to take all needs as a political agenda of its social economic policy. However, we should distinguish this form of a regular government intervention from the timely regulation a democratic government introduces to spend money in the private sector when the relevant private institutions cannot deliver goods. In this way, the regulation seeks to avoid economic failure and mass deprivation. An example of such a government’s intervention is the present stimulus plan to spend money in USA and elsewhere in the world to revitalize the production and supply of goods during the persisting and widespread economic recession.

33 Ibid.

34 Anton c. Zijderveld, The Warning of the Welfare State: The End of Comprehensive State Succor (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999), p. IX ff.

However, in contrast to the free market capitalists that we see today, Smith also believed in natural laws of justice, and moral development, and the general cohesion of national communities as supportive evidence is introduced as follows:

- (i) Natural law of justice in Adam Smith's "The rich divide with the poor the produce of all improvements. They are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life would have been divided into equal parts among all its inhabitants."³⁵ *
- (ii) Moral development (i.e., ethical excellence) in Adam Smith's "How selfish so ever man may be supposed to be, there are evidently some principle in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others*, and their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it, except pleasure of seeing it."³⁶ *The underlining is mine.
- (iii) The general cohesion of national communities in Adam Smith's "The uniform, constant and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principle from which public and national, as well as private opulence is originally derived,* is frequently powerful enough to maintain the natural progress of things toward improvement..."³⁷ *

It is clear from the above stated social economic and practical as well as moral views that neo-liberalism is different than Adam Smith. This difference can be demonstrated, for instance, from the lack of a moral sense of social justice in an equitable distribution of wealth. For example, under the auspices of the neo-liberal market economy, the

35 "The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Part IV, Chapter 1, "<http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm#jump1>. p.1. *The underlining is mine."

36 "The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Part I, Section I, Chapter 1," <http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm#jump1>. p.1. *The underlining is mine.

37 "The Wealth of Nations, Book II, Chapter III", <http://adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm#jump1>, p.1.*The underlining is mine.

CEO pay was insensitively skyrocketing without question to the detriment of the public good in the affluent capitalist societies. In the USA, for instance: “Meanwhile, CEO pay clocked 53-1 times average employee pay in 2000; in 1980, the ratio was 42 – 1.”³⁸ This conspicuous lack of distributive justice is incompatible with Mr. Smith’s political economic as well as ethical view that liberty and justice are a necessary moral requirement for the prosperity of a nation-state as a whole. As he states: “If a nation could not prosper without the enjoyment of perfect liberty and perfect justice, there is not in the world a nation which could have prospered.”³⁹

1.2.2. Post-Colonial Independence and Neo-liberal Capitalism

We have observed in the previous section that the aim of the social welfare state in Western Europe and North America was to even out classifications between the rich and the poor. We have also seen how Kenya is adversely affected by enormous social economic inequalities. According to Tames, we have previously mentioned, the extreme inequalities are, in part, owing to inefficient social economic policies. As he said, “Kenya is certainly marked by many inequalities . . . some of these are . . . the outcome of post-independence policies.”⁴⁰

We have also seen how social economic policies in the imperial European nations had repercussions in their respective colonies abroad. This colonial heritage or foreign influence perdured, in part, to the post-independence period. As Tames illustrates, colonialism leaves its mark not only on the structure of economies and the layout of transport systems but in terms of culture and institutions. Spanish-speaking Mexico and Cuba relate more readily to Spain than to other parts of

38 Citizen Works-The History of Corporations,” <http://www.citizenworks.org/corp/corphist.php>, p. 3.

39 “Wealth of Nations, Book IV, Chapter IX,” <http://adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm#jump1>, p.1.

40 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 20.

Europe, whereas Kenya and Tanzania turn to the UK for imported TV programs, textbooks and technical experts.⁴¹

The purpose of this section is, then, to critically assess how the welfare state in Europe, in general, and England, in particular, in the 1960s and 1970s conditioned social economic policies in Kenya. The aim of the welfare state is to overcome the impoverishing social economic inequalities. This aim is achieved by means of a state subsidy, i.e., among other social economic and political systems as social security and medicare as well as free public schools, the public money distributed to individuals undergoing undeserved misfortunes. Examples of such misfortunes are unemployment or lack of jobs, sickness, low wages, and old age. In this way, the welfare state sought in the light of the prevalent social democratic liberalism, to guarantee the minimum level of subsistence for all. This was made possible by means of a higher taxation of the rich.⁴²

In a similar vein, the development aid from the rich Western nations and the World Bank, as well as the IMF to the poor third world countries was seen as key to social economic progress. However, for the purposes of the present study, it may be conceded that the massive development aid failed in Kenya, in particular, and elsewhere in the third and fourth regions of the earth to alleviate generalized poverty, in general. This failure can be attributed, in part, to an attitude of mind or mentality underlying the social democratic ideology of the Western welfare state. That means, according to the tenets of the welfare state, that the public money shared especially among the marginalized poor people would promote everyone's personal advancement. This *epanouissement*, or flourishing of life, can be achieved either individually or collectively in cooperation with other like-minded persons. Tames critically assesses how Kenya aspired in the light of the so-called African socialism to promote in principle everyone's personal advance-

41 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 2.

42 Schapiro, Liberalism, p. 49.

ment.⁴³ In practice, the end result was the emergence of a new elite of a few people enriching themselves at the expense of the nation. Tames critiques the ideology of the African socialism as it applies in a westernized or liberalized economy in Kenya:

Within our concept of democratic African socialism, we have set ourselves to create a society in which people have abundant opportunities for personal advancement (President Kenyatta, October 1976). Providing the statement is amended to read *some* 'people have abundant opportunities for personal advancement' the claim it makes can fairly be accepted.⁴⁴

That is to say, African socialism as it applies in Kenya does not call for the collectivistic nationalization of the economic means of production. It does not restrain the democratic liberal capitalism as practiced in Western Europe and North America. Akin to the socialist trend of the welfare state in Western nations, African socialism meant that the government involves itself directly in all sectors of business enterprise.⁴⁵ One way in which the government of Kenya involved itself directly in business enterprise was the creation of parastatals, such as the ill-fated Kenya Meat Commission. It collapsed as many other government-related business enterprises because of greed in the form of widespread corruption and mismanagement. This mismanagement took at times the corrupt form of misappropriation of public funds, such as foreign development aid, as well as money collected through harambee, i.e., collective efforts for self-help projects.⁴⁶ The harambee collection is at times meant to complement the foreign development aid, for instance, in water or borehole projects.

As already mentioned, tax evasion as well as falsification of accounts by highly placed officials is among other corrupt practices on the part of the civil society and government agents in Kenya. Above all,

43 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 14.

44 Ibid.

45 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 15.

46 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 13.

tribalism and nepotism in the public and private sectors are concrete examples of self-seeking greed in the nation-state. We have already seen how Tames exemplifies such greed in the public sector among politicians and civil servants. This category of people often works in collusion so as to take advantage of their official positions and inside knowledge for personal gain. As he cites from the local Weekly Review of 22 September 1978:

What has produced problems in the allocation of land has not been the system, but those who are charged with making it work. . . . For several years now, the allocation of business and residential plots . . . has not been a straight affair . . . [when] plots are allocated . . . many of the choice plots have already been earmarked for a number of senior civil servants who have plots allocated to them in the names of their own children who are still minors.⁴⁷

To this day, Kenya is plagued with widespread corruption. This is the case, in part, as a consequence of the post-independent policy of direct government involvement in business enterprise. This is especially the case in the above mentioned parastatals, i.e., state-owned business enterprises or commercial companies. An example of such parastatals is the collapsed Kenya Meat Commission. It collapsed, among other factors, because of the corrupt practice of some managers running the parastatal with a conflict of interest. Such managers were related to owners of private business enterprises dealing with the supply or sale of meat products. They practiced their private enterprise at the expense of the public parastatals. The parastatal managers were government agents. As such, the salary payment was guaranteed to the agents regardless of the poor performance of the parastatals or other public places. For this reason, absenteeism from public offices was high as the government officials were serving the personal interests in their own private business enterprises.

Direct government involvement in business enterprise was a post-colonial policy based on the concept of the liberal welfare state in the

47 Ibid.

capitalist nations of Western Europe and North America. As the Kenyan official Development Plan 1997-1978 stated:

The forms of prevailing productive organization must include an increasing role of for the Government, expansion of the cooperative form of organization, encouragement and active promotion of self-help schemes and respect for private ownership. Private ownership has received active encouragement; at the same time, the Government has involved itself in all sectors of the economy to promote development as well as Kenyanization.⁴⁸

In sum, there is more greed or inordinate desire for money and wealth in Kenya. In business enterprise the greed may entail, for instance, the malpractice of self-enrichment by the unfair means of outdoing rival businessmen through bribery. This takes place, for instance, when a dishonest businessman bribes a hospital administrator or a school principal to win a tender to supply goods to the institution. The greed can also be seen in Kenya in other forms of malpractices, such as stealing from public coffers on the part of civil servants or politically connected businessmen and government leaders like cabinet ministers.

A recent example of such a greed or excessive desire to enrich oneself overnight at the expense of the public good is the Goldenberg scandal in Kenya. This scandal was as we shall see later a fraud by high ranking corrupt civil servants and unpatriotic government ministers in collusion with unscrupulous prominent businessmen to steal over \$500 million from public coffers. The malpractice of greed in Kenya may take also the life-threatening form of breaking into people's houses and shops or stores. It can mean as well armed robbery to take away by force other peoples property and money. Often the greed in the nation-state manifests itself in the inordinate desire to enrich oneself along with one's kin and kith as well as tribal connection. In this way, the excessive desire to grab wealth at any rate or regardless of the moral demands of conscience may also take the socio-cultural form of nepotism and tribalism in the allocation of resources, for instance, on

48 Tames. Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 15.

the part of civil servants. That means that the civil servants conceal the details of identity of their family members and relatives as well as tribesmen in allocating to them unfairly high income generating commercial and building plots set apart by municipalities or central government for public sale.

Similarly, in Kenya, there is political corruption in both the public sector as well as the private sector. The corruption entails, as such, a moral perversion or lack of personal integrity in the absence of sound ethical principles of a guileless and open or honest behavior. In the public sector corruption takes the form of such open or shameless malpractices as the rigging of electoral votes by exerting undue control or pressure over appointed officers to falsify the electoral results in favor of a politically well-connected candidate. It can also take the form of unethical behavior of buying votes by providing foodstuffs to people in famine stricken regions or bribing poor people with money so as to influence them unfairly to vote for incompetent candidates. This corruption can also mean forcing political allegiance into opposition zones by neglecting their rightful social economic development and unfairly concentrating the latter in the pro-government zones.

The end-result of the above mentioned survival politics, in Kenya, is what is popularly known as politics of eating. That means that people vote for the government without taking into account any socio-ethical principles or political economic vision it may have. It is only from the unbecoming motive of punishment and reward that some people vote for a government in Kenya. They do so expecting favors from the government. In both the public and private sectors, the poor people are the hardest hit by the malpractice of corruption in Kenya. The poor and the marginalized members of society fall easily as victims of the greedy and corrupt people in the private sector, on the one side, and of the influential persons in the corridors of power in the public sector on the other. For instance, the out-of-school youth from poor families lack jobs and professional skills. This is because they

have no connections or relatives to find jobs for them. They cannot also have access to expensive technical training colleges. They may even borrow the required tuition fees and still be barred from joining college because of corrupt practices of demanding exorbitant bribes on the part of greedy principals.

In the judiciary, guilty people can buy justice by bribing judges as the innocent poor people are unfairly condemned in Kenya. In the police force, money to bribe officers to let go public service buses overloaded by passengers is demanded and given openly. Similarly, in the civil service, in Kenya, people are made to bribe even for little services rendered in public offices, such as the replacement of a disfigured identity card. The exploitation of the agricultural sector by means of unfair prices of products is another form of injustice in the country. Excessive government revenue from the sale of cash crops such as coffee as well as corrupt middlemen at the intermediary level of cooperative societies deprived the farmers of a just price for their produce. Many farmers had to cut down their coffee trees for lack of profit.

We have already seen how the liberal welfare state took it upon itself to guarantee in Western Europe and North America a minimum level of development for all. This aim was achieved by means of a fair distribution of the national income according to the needs of the various classes of the population. The attempt to distribute the wealth of a nation fairly according to the needs of individuals and various classes of people had also been made at a more intensive and comprehensive level in the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. According to Zijderfeld, what these two views have historically in common is their gradual decline in significance in the 1980s in the former case in Western Europe and North America.⁴⁹ In the latter case, the common factor was the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 marking the demise of the communist regimes. This was because of, among other causes, the overriding view that the government is the provider and

49 Zijderfeld, The Waning of The Welfare State, p. 161.

the general population or civil society is the recipient of development. This is well demonstrated, according to Zijderfeld, in the French term for a welfare state. It is *Etat Providence*.⁵⁰ Such a view of the state creates a dependent mentality. It deters active participation of the civil society in political and economic affairs for the realization of the common good. The latter is seen generally as the duty of the state. As a consequence, individuals saw, for instance, even the environmental care and safety of their own neighborhood as the sole responsibility of the state government. The end result of the intensive and comprehensive welfare state taking care of individuals from the cradle to the grave was unbearable over-expenditure.

However, according to Zijderfeld, the main threat to civilization posed by the extreme socialist ideology of the welfare state was the loss of individuality or self-reliance and personal responsibility. According to the aforementioned author, this danger of losing individuality is seen, then, in “the ease with which most Europeans have accepted the encroachment of the state—its bureaucracy, its civil servants, and the state-supported professionals—upon their lives.”⁵¹ This entails on the personal level, the lack of individual initiative and self-responsibility. Zijderfeld gives the example in Holland of such a generalized value-neutral or socio-moral indifferent lack of personal responsibility in the heyday of the welfare state in Western Europe. It is the exemplary story of a free rider in a public train without any moral sense of guilt. This is, in part, owing to the overriding liberal idea of the state as an impersonal entity with which individuals can hardly identify themselves. With the privatization of public goods, such as the railway system in Western Europe, there has been a moral re-awakening of personal responsibilities at the social level. This privatization of state-owned public goods for the common good marked the inception of the neo-liberal capitalism in the late 1980s and notably after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

50 Zijderfeld, *The Waning of The Welfare State*, p. 144.

51 Zijderfeld, *The Waning of The Welfare State*, p. 161.

The misuse and destruction as well as stealing of public utilities, such as furniture and spare parts and vehicles, are some of the local examples of the lack of the above stated individual initiative and self-responsibility. This is because of the overriding idea of the state or municipality as an impersonal entity with which individuals can hardly identify themselves. These institutions are useful only as a source of one's income and provision of the public good. In the latter case they are thought of as inexhaustible in their resources. As such they do not stand in real need of personal contribution or individual initiative. It is for this reason that some irresponsible civil servants mishandle public assets. They claim that the ownership or proper care of such assets is nobody's business. Similarly, many people litter public roads and parks as well as gardens claiming that it is the municipalities' responsibility alone to collect garbage. It is none of their business.

The neo-liberal capitalism brought with it a significant individual moral understanding. That means, for instance, a privatized railway system is a personal property. It belongs to an individual or an association of individuals. As such it evokes a moral sense of strict justice. This justice entails giving to each one according to his or her due. A generalized failure to observe the basic moral tenets of social justice, for instance, in persistent and widespread free riding would end up in bankruptcy of such a privatized business to the detriment of all passengers. This public awareness has improved the railway system.

A hallmark of the privatization of public goods and services is the devolution of state power to the civil society. This society has been imbued with a dependent mentality in the heyday of the welfare state. With the emergence of the neo-liberal capitalism, people have taken it upon themselves the moral responsibility for the care and safety of their neighborhood. However, in taking the social responsibility for guaranteeing safety of their neighborhood into their own hands, individuals have found themselves limited. That means, for instance, individuals making their neighborhood drug free have found themselves

just transferring the same problem to the next neighborhood. An adequate or intensive and comprehensive remedy underlies the need for central planning on the part of a regulating authority at the local and national levels. There is no contradiction between individualization and socialization of public goods. The emergency of the neo-liberal capitalism is not a replacement of the coordinating role of the welfare state. It is rather to cut to size the overriding idea of the welfare state. This transformation of the welfare state would empower the civil society to act on its own in politics and economics. The society would do so according to the principle of subsidiarity. This principle calls for the devolution and delegation of powers. That means that the state does not usurp any role, which can be equally performed by a lower ranking organization of individuals or associations thereof.

The transformation of the welfare state in the light of neo-liberal capitalism is a new call for democratic liberalism, i.e., the renewal of the original Lockean idea of a limited government by the consent of the governed. This government is accountable to the civil society in politics and economics. Neo-liberal capitalism is, then, a timely attempt to set the government and society as well as the market on a well-balanced relationship to each other. This relationship is directed toward the achievement of integral development of a nation. It is meant to establish what Zijderveld calls the democratic triangle between the state government and civil society as well as the market.⁵² It is in the light of such a democratic liberalism that the World Bank

52 Zijderveld, The Waning of The Welfare State, p. 128 ff Neo-liberal capitalism looks after one's good, which is not related to the common good. Nonetheless, according to Adam Smith, the invisible hand underlying the concepts of natural justice and natural law sees to it that the common good is catered for in the enjoyment of the individual good. As Smith puts it in his book "The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Part I, Section I, Chapter 1," <http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm>, p.1: "how selfish so ever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others and render their happiness necessary to him*, though he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing." *(The underlining is mine.)

and IMF demanded the privatization of the state-owned public goods and services, such as the Kenya railways in Kenya, as a condition for continued granting of development aid. Similarly, the Western powers following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 called for a democratic devolution of state powers, i.e., the decentralization of the executive powers of the central government down to the level of regional and local authorities. The devolution entails also the separation of powers between the executive and the legislative as well as the judiciary branches of the state government.

The above stated separation of powers has been lacking in Kenya since 1964.⁵³ Just after one year of political independence, the new Republic of Kenya became a *de facto* one-party state. The opposition party, i.e., the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), was merged with the ruling party, i.e., the Kenya African National Union (KANU). The unchallenged consolidation of executive power in the office of the president paved the way to dictatorial authoritarianism. This excessive power was exercised at the discretion of the president to the detriment of the judiciary and legislative branches of the state. For instance, some members of parliament were detained without trial because of their opposition to the Kenyatta regime. These members included the first vice president of Kenya, Oginga Odinga. The disgruntled vice president formed a new opposition party, i.e., the Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU). He accused the Kenyatta regime of elitism in his book *Not Yet Uhuru*.⁵⁴ The KPU was banned and Odinga detained without trial in 1969. Kenya reverted to the dictatorship of a one-party state. In July of the same year that Odinga was detained without trial, his tribesman and prominent cabinet minister for justice and constitutional affairs, Tom Mboya, was assassinated. This assassination was then seen, in part, as motivated by tribal chauvinism. This view was based on the fact that the assassin was a Kikuyu. He was a member of the ruling tribe, Mboya was a Luo. However, the Kenyatta regime

53 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 11.

54 Ibid.

was not simply playing a tribal card. It was simply dictatorial authoritarianism. Other critics of the regime were also assassinated, such as Josiah Kariuki.⁵⁵ He was a Kikuyu. He was a spokesman of the oppressed poor people. His mutilated body was dumped into Ngong Forest, near Nairobi, in February 1975.

In a subsequent show of strength or ruthless autocratic authoritarianism, Kenyatta had other outspoken politicians and critical intellectuals, such as George Anyona and the novelist Ngugi wa Thiongo, detained without charge in 1977. After Kenyatta's death in August 1978, his successor Daniel Moi continued the autocratic rule. He made the nation-state of Kenya a *de jure* one-party state in 1982.

When the multiparty system of good governance was imposed by the Western nations, a new era dawned in Kenya in 1992. It dealt a deathblow to the autocratic authoritarianism under the Moi regime. The one-party state was outlawed. This constitutional amendment was demanded by the Western nations as a necessary condition for continued development aid. President Moi feared the reintroduction of multipartyism. He had recourse to divisive politics along tribal lines. In this way, Moi hoped to derail the multiparty democracy. He fomented tribal clashes prior to the general elections in 1992. He pitted one ethnic community against another. In this unfair way of forcing his opponents out of their constituencies, Moi rigged the first multiparty elections in 1992. He repeated the same strategy in the next general elections in 1997. Moi was outwitted in 2002 by international observers and a coalition of opposition parties under a unified front, i.e., NARC. His protégé, Uhuru Kenyatta, was defeated during the presidential elections in December 2002. Mwai Kibaki emerged as the winner and the third president of Kenya.

One of the political weapons of Moi was development aid. He used development aid and government subsidy to intimidate political opponents. He warned them that failure to join his ruling party would

55 Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 12.

be followed by dire consequences, for example, withdrawal of electricity or disconnecting the water supply to the opposition zones. For almost a quarter of a century Moi ruled with an iron fist. He displayed the state government as the sole provider of development projects. He could withdraw such projects from any opposition zone in the country at will. His dictatorial motto was *siasa imbaya maisha mbaya*, which means, “bad politics is followed by a bad life.” For Moi bad politics meant the failure to join his ruling party and to vote for its prospective members of parliament.

We have mentioned the manner in which the Western powers in conjunction with the World Bank and the IMF ruled against the unregulated executive powers of the presidency in the Kenya. This reaction gathered momentum in the 1980s. It found its peak moment after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The Western nations demanded constitutional reforms to devolve executive powers into a balanced separation of the three branches of the state government. The reform would be key to eliminating corruption and overcoming poverty. The government was reluctant to prosecute highly placed criminal perpetrators of corruption. For this reason, in part, Moi did not effect the constitutional reform to devolve executive powers into local and regional legislative bodies. The NARC government promised reform in 2002. It reneged on the promise in a referendum in 2005. The government sought through the referendum to retain the draconian executive powers of the presidency. It was defeated in the referendum. This defeat did not augur well for the government in the general elections of 2007. It did not emerge as an outright or undisputed winner of the general elections. As a consequence, the impoverishing corruption still persists in the nation-state of Kenya.

1.3. The Causes of Underdevelopment: Ideologies, Mentalities, and the Search for Happiness

1.3.1. Background

Here we present the social economic conditions in Kenya within the social-cultural and political context of the country's recent past history as a developing nation. We will trace the causes of underdevelopment for the nation back to the colonialist legacy. The colonialist legacy is identified as a historical development of the cultural revolution following the liberal economic philosophy of capitalism.⁵⁶ This liberal ideology of capitalism led, in part, to the unfair distribution of income to the minority of a few entrepreneurs in the aftermath of the industrial revolution.

In this section, we give a social analysis with a view to outlining the problems and challenges of understanding human development in the emerging nation of Kenya in terms of the dominant ideologies and mentalities prevailing in the nation-state. Ideology is a manner of thinking or a set of ideas forming the basis of an economic or political system; accordingly, there is a contrast or distinction between an ideology and mentalities. Mentalities are general ways of understanding things or a set of unelaborated and even tacit beliefs, values and attitudes.⁵⁷ These ideologies and mentalities affect the behavior and

56 J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Revised Edition (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 22. A practical example of the extent to which colonialism is tied up with capitalism is the scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century industrial Europe. This scramble culminated in the Berlin Conference in 1884-85. The meeting was called for a peaceful portioning of Africa into various European colonies with a view to a fair distribution of raw materials and minerals for their manufacture and sale in the capitalist factories and markets in Europe.

57 Joseph Kariuki, "Ideologies, Mentalities and Human Development: Search for Happiness in Kenya," in *African Christian Studies*, vol. 18 no. 12 June 2002, Nairobi, Quarterly Journal of Faculty of Theology (Catholic University of Eastern African), p. 57.

lifestyle of the people. This section seeks to explore ways and means through which an ideology can promote or hinder human development understood as individual well being and social welfare. We contend that authentic human development is understood as integral development. Integral development means the development of the whole person, all peoples, and entire nations, i.e., a way of understanding the development of the whole person in relationship with other persons and the world. In light of the idea of integral development, the concept of well being or human happiness is illustrated herewith in a specific African context:

According to the African world-view happiness may be defined as a social well being. It means harmony in social life, and this takes place when things function as they ought, that is as is expected of them. The nature of things is what determines their proper function. For instance there is happiness in a fruitful marriage. This means that the marital relationship is harmonious. There is a peaceful co-existence, which is internalized in a radiant well being well beyond the couple itself.⁵⁸

In other words, the Kenyan mentality underlying the social happiness is expressed in the adage, “I am because we are.” The underlying social concept of happiness is “I am we are.”⁵⁹ This is a challenge to

58 Ibid.

59 Mumia Abu-Jamal, Life From Death Row (NY: Hudson Wesley Publishing Company 1995), p. xi. The social nature of a human person is in a particular way manifested in his interactive or interpersonal behavior toward fellow human beings. This behavior or human action is intended to promote, among other aspirations, one’s self-interest. The interest is achieved, for instance, in socio-ethical terms of meeting adequately basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter as well as other human needs, i.e., love, worth, acceptance, and autonomy. That means, the adequate satisfaction of such needs brings about self-fulfillment, contentment, and joy. These qualities of life are intrinsic elements of self-interest. They are as such the quintessence of the pursuit of happiness, which is a state of joy following an adequate satisfaction of human needs. Since the above stated adequate satisfaction of human needs is not possible in one’s isolation from other human beings, then an effective interpersonal harmonious relationship such as peace is a necessary means for a meaningful pursuit of happiness. As Smith thought the need for peace or harmonious relationship, among other social eco-

African people to be open to the needs of others. What is emphasized by this adage from an African context is human solidarity, which has not yet been achieved. We can conclude that African philosophy underlies a fundamental belief system according to which the individual pursuit of happiness should reckon with the happiness of others. That means that what is good is not what is good for me but what is good for me in relationship with others. The African idea of happiness connotes also the concept of co-responsibility. Human beings are duty bound to sustain each other since we belong together in kinship. This implies from an African context that human persons are related to one another in kinship and social love: “*cognatus ergo sum*” (I am related, there-

nomical factors, to be a necessary condition to acquire wealth, which facilitates an adequate satisfaction of human need in a nation-state in his “Lecture in 1775...,” <http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm>, p.1: “Little else is required to carry a state to the highest degree of opulence from the lowest barbarism but peace*, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice: all the rest being brought by the natural course of things.” *(The underlining is mine.) It is in the above stated parts-whole relationship or means-end connection between harmonious relationships and happiness that the social nature of person, underlying the interactive human action, is part of happiness. But happiness is not necessarily harmonious relationships, which may, as such also mean absence of conflict-situations such as war at a time of peace. The latter may not be reducible to harmonious relationships simply understood as the absence of war. There is more to the idea of peace or harmonious relationships, underlying fundamental way the concept of happiness, than such an absence of war. As Vatican II put it in its document Austin Flannery, (ed.), Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents (Northport, New York: Costello Publishing Company, 1977), p986ff: “Peace is more than the absence of war...it is the fruit of that right ordering of things with which the divine founder has invested human society and which must be actualized by man thirsting after an ever more perfect reign of justice.”

It is then only within the above stated distinction concerning an all-inclusive part of happiness in a means-end connection that we can see how the social nature of person, underlying the interactive dimension of human action, is part of happiness. As Smith also put it in his book “The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Part II, Section III, <http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/quotes.htm>, p.1: “Man was made for human action, and to promote by extension of his faculties such changes both of himself and others, as may seem most favorable to the happiness of all*.” *(The underlining is mine.)

fore I exist).⁶⁰ This social philosophy is one significant socio-ethical African way in which an attempt is made to cover the dualistic *lacuna* or value-gap in Descartes' subjective moral epistemology. This Cartesian epistemology signifies the individualistic autonomy of reason bracketing everything including God, except its own self-existence: "*Cogito ergo sum*" (I think, therefore I exist).⁶¹ It is in this context that Western individualistic worldview, underlying the Cartesian epistemology "*Cogito ergo sum*," can be complemented by the communitarian African *Weltanschauung*: "Cognatus ergo sum." Individual happiness is not conceivable without the happiness of others.

1.3.1.2. Dominant Ideology

The present section deals with social economic conditions in Kenya within the social-cultural and political background of the country's recent history as a developing nation. According to R. Tames, developing countries share to a greater or lesser extent six major characteristics: generalized poverty, high rates of population growth, undiversified and uneven development, the colonialist legacy, mosaic societies, and commitment to change.⁶² To show how these characteristics have hindered integral development, we will see in the next section, Tames made a core study of the Kenyan society. In his case study, Tames concluded that the dominant ideology in Kenya is economic liberalism or free enterprise as a perceived way to human development. We concur with Tames that these six major characteristics are part and parcel of factors hindering integral development in Kenya. In the present chapter, we have also viewed the philosophy of liberalism as a social economically significant political ideology. It promotes, we have already seen in the historical background, a free market or busi-

60 John Pobee, Toward an African Theology, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979), p. 49.

61 Rene Descartes, "Meditations on the First Philosophy" in Wambari, Readings in Introduction to Critical Thinking, p. 42.

62 R. Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 1.

ness enterprise by individuals unregulated by the central government.

However, if properly understood as a philosophical form of a social economically significant political ideology, liberalism may lead to the practice of good governance. This governance entails, as we shall see, a constitutional government by the consent of the governed. It is above all, therefore, a limited government to protect individual rights. What this means is that the recent social economic and political philosophy of liberalism enhances the personal freedom of an individual against all types of authoritarianism or undue government interference in individual or corporate affairs, such as commerce and business transactions. Examples of such a governmental authoritarianism are aptly described by the Bishops of Kenya in the following words: “Freedom of expression, association, and movement for some has been notoriously restricted. There should be no reason to forbid Kenyan citizens to meet after 6 p.m. and to restrict their meetings to fewer than 10 people. Also any form of political dissent has been considered as subversive and seditious and as a personal attack on those in authority.”⁶³

Further to this, that the misunderstanding and abuse of the nineteenth century economic ideology of liberalism and its underlying mentalities have impeded people’s development in Kenya. The *laissez-faire* mentality seems to be predominant in popular thought in the nation state of Kenya. In this connection, the economic philosophy of liberalism is understood to mean, in Kenya, “*soko huru*,” i.e., practicing a free market economy. This so-called “economic freedom” in a business enterprise and “democratic liberalism” in a political system have impeded people’s development and left a distorted economy and

63 Kenya Episcopal Conference, “Looking Towards the Future with Hope, Pastoral Letter” 6 January 1992, 1, in Mejia, The Conscience of the Society: The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops of Kenya 1960-1995 (Nairobi-Paulines Publications 1995), p.121. References to the Kenya Episcopal Conference will be given by the initials KEC and refernces to the text Looking Towards the Future with Hope will be given by the initials LFH.

political dissent. That is to say, in Kenya the economic freedom in business enterprise and democratic liberalism in political action have been abused, which has led to a distorted economy and political dissent. The economy is pervaded by a black-market (*magendo*) under the umbrella of individual initiative or self-help projects (*harambee*).⁶⁴ This black market leads to corruption and dishonesty in business and politics alike. Instead of experiencing progressive or development-minded and cohesive political ideologies, the predominant economic ideologies and mentalities have led Kenyans to experience underde-

64 http://www/transparency.org/toolkits/2001/monitor_harambee.html-The Corruption Fighters Tool Kit Harambee: A study of Kenyan Institution –Pooling Together or Pulling Apart, p. 2: “Harambee” “is uniquely Kenyan institution rooted in the African tradition of mutual social responsibility. The word Harambee is a colloquialism of Indian origin meaning ‘pooling effort’ “ (pooling together). So intertwined is it with the nation’s history that the word appears on Kenya’s national coat of arms. As an institution, Harambee predates the birth of independent Kenya. In fact, Harambee was integral to the rise of African nationalism; the country’s first President Jomo Kenyatta, was sent to England on Harambee funds to petition the British Government for the return of African lands. Following independence, Harambee became integrated into the nation’s development strategy, as a form of cost-sharing between the government and project beneficiaries (the latter initially contributing their labor to road building or water pipe projects and the like). Soon, communities themselves began to initiate projects: fundraising for schools and health centers amongst other things. However, the passage of time has seen Harambee evolve from a community resource mobilization vehicle to a theatre of political contest. As Harambee projects have proliferated, the projects themselves have become bigger and grander. Where the original projects were typically grass roots-oriented (village polytechnics, dispensaries, primary schools), by the early 1970s, the institution had been taken over by local elites: fund-raising for hospitals replaced harambees for local health centers, post-secondary institutions replaced primary schools as a Harambee priority. The effect was, to quote the Harambee *pooling together or pulling apart* “study, twofold:”... two problems. ‘*First the Government was expected to provide recurrent costs of projects whose establishment it had no control. Secondly, development patronage had become a very effective tool of political mobilization, which meant that any local notable could challenge establishment politicians.*’ The study continues: ‘*In response the Government introduced further legislation which required Harambee projects to be registered with the Ministry of Social Services in order to be eligible for Government assistance.*’”

velopment and social disintegration. This social phenomenon of disintegration means, “things fall apart.”⁶⁵

In Kenya, the social disintegration has led to economic depression as well as other impoverishing conditions of life, such as unequal distribution of wealth and natural resources. These conditions are most evident in party politics and struggles for the survival of the strongest even at the cost of violating the dictates of moral conscience. The result of the ideological thinking is the marginalization of political dissidents, on the one hand, and the structural inequalities of economic opportunity, on the other. Consequently, the country becomes less and less a promised land of opportunity. The lack of equal opportunity is reflected in the enormous brain drain of Kenyans with advanced technological science serving in foreign countries. Due to the “brain drain” of Kenyans, the country suffers from insufficient technical “know-how.” The brain drain in Kenya contributes considerably to the impediment of people’s development in the nation-state.

In sum, privatization as a social economic form of self-reliance on a universal level entails the total mobilization of all interested parties. It means then more active participation in the political economic life of a nation-state. It can not be different, in principle, where there is a fair play or level ground among the interested parties. It is, however, in practice, different in Kenya following the prevalent false understanding of privatization. That means unregulated concentration of as much wealth in one’s hands to the detriment of others.

Instead of unleashing the human potential toward more openness to the needs of others, as ought to be the case, privatization in Kenya often underlies the dominant grabbing mentality or the self-centered acquisitive greed without any regard for the moral demands of conscience.

However, in response to the misunderstanding of the concept of privatization, we make the clear distinction: *abusus non tollit usum*. In

65 Chinua Achebe, Things Fall Apart (New York: Fawcett crest, 1959).p.4.

other words, the abuse of the idea of privatization does not take away the correct use of the concept. That means that privatization is a free competitive trade among individual entrepreneurs or their associations in a democratic triangle of autonomous or independent and well-balanced relationships between the three sectors of modern society, i.e., the state government and economic market as well as civil society.

There is clearly a close connection between good governance and economic prosperity. The remedy for the economic depression and political instability should be good governance. Good governance entails, in turn, a limited government, i.e., government is accountable to the governed through periodic popular elections. The lack of good governance, for instance in Kenya, causes economic depression and political dissent. This is owing to a false understanding of capitalism as unchecked concentration of as much wealth in one's own hands to the detriment of others. It is a grabbing mentality without any regard for the moral demands of conscience.

The grabbing mentality is an exaggerated desire to outdo others in a manner likely to lead to a breach of the public peace and harmonious cooperation among development-minded citizens. The ensuing lack of equality of opportunity as well as lack of fair distribution of income and wealth are serious pitfalls on the way to social progress and national development.

1.4. Social Indicators of a Developing Economy

On the issue of overcoming underdevelopment, Tames explained how developing countries share to a greater or lesser extent six major characteristics. He illustrated the social economic impact of the indicators of underdevelopment with reference to Kenya in the following ways: poverty, population, undiversified development, colonialist legacy, mosaic societies and commitment to social change. We will discuss how these major characteristics have hindered integral development in Kenya.

1.4.1. Poverty: The Widening Rich–Poor Gap

According to Tames, in contrast to the nations of Western Europe and North America, there is generalized poverty in the developing countries of the world.⁶⁶ Tames said that, among other factors, lack of education in third world countries like Kenya leads to some negative impact of underdevelopment. The lack of education and subsequent intellectual limitation of understanding social progress lead to the poor or unplanned investment in human capital for economic growth. As Pope Paul VI said, “lack of education is as serious as lack of food; the illiterate is a starved spirit. When someone knows how to read and write he is equipped to do a job and shoulder a profession to develop self-confidence and to realize that we can progress along with others.”⁶⁷ We concur with the two writers that education is an integral part or means to reduce social economic depression and political instability. In Kenya there is lack of social education, which would, among other factors, lead to a reduction of social economic depression and political instability.

Another characteristic, which has led to the social economic depression and political instability, is lack of political experience. According to Tames, generalized poverty in developing countries “reflects not only their resource endowment but also the relatively short time in which they have been in command of their affairs and thus able to give priority to the development.”⁶⁸ We concur with Tames

66 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 1.

67 “Populorum Progressio” 35, in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace. Documents from John XXIII-John Paul II (Mystic,CT: Twenty Third Publications,1985), p. 231. See also L’Osservatore Romano, Sept. 11, 1965; Documentation Cathelique, #t.62, Paris, Cd. # 1674.75. References to the encyclical Populorum Progressio will be given by the initials PP followed by the paragraph and page numbers.

68 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 2. . The author illustrates how well in this way the lack of political experience, needed to consolidate the prevailing underdeveloped colonial mosaic states into modern cohesive and prosperous nations, can be better understood, among other political economic and social factors, as a result of colonialization.

that some African nations, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, and Ethiopia have spent much of their economic resources in periodic civil wars due to the lack of a sustainable political stability and good governance. For example, in Ethiopia, during the civil war, priority could not be given to regional development in Eritrea and mainland Ethiopia.⁶⁹

Another factor that contributes to social economic depression and political instability is unfair distribution of wealth. To illustrate that such unfair distribution of wealth is a root cause of underdevelopment, L.R. Brown stated that generalized poverty is brought about by the widening gap between the rich and the poor in both the developing countries as well as the developed nations of the world.⁷⁰

We have observed that in the developing countries there is a generalized lack of competent financial administration or fiscal policy, which has led to unfair distribution of wealth between the rich and the poor so as to overcome class barriers. Today in Kenya, for example, due to this lack of both political experience and competent financial administration or fiscal policy, there is deficiency in accountability and transparency, which has led to poverty in the nation-state in Kenya. It is for this reason, we contend, that a development minded good governance is vital in the reduction of poverty and lowering economic inequality as well as unemployment in the developing countries. Some examples of economic inequality and concrete instances of lack of distributive justice in Kenya are best seen in the uneven distribution of development projects. The super development of Nairobi and its surrounding area of the Mount Kenya region compares adversely to the underdevelopment of many neglected arid areas like Turkana in the

69 Martin Doornbos, *et al.*, (eds), Beyond Conflict in The Horn: Prospects For Peace Recovery and Development in Ethiopia, Somalia and The Sudan (Trenton NJ: The Red Sea. Press, 1992), p. 6. See also, Amare Tekle, (ed) Eritrea and Ethiopia: From Conflict to Cooperation, (Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1994), p. ixff.

70 L.R. Brown, World Without Borders, (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 41.

northern frontier of the country. The development of some regions to the detriment of others goes back to the colonial days. The colonial administration had divided the country into some native reserves, such as the Maasailand, to the Southern frontier of the country, inaccessible, by law, to the rest of the population in Kenya.⁷¹ Such tribal reserves have lagged behind in the overall social economic development taking place in the rest of the nation-state. These areas were relegated to the degrading consumerist goods of tourist attractions as the founding father of the nation, Kenyatta, stated.⁷²

In the urban milieu of cities like Nairobi and Mombasa and major towns in developing countries, the above stated lack of distributive justice leads to the social marginalizing of human beings living under subhuman conditions as in *Mathare* and *Mukuru* on the outskirts of Nairobi.

Another social phenomenon covered by Tames, which contributes to the generalized poverty in developing countries, is the mass movement of displaced rural people from countryside to cities, like Nairobi and Mombasa, and other major towns.⁷³ This exodus is due to the undiversified or uneven development in the nation-state. According to Tames, urbanization serves as an index of industrialization and modernization.⁷⁴ But modernization as symbolized by the city fosters,

71 Thomas Spear, *et al*, (eds), Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), p. 231: “When the frontiers of Maasailand were effectively closed by the demarcation of reserve boundaries,* just before the first world war there were already numbers of resident Kikuyu who regarded themselves assimilated Maasai or adoptees and were so regarded by the Maasai.” *The underlining is mine.

72 Jomo Kenyatta, Harambee! (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 112.

73 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 2. Richard Tames illustrates how well in this way the lack of political experience, needed to consolidate the prevailing underdeveloped colonial mosaic states into modern cohesive and prosperous nations, can be better understood, among other political economic and social factors, as a result of colonialization.

74 *Ibid*.

especially among the rural youth, aspirations in excess of the real opportunities.⁷⁵ As Tames puts it, “the gap between rural and urban incomes, often as much as 300-400 percent, makes the city, despite its shanty towns and frustrations, attractive to displaced rural workers.”⁷⁶ In this issue of the pursuit of the urban myth of material plenty on the part of rural immigrants moving *en masse* to townships and urban centers, there is the negative impact of the ever rising rate of population growth leading to the scarcity of social economic resources nationwide.

The social as well as educational challenge of urban migration is to make perceptible, especially through the mass media, the great gap or discrepancy between aspirations and opportunities. That means that such a social awareness is not yet clear enough to act as a deterrent to continued urban migration. However, the economic basis of the socio-cultural phenomenon of urban migration and the consequent high rates of unemployment and poverty is the undiversified capital investment owing to the lack of a clear government policy to deter the recent trend. The aim of such an administrative policy is central planning to even out class barriers between the rich or affluent urban industrial centers and the social economically depressed rural agricultural areas. Another author, L. R. Brown, concluded the issue with a word of advice to policy makers in developing countries like Kenya: “as long as rural development continues at such a low pace, and investment continues to be a primary urban phenomenon, rapid urbanization will continue.”⁷⁷ Needless to say, such urban unemployment and poverty breed social unhappiness, political instability, and violent crime.

To avoid the danger of a similar social menace, among other factors, Pope John XXIII⁷⁸ discouraged the prevalence of an exaggerated

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Brown, World Without Borders, p. 76.

78 “Mater et Magistra” 122-125, in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace, p. 103. References to the encyclical Mater et Magistra will be given by

social economic imbalance between the financially affluent industrial urban centers of Northern Italy, such as Turin and Milan, and Western Europe, on the one hand, and the economically depressed agricultural regions of Southern Italy, such as Regio Calabria and Sicily, and rural Europe, on the other. According to John XXIII, there is no doubt that “farming has become a depressed occupation.”⁷⁹ The supreme pontiff recommended social insurance and government subsidy to farmers as well as a well developed infrastructure and provision of modern amenities of civilization, such as telecommunication along with household goods: “What can be done to reduce the disproportion between... agriculture... and industry? First, considerable thought must be given... for suitable development of... means of communication, drinking water, and housing.”⁸⁰

1.4.2. Population: High Rates of Growth

Kenya’s population, growing at 3.5% per annum, rates it among the fastest growing countries of the world. According to Tames, just over 10% of Kenya’s population lives in cities and urban centers.⁸¹ The social economic impact of such a high rate of population growth has contributed to poverty, famine, and unemployment. The lack of employment has contributed to a great extent to the uneven development confined to cities and urban centers. The overpopulation has outstripped available social economic resources, especially in rural areas. For instance, too many school leavers and university graduates struggle in vain to find even by corrupt means very few available jobs. These employment opportunities are confined mostly to the industrialized cities and urban centers. The mounting population is, in this way, directly associated with rising unemployment and increasing poverty.

the initials MM followed by the paragraph and page numbers.

79 MM 124, in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace, p.104

80 MM 126-143, in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace, pp. 104-106.

Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 2

81 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p. 2

One of the undesirable side effects due to the high rate of population growth outstripping available social economic resources is hunger or lack of adequate food.

The lack of sufficient food or the lack of a balanced diet is the major threat to the quality of life or the pursuit of social well being in many parts of Kenya. Recently hunger has devastated populations in parts of the eastern and northern regions of Kenya, such as Turkana. The moral and social economic impact of overpopulation leads to landlessness in the fertile highlands of Kenya owing to the subdivision into smaller plots of the clans' land among the ever-increasing number of clansmen. The tendency has been, then, to migrate internally into other parts of the rural areas and urban centers of the nation-state of Kenya. This internal migration by members of some tribes into the sparsely populated land of other tribes has taken place ostensibly on the fair capitalistic basis of a willing buyer and willing seller. In spite of the fair deal, the transfer of the ownership of land from members of one tribe to other people hailing from a different tribe has oftentimes engendered envy against such entrepreneurial or diligent citizens making legitimate use of their freedom of movement or migration beyond their ancestral places of origin. The tribal ill feelings have periodically resulted in ethnic clashes. This denial of the human right to own productive property on the discriminatory tribal basis has meant at times ethnic cleansing. In such inter-tribal violence the able-bodied persons are killed and valuable property destroyed to the detriment of social peace and integral development. These skirmishes can, in this way, ultimately be viewed as moral consequences of the high population growth rate outstripping scarce or limited resources. The victims of ethnic violence end up in the utter poverty of alienated peasants. These small-scale farmers are forced out of their only productive or income-generating farm land property.⁸²

82 Human Rights Watch, Slaughter Among Neighbors, p.101ff. Inasmuch as tribal clashes are aspects of neo-colonial wars by proxy, they can also be seen in ret-

Besides the social question of distributive shares in limited resources, such as arable land to the detriment of sustainable development, there is also another ecological problem owing to overpopulation. The high population growth rate has also caused internal migration to the less fertile pastoral land where herdsmen look after cows, goats, and camels.

respect as a by product of colonization. This has been the case, for instance, in the recent war by proxy for the control of mineral resources by former and new colonial masters in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Similarly, the recent interethnic post-election violence in 2007, in Kenya, can be seen as a war by proxy of former colonial masters. The latter meant to impose upon the African people a presidential candidate of their choice to serve their own interest in the well strategically situated nation-state, which is the commercial hub of Eastern and Central Africa. The violence was ostensibly triggered to contest the election results. However, similar claims about rigging in a general election were settled without recourse to violence in Ghana. The non-violence approach to resolving disputes in Ghana appears to indicate non-interference in the internal affairs by neo-colonial masters feeling that their self-interests are less at stake there than in Kenya. There is evidence of financial kickbacks by politicians to youth to cause trouble during the post-election violence. The talks and reports of such evidence were assessed by the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence in “Waki Report”, <http://www.scribed.com/doc/8180738?waki-report>, p. 26: “These reports implicated politicians as the organizers of the violence and killing for political ends, and noted that the warriors and gangs of youth who took action were both paid and pressed into service”. There is ample evidence that the political masterminds behind the post election violence solicited funds from their former and new colonial masters abroad prior to the 2007 election campaigns. As a part of this money solicited abroad was used to foment violence, then the tribal clashes during the post election violence can be viewed as a byproduct of colonization. This neo-colonial legacy was in part behind the recent slaughter among neighbors chopping off heads for cash donated by Western nations. There were monetary rewards for every head chopped off a victim of post election violence. A mother is said to have pleaded in vain for the heads of members of her family in the above stated Waki Report, p.496: “I asked one of the attacking youth why they were attacking us. I told him that if it was land they wanted, they should just let my family leave. All this time, they were shooting arrows at us and throwing stones while they made sounds like dogs. He then replied that they wanted five heads from my compound.”

The overgrazing owing to the overpopulation has brought about the deforestation of the land. This ecological degradation or environmental devastation has caused climate changes resulting then in scarce rainfalls and persistent droughts. The ensuing desertification of the savannah or grassland has meant death of the animals for lack of water and green grass to eat as well as famine for the pastoralists because of the prolonged droughts.

In Kenya, the social question of overpopulation has also entailed the urban problem of underemployment as well as security menace posed by violent crimes against the humanity of others, such as rape and torture. That means, owing mainly to the social economic problem of overpopulation in the rural countryside, that the unemployed and out-of-school youth have sought green pastures in the metropolitan city of Nairobi. The educated young men and women have as well in vain looked for jobs in other large urban centers in the republic of Kenya. Because of the limited places of work and corrupt ways of discriminatory and nepotistic methods of selection of job seekers, many qualified people are forced by social economic circumstances of survival to accept lesser-paying jobs below their academic standards or professional training. Some university graduates have hired themselves as taxi drivers with no fixed amount of a fair salary or just wage. Their remuneration is reckoned on the number of trips they make, for example, from Nairobi to other towns or urban centers. This method of remuneration is an incentive for the young drivers to over-speed and overload the public means of transportation with helpless passengers. Such a casual pricing of labor has caused many road accidents and casualties. This cruel way of reckoning the public taxi cab (*matatu*) driver's wage following the variable market law of supply and demand (*kibarua*) is also prevalent in other productive sectors in the nation-state. This unjust system of remuneration resembles very much the inhumane working conditions in which European laborers were subjected to during the industrial revolution. This revolution was the end result of the pursuit or implementation of the nineteenth century

capitalist ideology of liberalism. As Bishop von Kettler of Mainz in Germany lamented:

As the price of goods is based on their cost of production, likewise, the price of labor is based on the cost of the barest necessities in food, clothing and shelter that are required to keep the worker alive. Just as the competing firm will do all in its power to reduce the cost of production in order to win over the competition, so, also when there is oversupply of labor, there is the tendency among the workers to underbid their fellow workers and hiring themselves for the minimum level of what they need to live down to still lower level. The employers stand in the world market place and ask, "who will work for the lowest wage?"* The workers underbid one another, depending on how desperate each is for the work.* That is how it happens that from time to time - as with merchandise - we find those terrible situations where this human commodity is offered for sale at a price which is below the cost of producing it. Translated into human terms, we find a poor worker, desperate for work, accepting a wage that is not enough to provide even the bare necessities for himself and his family. Eventually, this means that the man and his wife and children are doing without that which is absolutely necessary for living like human beings in matters of food, clothing and shelter. To do without these essentials - even if for a few days - spells misery and suffering. That is the condition of working class. Workers are dependent on the wage paid for their labor and this wage is considered just like the price of any commodity - its price is determined daily by demand and supply conditions.⁸³

The end result of such economically and psychologically unhealthy conditions of work is social despair and public frustration. This alienation or disillusionment of individual job seekers in the midst of the material plenty in the hands of just a few affluent people in the city centers and other towns has raised feelings of animosity between the rich and the poor. It has created class barriers as a consequence of overpopulation of the poor. For example, the poor people in the outskirts of Nairobi city center inhabit the mushrooming makeshifts, i.e., unplanned and morally and psychologically as well as socially hazardous mud houses without sanitary facilities, for example, in Mathare

83 Rupert J. Ederer, The Social Teaching of Wilhelm von Ketteler (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), p. 322ff.

Valley. This valley is adjacent to affluent pockets of wealthy people in their expensive mansions and luxurious palaces across the main Thika Road. That is to say, because of the enormous gap between the neighboring rich and poor people, the natural temptation is to resort to crime, such as robbery with violence by the poor against the rich. Such crimes against human dignity as prostitution are, among other social evils, also rampant in the slums as well as city centers and other urban milieu. The preponderance of such crimes and robbery with violence is grave especially where parasitism or financial over-dependence on friends and relatives is impractical owing to the overpopulation of unemployed poor citizens.⁸⁴

However, this parasitism is seen under the prevailing circumstances as a lesser evil or the only preventive measure against desperate recourse to the greater evil of prostitution or armed robbery for want of the basic means of livelihood, such as food. As we have already suggested, the plight of the hungry and malnourished majority poor argues furthermore for a biologically well-informed or scientifically reliable fertility awareness for effective birth-control, especially among youth, and responsible parenthood among adults so as to reduce overpopulation in Kenya. We envision the Billings ovulation method of birth control based on the observation of the menstrual cycle and periodic abstinence.

84 Paul VI, "Octagesimo Adveniens" in Walsh and Davies, *Proclaiming Justice and Peace*, pp. 170-172. The Latin text is available in AAS 63(1971), 401-441. This text is also available in A.F. Utz, *Die Katholische Sozialdoktrin in ihrer Geschlichen Entfaltung* (Aachen: Scientia Humana Institute, 1976), pp. 956-1009. See also Pope Paul VI, *On new social problems, Octogesima Adveniens* (Nairobi: Paulines, 1990) and J. Gremillion, *The Gospel of Peace and Justice*, pp. 485-11. References to *Octogesimo Adveniens* will be given by citing paragraph numbers preceded by initials OA.

1.4.3. Undiversified and Uneven Investment

In many developing countries like Kenya, there is uneven distribution of capital investment in favor of cities and urban centers at the expense of rural development. Attempts to diversify agriculture have been undertaken in Kenya where according to available statistics, primary products, such as tea and coffee, constitute over 80% of all exports.⁸⁵

Tames, furthermore, critically assesses the key center-periphery position of Nairobi as a metropolitan city, which outstrips all other Kenyan main towns. It has been observed that the social economic and political dominant role of the capital city contributes to a great extent to the general lack of distributive justice among Kenyans owing to the uneven development it has over time brought about. The result of such an urban bias in social economic planning, i.e., in favor of super development in the capital city, is the underdevelopment of rural areas. This is especially the case in the lack of equality of employment opportunity or careers open indiscriminately to talent. For example, the direct employers⁸⁶ or owners of industrial investments and commercial firms are mostly confined to the capital city of Nairobi and other major urban centers like the port of Mombasa on the coast of the Indian Ocean. The majority of job seekers or youth out-of-school is widely spread all over the countryside with hardly any employment facilities. As already indicated under the previous title, the number of the educated youth moving to the promising towns far exceeds the existing vacancies or available places of employment. As such, the youth movement results in the unemployment, impoverishment, and marginalization of people living in subhuman conditions in shanty towns in the outskirts of Nairobi as well as other urban centers and rural areas.

85 Tames, Case Studies of Emergent Nations, p.2. See also [http://www/answers.com/topic/Kenya](http://www.answers.com/topic/Kenya).p.1.ff.

86 LE 16.4, in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace, p.376.

The social economic need to deter the urban migration in search of job opportunities motivated the first president of Kenya to make his nation-wide call to return to the land. To deter the negative social economic effect of the urban migration of youth and adults alike in search of job opportunities, the founding father of the Kenyan nation, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, made the initial call to invest the unutilized human capital in the arable countryside: “Rudi mashambani⁸⁷ (go back to the rural farmlands). The felt need to return back to the land in rural areas was met, in part, by means of a wise government policy. This was the policy of buying extensive estates or commercial farms formerly owned by British settlers, especially in the Kenyan highlands. These farmers had freely opted to emigrate to other parts of the Commonwealth as the country was preparing for its national independence as a sovereign state. With financial aid from Great Britain the well managed estates were bought fairly and subdivided for sale at cheaper rates as a social economic form of government subsidy or soft loan to prospective small-scale farmers. These social economic ventures into agricultural projects have been real success stories in the attempt to reduce poverty and to amend the uneven development in the economically deprived rural areas and the financially affluent industrial urban centers.

Education for justice is another major political strategy for social conscientization so that people may come to know and appreciate their human development. As Pope Paul VI said in his social encyclical on the development of peoples, development is the new name of peace, i.e., social harmony and individual happiness: “For, if the new name for peace is development, who would not wish to labor for it with all their power?”⁸⁸

The conclusion of this section highlights the need to diversify

87 Kenyatta, *Harambee!*, p. 60.

88 PP 87 in Walsh and Davies, *Proclaiming Justice and Peace*, p.244.

economic investment throughout the country so as to even out class barriers in a country sharply divided between an extremely wealthy few and a majority of downtrodden poor. Furthermore, this conclusion underlies also the need to correct the unfair income distribution between the affluent urban centers and the economically depressed rural areas.

1.4.4. Culture: The Colonialist Legacy

For the purposes of the present sub-theme, culture means the popular or favorite way of doing things for a particular people in a specific social context.⁸⁹ Tames observed that colonialism leaves its mark not only on the structure of economies and the infrastructure of transport systems but also on culture, education, and social institutions.⁹⁰ As the author pointed out, to this day Kenya turns to the UK for imported TV programs, textbooks, and technical experts. This means that the impact of colonialism on the African culture is manifested by a poor self-image and cultural alienation. An example of cultural alienation is the social dichotomy of the African lifestyle, which is torn between the traditional African heritage and the modern, i.e., Western or European and American consumerist values. This social dichotomy of the African lifestyle is reflected in recent

African literature, for example, *Things Fall Apart*⁹¹ by Chinua

89 Philip B. Gove, et al., (eds.) Websters Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, (Springfield, MA: Merriam Webster Inc. Publishers, 1981), p. 552. See also James F. Childress, et al., A New Dictionary of Christian Ethics (Publishing; the Westminster Press, 1986), p. 142.

90 Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 3.

91 Chinua Achebe. Things Fall Apart (New York: Fawcet Crest, (1959), p. 4: "A note about the title. The title for Chinua Achebe's first novel: Things Fall Apart, reflects the author's awareness of debilitation* that Okwonkwo foresees,,,for Things Fall Apart comes from the world of Teat's cataclysmic vision." *The underlining is mine.

Achebe, *A Grain of Wheat*,⁹² and *The Devil on the Cross*⁹³ by Ngugi wa Thiongo.

An antidote for the modern phenomenon of cultural uprootedness is social education in the academic form and self-interrogating structure of critical and creative thinking as contemplated by Professor K. Wambari of Kenyatta University.⁹⁴ According to him, critical thinking is intended to encourage critical examination of the self, our nature, the world we inhabit, and our relationship to society. In this global context, critical and creative social education is the best means toward the betterment of thinking capability and self-esteem or personal worth. The aim of education according to Wambari is self-development in terms of ethical values upon which to base our beliefs and actions.⁹⁵

1.4.5. Ethnicity: Mosaic Societies

For the purposes of the present sub-theme, ethnicity means the classification of the diverse African peoples of Kenya according to their various ethnological characteristics proper.⁹⁶ Examples of such characteristic features are the traditional belief systems and culture as well as diverse languages or mother tongues, *lughā ya mama*. In this ethnological sense of the term, ethnicity designates a tribal grouping of families coalescing into clans descended from a common ancestral origin

92 Ngugi wa Thiongo, *A Grain of Wheat* (Oxford: Heinemann Publishers, 1967) p. iv: “Set in contemporary Kenya... as part of the history of our country, and the situation and problems that are real-sometimes too painfully real for the peasants who fought the British yet who now see all that they fought for being put on one side.” *The underlining is mine.

93 Ngugi wa Thiongo, *Devil on the Cross* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1985), p. 5: “To all Kenyans struggling against the neo-colonial stage of imperialism.”

94 Wambari, *Readings in Introduction to Critical Thinking*, p. ivff.

95 Ibid.

96 Jeff M. Koinange, *Koinange-wa-Mbiyu: Mau Mau’s Misunderstood Leader*, (Sussex, England: The Book Guild Ltd., 2000), p. 125 “Mbari: A Kikuyu Lineage.”

(*mbari*) and forming a corporate organization in the social form of an organic body or a cohesive interpersonal community. In sum, ethnicity denotes an affiliation of closely related families and mutually supportive clans emerging into kinsfolk of human solidarity (*nyumba or ujamaa*).⁹⁷

In contrast to the above stated ethnological sense, there is also a value-laden and social politically significant connotation of the term. In this value-laden or ethically relevant sense, ethnicity symbolizes tribalism. This pejorative meaning of the term signifies the selective loyalty of a tribal grouping of a self-centered people to the detriment of the well being of others. In this biased sense, ethnicity entails discrimination on the basis of tribe, culture, and languages as well as sex. Among other social economic and political as well as religious factors, the ethnic discrimination has led to tribal clashes.

The recent tribal clashes took place in 1999-2000. This ethnic cleansing preceded the general election to the national assembly in December 2001. The tribal clashes were bent on the ethnic cleansing in parts of the Rift Valley regions of Kenya. These clashes were a clear sign of prejudiced discrimination on the basis of tribe, creed, and sex. The main victims of the tribal clashes were women and children. One female victim said, "Once the clashes begin, households are burnt and it is the woman who takes charge and flees with her children wherever she goes. In most cases, the husband escapes to safety alone because he is overwhelmed by the situation he suddenly finds himself in."⁹⁸

The tragedy women victims find themselves in as a result of such tribal clashes is sadly featured in the Daily Nation: "Women are victims in more ways than one in conflict situations. They are raped before their husbands and children; their daughters are raped and their sons and husbands are butchered as they watch helplessly."⁹⁹

97 Koinange, *Mbiu-wa-Koinange*, p. 125.

98 Daily Nation "A time to weep and to let go of the past", Nairobi, March 8, 2000, p. 14.

99 Ibid.

One way to minimize tribal biases and prejudices in the ethnic mosaic societies is through education. Tames notes that the perceived way to succeed in life or to even out tribal barriers and differences of language is academic performance. This performance is above all in the discipline of the commonly spoken national and inter-culturally unifying languages of Kiswahili and English: “in multilingual Kenya mastery of the most widely spoken languages Kiswahili and English is the passport to education and, therefore, to the highest position in the state.”¹⁰⁰ The difficult task of building the nation by means of providing the necessary environment for union of minds and conversion of hearts to form a widely practiced patriotic awareness of a common social identity as a single nation-state requires a considerable duration of time, i.e., a long period spent on social education and ethics, among others, according to the time-honored law of gradualness or the steady step by step method of learning how to learn in a broadminded attitude of criticality and creativity.

In the forefront to cement the prevalent mosaic societies into modern African nation-states was the socialist president of Tanzania Dr. Julius Nyerere.¹⁰¹ The Pan-African leader succeeded considerably to even out tribal barriers and empower Tanzanians to experience harmonious and organic community awareness of persons as subjects or beneficiaries of human development (*Maendeleo*). In his conceptual framework of African socialism as *Ujamaa* (i.e., familiness), grounded upon the human need for self-esteem or moral idea of personhood (*Utu*), the clear thinking statesman made creative use of the generally understood and widely spoken *lingua franca* in Eastern Africa, i.e., *Kiswahili*. He did so to cement into the one nation of Tanzania

100 Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 3.

101 Trevor Huddleston, “The Person Nyerere”, in Colin Legum, *et al.*, eds. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Trenton, NJ: African World Press 1995), p. 1: “Nyerere ... a great human being who has always treasured his human-ness (his humanity if you like) more deeply, than his office; who has set an example not only of humanity but also of humility.”

the mosaic societies inherited from the former colonial mandate of Tanganyika. The ensuing social awareness of separate togetherness (human solidarity) based on the moral sense of self-worth in simply being a human person, as such, has empowered Tanzanians more than anywhere else in the African continent to experience the universal equality of human dignity as one nation under God. As their National Anthem declares: *Mungu ibariki Afrika*—Oh God Bless Africa!¹⁰²

1.4.6. Ideology: Commitment to Change

The possibility of change in ideology or re-thinking in policy and social management as a result of social education or knowledge of better political choice is illustrated with reference to the ideology of *Ujamaa* or African socialism in Tanzania. The emerging nation re-shaped its colonialist legacy by turning to China rather than Britain for its social economic and cultural needs.¹⁰³

As a whole, Kenya is explicitly committed to the continuing transformation of society so that the emerging nation may harmoniously find its passage from the pre-independence mosaic societies or tribal sub-nations to its national consciousness as a sovereign identity. The ideological inspiration for change in Kenya is a self-styled African socialism.¹⁰⁴ The system of African socialism in Kenya stresses free

102 Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 58ff: “There is personal freedom for the individual; that is, his right to live in dignity and equality with all others, his right to freedom of speech, freedom to participate in the making of all decisions which affect his life. It is a question of consciousness among all people of the nation that they are free men.”

103 Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, p. 70: “By developing the people of Tanzania, we are developing Tanzania. For Tanzania is the people, and the person means everyone.” See also, Tames, *Case Studies of Emergent Nations*, p. 14.

104 David Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya: The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget* (London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 54: “Mboya describes himself as a democratic socialist.* His political thinking was basically pragmatic, concerned chiefly with questions of means*. He knew in fine factual detail the iniquities of existing arrangements

enterprise or economic liberalism in business undertakings and democratic individualism in political affairs as social catalysts of change.¹⁰⁵ The social or political stability and economic progress engendered by the capitalist philosophy of liberalism are meant to curb among others demographic excess as well as to overcome the lack of technological expertise.

The above mentioned alternative African ideology is understood as a constructive theoretical critique or social ethical complement of the traditional or nineteenth century Western *laissez-faire* “night watchman” mentality underlying the nineteenth century utilitarian philosophy of liberalism or capitalist ideology in socio-economic enterprises.¹⁰⁶ African socialism is in favor of the communitarian human solidarity in social cooperation (*harambee*) or the concerted action in building the modern nation-state of Kenya so as to cater to its social progress and integral development. This communitarian human solidarity signifies, according to Harold J. Schultz and Michael Novak as well as Rawls, the “social welfare” mentality underlying the con-

in Kenya, and regarded his final goal of an egalitarian Kenya as self – justificatory. What really mattered to him was to think out the means of transition* from one society to the other. And on this question his thinking was a thoroughly ‘British’ mould.* Marxist revolutionary theory seemed to him to hold little relevance for Kenya’s situation. Nor did African traditional ideas give guidance for such a task. And Britian’s military defeat of Mau Mau showed that armed subversion was out of question*.... In sum, the framework for creation of a just society would come out through the displacement of the entrenched administrative –settler elite* and capture of the state. This would be effected by the process of legal decolonization* The only feasible route to decolonization lay in the long-term creation and manipulation (i.e, democratization)* of institutions ...and the whole process must be shaped by constant reference to the Western political universe, that is, the values of liberal democracy. *The underlining and brackets are mine.

105 Ibid.

106 Harold J. Schultz, English Liberalism and the State, p. xi. See also Michael Novak, The Catholic Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism (New York: The Free Press, 1993), p. 27 and Rawls, A Theory of Justice, p. 57ff.

temporary philosophy of a new democratic liberalism.¹⁰⁷ We seek to set the scene for a mutually edifying cross-cultural encounter between the traditional African socialism in favor of the communitarian worldview, on the one hand, and the Western “social welfare” mentality, underlying the contemporary philosophy of a new democratic liberalism on the other.

In sum, the type of liberalism we are championing is the democratic neo-liberalism emerging in the world since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Its aspired hallmark is the establishment of a democratic triangle or balance of power (i.e., autonomy) between a responsible or limited state government and free market based on privatization as well as an active civil society. The starting point or premises of the neo-liberalism is the historical consciousness or contention that the envisaged balance was in favor of the state government to the detriment of a free market economy and active participation in civil society in the twentieth century welfare state. The balance was in favor of a free market, i.e., unregulated or privatized trade to the detriment of a provident state government and coordinated human solidarity in civil society in the nineteenth century industrial revolution.

The type of liberalism we are critiquing is then the classical liberalism of the Manchester School of Thought especially during the nineteenth century industrial revolution. This liberalism militates against the civil society, for instance, in its antagonism against organized labor on trade unions among isolated workers in the nineteenth century. It was also against the government regulatory system of the market economy so as to guarantee social welfare. However, the emerging twentieth century welfare state sought to take care of all needs in such a way that it created a dependence mentality in the civil society. It has also nationalized significant private assets and business enterprises in Europe. The over expenditure in such a social welfare state or big government taking care of needy people from the cradle to the grave led

107 Ibid.

to its waning in the late twentieth century. It paved the way toward the neo-liberal government regulatory system of the free market economy when private institutions cannot deliver goods, for instance at a time of economic recession, so as to prevent mass deprivation in the civil society. That means, a moderate or timely state regulation of the market economy is what neo-liberalism advocates in the provident terms of privatization of free business enterprise (i.e., *soko huru*) as well as active participation in the political economic life of the state on the part of the civil society as a whole. The sound basis of such a liberal regulatory system is grounded then on the democratic triangle or balance and autonomous relationship between the state government and the free market as well as the society.

In a nutshell, liberalization is the key word in determining just how much of the capitalist *laissez faire* system can be retained and what can be substituted for it as a more just system or balanced autonomous relationship between the state, market, and society.

1.5. A Call to Change

The change in question is an intellectual as well as a moral conversion. It is an intellectual and moral making of a new human being in a new African society. This is the etymological or real meaning of education. For the term literally means *ex-ducere* (i.e., lead from). These are Latin terms meant to convey the idea of leading in a systematic way a human being from one state of life to another form of human existence. In our case, it is the intrapersonal transformation from dependence to independence of thought, action, and feeling. Education means ideally the creation or formation of a new human being in a new human community. In the process of the relevant social education and ethics, human beings are converted to different people altogether paving the way to new creation at large.

The ecclesial significance of the value-added or quality education for change is the desire of the Church to make its own the joys and sor-

rows of the Christian community. This ecclesial desire to teach and to identify itself with all nations is consistently expressed with a view to helping all people, especially the most vulnerable, to meet adequately both their material and spiritual needs.

The essence of African philosophy is in the above stated Christian social context well put in the adage: “I am because we are.”¹⁰⁸ Jean-Paul Sartre also thought: “The other makes me what I am.”¹⁰⁹ The above stated African philosophy of life viewed as an ethically relevant kinship relationship is aptly summed up in the words of wisdom: “*cognatus ergo sum*”¹¹⁰ (I am related or known to others, therefore I exist). This is meant as a corrective moral philosophy in the ethical terms of which the Cartesian individualistic dichotomy of mind and body or thought and action according to the well-known adage “*cogito ergo sum*” (I think, therefore I exist) is complemented.

In place of such a dichotomy of human reality as a self-enclosed thinking mind far removed from a sensuous body and other people as well as God, the African philosophy views humanity as an organic whole or stream of ancestral life. This conception of human reality conveys the social awareness of the common or divine origin and destiny of humanity: “I am because we are.”¹¹¹ The African philosophy is, in this way, a call to intellectual conversion from the Cartesian individualism of an independently existing or self-reflecting mind to the moral communitarianism of interpersonal relationship and the universal brotherhood or sisterhood of all men and women worldwide: “*cognatus ergo sum*” (I belong, therefore I exist).¹¹² In this way, the

108 J. Mbiti, African Religion and Philosophy, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 108.

109 J. P. Sartre, Existentialism and Humanism, (New York: Haskell House, 1977), p.45.

110 Pobe, Toward an African Theology, p. 49. See also Donders, Non-Bourgeois Theology, p. 6.

111 Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy, p. 108.

112 Pobe, Toward an African Theology, p. 49. See also Donders, Non-Bourgeois Theology, p. 6.

Cartesian dichotomy of body and mind,¹¹³ subsumed under the modern philosophical dictum, *cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I exist), is complemented by the African realism that the other makes me what I am: “*cognatus ergo sum*” (I am because we exist).¹¹⁴ As Paul VI said, every man is my brother.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the acting human persons are called to direct their conversion to be an opening to the material and spiritual needs of all people on earth regardless of creed, color, sex, talents, social and economic status. . . .” whatever you did for one of these brothers of mine, you did it for me.”(Mt 25:40).

Human beings are also called to direct their conversion to the integrity of creation through appropriate or a fair and ecologically sensitive relationship to nature. Another ethical way of respecting the divine-willed integral end of creation is by means of directing the goal of moral conversion to be a real attempt to share equitably the goods of the earth.¹¹⁶ In this way, the inculturated African ethics is a call to economic liberalism to direct the goal of its conversion to be a real concern with the global issues of distributive justice as an integral part of social justice.¹¹⁷ The inculturated African ethics is also a call to African traditional ethics to direct the goal of its conversion to pursue a more qualitative aspect of life and happiness beyond a mere physicalist reduction of ethical values. An example of such ethical physicalism would be having as many children as possible due to lack of knowledge of birth-control in human sexuality between couples. This lack of morally responsible knowledge of birth-control, such as the rhythm method or Billings fertility awareness, is practiced without due regard

113 Descartes, “Meditations on First Philosophy,” in Wambari, Readings in Introduction to Critical Thinking, p. 42.

114 Pobe, Toward an African Theology, p. 49. See also Donders, Non-Bourgeois Theology, p. 6.

115 PP 13 in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace, p. 226. See also OA 23.1 in Walsh and Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace, p. 255.

116 Rawls, A Theory of Justice, p. 4.

117 Rawls, A Theory of Justice, p. 57ff.

for the future education and well being of offspring. Such would be the goal of a relevant social education and ethics of integral human development in the light of social love.

Here we recall vividly, in this connection of the topic on responsible parenthood, how we conferred infant baptism for the first time after our ordination to the diaconate about twenty-eight years ago. There were several infants brought by their parents and sponsors as well as many relatives and friends. During the homily we reminded the parents that it is not enough to give birth to children or simply to be their biological fathers and mothers. It is necessary that the parents serve as moral guardians and spiritual teachers to their children. It is in this integral development of their children in mind, body, and soul that, in part, responsible parenthood in a Christian family consists. As George N. Shuster wrote “responsible parenthood . . . was taken to mean that the procreation of children does not of itself constitute a successful marriage. Emphasis must be placed with equal force for the education of children brought into the world.”¹¹⁸ Because of the catechetical mission of parents, John Paul II saw the Christian family as the first school of spiritual values and social virtues, such as justice and peace.¹¹⁹

In the known African context of the nation-state of Kenya, the best means of ensuring integral human development is the special promotion of the already well delineated consciousness of personal initiative or self-reliance (i.e., socialism as *harambee* or self-help through collective efforts)¹²⁰ as well as the civil action to take an active part in public affairs in the universal spirit of human solidarity (*Ujamaa*, i.e., oneness of humankind as a world-wide family of all men and women under the common Fatherhood of God).¹²¹

118 Shuster, “Introduction in Donald N. Barrett (ed.) The Problem of Population, Vol. I (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), p. vii.

119 John Paul II, Familiaris Consortio, 37, p.56.

120 Kenyatta, Harambee!, p. 6.

121 Nyerere, Freedom and Development. p. 70.

1.6. Local Roman Catholic Contribution and Kenya Episcopal Conference

As the Epistle of James tells us, what leads us to such social evils as tribalism are the inordinate desires we harbor in our hearts against our brothers and sisters,¹²² i.e., being led by emotions and passions instead of reason and critical thinking. African believers must guard against tribal slurs belittling their fellow worshipers simply because they happen to belong to a different ethnic community. For instance, a local politician was referring negatively to the Luo tribe as being as black as the cooking pot (*nyungu*). The African Church should learn how to implement the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council concerning its prophetic role to rise above the ordinary affairs of the civil government in a clear separation of the Church and state. In a genuine prophetic spirit, the African Church is called to serve as a true conscience of the nation-state, in particular, and the civil society, at large. Pope Benedict XVI has clearly indicated how the Church can truly serve as the conscience of the nation.¹²³ However, most of the time, the African Church leadership appears compromised by the civil government, and especially when the African political leaders in question hail from the same ethnic community. Then the words of the Fathers of the third synod in 1971 are right in saying that those who dare to preach social justice must be prepared to practice strict justice in their own lifestyles.¹²⁴

The above stated unfair compromise between the Church and

122 Jas. 4: 1-10. Emotions are spontaneous feelings or reactions to a person or an event. Examples of feelings are joy and sadness as well as love and hatred. Feelings are value-neutral. That means they are neither good nor bad. If they are well ordered some emotions can be conducive to good actions. If feelings are not well ordered they can lead to bad actions. In sum, it is not necessarily bad to be guided by emotions, which underlie value-neutral feelings.

123 Benedict XVI, *Deus Caritas Est* 28 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2006), p. 34

124 JW 40, in Walsh and Davies, *Proclaiming Justice and Peace*, p. 277.

state actually happened in Kenya when the first Constitutional Minister and pro-Western liberal politician, Tom Mboya, was assassinated in 1969. An imminent civil strife was only forestalled when an illegal taking of a secret oath was tolerated by the civil state. The illegal oath was a concoction of raw meat and blood drinking, which a person called a curse upon him if he did not do everything he could to protect the national flag or the presidency from being taken over to other parts of the country. That means that the top- most leadership of the country should only and always be confined within the Mount Kenya region. This is the region where the tribes taking the oath of allegiance reside.

The overall immoral aim of the oath was then to bring together some tribes against others. Some prominent and well connected members of the local clergy saw absolutely nothing wrong with the formation of a brotherhood of kith and kin. That the illegal oath was made solely to arouse hatred against the perceived non-brothers belonging to other tribes did not bother them either. Through the swift action of such leadership as shown by the late Archbishop of Nairobi Cardinal M. Otunga, a Pastoral Letter from the entire Episcopal Conference was issued condemning the immorality of illegal oath-taking. The Jesuit social theologian and author of the Conscience of the Society remarked about the mysterious circumstances leading to the assassination of Mboya in connection with the second Pastoral Letter, Independence and Peace (1973), by the Catholic bishops of Kenya:

The insistence on peace is not only based on “recent world events” that are not specified in the letter (see No. 9), but also reflects a political tension that was growing in the country among political leaders. Tom Mboya, co-founder of KANU (Kenya African National Union), the former ruling party and its first chairman when the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was still in prison, had presented himself as a powerful political figure. In 1965, he presented his famous Sessional Paper on African Socialism. For a country member of the commonwealth contrasting with the majority of African socialist countries, this Sessional Paper was something so new that some saw in it a real threat. The fact is that Tom Mboya was mysteriously assassinated in a street of Nai-

robi in 1969. Though his murder was perceived by some as a political murder with blessing “from above”, it was also interpreted by others as tribal murder, since Tom Mboya was not a member of the Kikuyu tribe.¹²⁵

As we have already indicated, the assassination of the prominent politician forestalled a tribal civil strife that was assuaged in part by the Kenya Episcopal Conference. In a similar conciliatory role, Pope John Paul II thanked the national conference for its active part in resolving the tribal clashes during their *Ad Limina* visit to Rome on April 23, 1994: “In your pastoral letters and related statements you have spoken of the challenge facing your people with a courage and forthrightness that express your genuine love for Kenya and your concern for all its citizens. You have pointed out the evil of fomenting ethnic divisions for selfish purposes.”¹²⁶

The ecclesial act of Episcopal collegiality in post-independence Kenya in response to national issues of social economic and political as well as religious significance goes back to the tenth commemoration of the birth of the nation-state on December 8, 1973. In their Pastoral Letter on Independence and Peace, the bishops of Kenya addressed the social issue of the challenges to peace. They indicated how peace was being threatened by the emerging capitalistic greed and lack of social economic justice in the current unfair distribution of wealth.

When the social economic and political injustices are the undesirable outcome of selfish Church worshippers, the credibility of our Christian faith and witness is at stake. It is with their faith-commitment that Christians are called to grow in their everyday holiness in whatever God invites them to do out of love to their fellow brothers and sisters as a living witness of their selfless service to Christ. In the aforementioned tribal clashes in the year 1992, the local Bishop of the areas most affected by the fighting in Nakuru Diocese made daring

125 Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 29.

126 Ibid.

or life-threatening pastoral visits to the front line of the battle zone accompanied by other native priests. They brought the good news in the words of Vatican Council II that the Church wanted to make its own the sorrows of its afflicted people.¹²⁷ The clergymen also donated provisions from all men and women of goodwill in the Diocese. Elsewhere the message to show human solidarity with the victims of the politically instigated and state-managed ethnic cleansing was the same. It is such good news made manifest or visible by social action on behalf of the afflicted and to the poor that gives a conspicuous faith-expression to the words of Jesus that “whatever you did to the least of my brothers that you did it to me.”(Mt 25.40). The spirit-filled and relief-giving message to the marginalized and suffering in most need of the words of faith, hope, and love give witness to the gospel message of Jesus. Only in this way of social love and human solidarity or *harambee* (i.e., separate-togetherness) would lasting world peace be established. As the Kenya Episcopal Conference declared:

But peace, as recent world events remind us vividly, is a frail and fragile possession. So much in us and about us conspires against peace and unity. Progress would be destroyed by greed for power and unfair sharing of the wealth of the country. The forces of discord that unleash themselves in the bloodshed and destruction of war (in such sad and largely unpublicized wars, genocide, and fratricide as have taken a terrible toll of human life even in our beloved Africa in recent years) are hidden in every human heart. Too often they surface, to the great distress of others, in the frequently lamented evils of exploitation, tribalism, nepotism, injustice in all its sordid and selfish guises. Then, indeed, the Christian witness to which we are all pledged is muted and reversed by behavior that our forefather-yet unaware of the Gospel and its challenge-would never have tolerated.¹²⁸

127 “Gaudium et Spes” 1, in A. Flannery, Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents (North Port, New York: Costello Pub. Co., 1975), p.903. The document Gaudium et Spes will be given by the initials GS followed by the paragraph and page numbers.

128 KEC “Independence and Peace, Pastoral Letter of the Tenth Anniversary of Independence, December 18, 1973,” in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 34.

According to the bishops of Kenya, the sad circumstances leading to genocide and fratricide in Africa today included as we have indicated,¹²⁹ the tragic finale with which Constitutional Affairs Minister Tom Mboya was assassinated in 1969. His politically connected and tribally motivated assassination after barely five years of independence did not augur well for the future of the African nation. As Mwangi said about the bleak African future, “In many ways, Kenya is a microcosm of a continent where events have conspired against progress, where the future remains a hostage of the past.”¹³⁰ Indeed, other state-connived assassinations of Christian-thinking and development-minded politicians included the popular Member of Parliament J. M. Kariuki. He was bodily mutilated prior to his execution with his body

If proper freedom is viewed, for instance, in the USA as rampant individualism, then it may be possible to understand how the widespread secularity or practical atheism in the modern world is also a threat to Christian civilization. As Ronald Rolheiser puts it in his book Secularity and the Gospel, p. 27, “Nurtured in a culture that was born largely of a Judeo-Christian womb, many stand at the edge of their religious heritage, hypercritical about the religious family they have been born into, and convinced that their Christian roots are what stand between them and proper freedom, achievement, and enjoyment*.” *(The underlining is mine). Along with rampant individualism as well as greed in liberal capitalistic societies, the real threat to a belief in God in Western nation-states like the USA is practical atheism or living as if God did not exist. As Paul VI said in his encyclical letter On the Development of Peoples 47,p. 22there is not anything intrinsically incompatible between the materialist capitalism and belief in God On the Development of Peoples 47, p. 22, “Not that material prosperity of itself precludes the activity of the human spirit. On the contrary, the human spirit, increasingly free of its bondage to creatures, can be more easily drawn to the worship and contemplation of the creator. However, modern civilization itself often complicates the approach to God, not for any essential reason, but because it is excessively engrossed in earthly affairs”. Similarly, such a widespread materialistic greed has engendered unprecedented political economic corruption and moral degradation, which are a socio-cultural matter of a real pastoral and religious concern in Kenya as the Bishops of Kenya lament in their above stated pastoral letter.

129 KEC “Independence and Peace, Pastoral Letter of the Tenth Anniversary of Independence, December 18, 1973,” in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 34.

130 Mwangi, The Meaning, Causes and Solutions of Poverty, p. 260.

thrown to the hyenas of Ngong Hills in the vicinity of Nairobi in 1975. The animals would not feast on the corpse because of chemical mixtures poured on his face to disfigure it.

The malaise with political leadership in the African nation of Kenya reached its peak moment on August 1, 1982. On the night of the fateful day, a *coup d'état* was successfully staged by young soldiers inspired by disgruntled politicians. However, the senior cadre re-staged a hit back that sent all the inexperienced young soldiers fleeing for their lives. As vice president under the aging and ailing head of state, Moi faced stiff opposition from some of his fellow cabinet ministers. The disgruntled politicians and notably the government ministers of state and defense, Koinange and Mungai, mounted a spirited campaign against Moi's succession of Kenyatta. The constitution of Kenya stipulated that the vice president automatically succeeds a deceased head of state for an interim period of ninety days. Thereafter, a general election of a new president takes place.

On the night Kenyatta died, i.e., August 20, 1978, road blocks were mounted in Nakuru, the rural town of Moi, by paramilitary police in order to intercept the vice president and prevent him from proceeding to the Presidential State House in Nairobi. He was alerted about the plot and took what the *de jure* president used to call *panya* route (i.e. literally, a rat's escape route or shortcut from a dangerous chasing wildcat). Only in this cunning way was Moi able to find secretly his way back to the state house. He consolidated his grip of power during the interim period such that he was elected the president of the Republic of Kenya on October 10, 1978. His enemies never relented although not publicly or in an open manner. The common whisper among the majority of people in Kenya especially from the Mount Kenya region was "*no itu rirahituka*" (i.e., Moi is just a passing cloud soon to be no more!). But the cloud did not pass. Ever since crashing the military uprising on August 1, 1982, Moi held onto power in a ruthless way for almost a quarter of a century.

The second president of Kenya was referred to by one of his opponents, Oginga Odinga, as a long-necked giraffe. For five years Moi kept a farsighted eye on his potential enemies and any ambitious politicians, such as his own constitutional affairs minister, Charles Njonjo. The minister was instrumental to Moi's succession to the throne in Kenya. In his self-appraisal as a king-maker, he fell gradually out of favor with the president. The moment to act against the surmounting opposition to President Moi reached its peak moment in the aftermath of the attempted *coup d'état*, on August 1, 1992. It is then that he not only crushed the military youth that meant to assassinate him but also purged his government of all suspected or disgruntled elements, such as his constitutional affairs minister, Njonjo. It is for the above stated historical facts that the malaise with Moi's political leadership reached peak moments in August, 1982. Eventually he declared Kenya a *de iure* one-party state without any legal form of opposition parties. When the opposition parties were outlawed after the failed military uprising, the long period of political stalemate endured over twenty years. The political call then was to dance to the tune of the president or otherwise perish.

A month after the tragic events of the attempted assassination of the president of Kenya, the National Episcopal Conference issued a pastoral letter. In the pastoral letter from the bishops to the Catholic faithful in Kenya, In Respect of the Events of August 1, 1982, the Church shepherds lamented the loss of life and destruction of private property on the tragic night and following day.¹³¹ In the spirit of Pope Paul VI's Allocutio (1967) to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See, the bishops decried the recourse to violence as a solution to social economic and political injustices.¹³² The reason for both the

131 KEC, "In Respect of the Events of August 1, 1982", 13, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 57. References to the text In Respect of the Events of August 1, 1982, will be given by the initials REA. See also Utz, Die Katholische Sozialdoktrin, p. 124ff.

132 REA 18, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 59.

pastoral letter and papal address in decrying recourse to violence as a legitimate means to solve structural injustice was the risk of greater evil following such a recourse to violence. To settle disputes concerning the lack of social justice, for instance, in a particular nation-state in a peaceful manner, the bishops indicated the best way of leading people away from the temptation of violent conflict resolution tactics in a chapter in their above stated pastoral letter entitled, “Justice for All: there cannot be peace without justice.”¹³³

Besides social justice, according to the Kenya Episcopal Conference, another important element of social harmony and world peace is an ethically well inculturated concept of universal brotherhood or human solidarity in the local context of African socialism. That is to say, another important element of social harmony and world peace is an ethically well inculturated concept and practice of African socialism “in consonance with African traditional values.”¹³⁴ According to the African traditional heritage, there are three values or roots, i.e., fundamental conditions for lasting peace and integral development in Kenya: “democracy, religiousness and justice.”¹³⁵ In view of the social teaching of the Kenya Episcopal Conference, the roots of our African way of life also develop into the spirit of love, peace, and unity and are reflected in the first verse of the Kenyan National Anthem (i.e., “may we dwell in unity, peace and liberty, plenty be found within our borders”).¹³⁶ In sum, the concrete meaning and particular purpose of these traditional values underlying the social virtues of democracy, religiousness, and justice, as Benedict XVI has taught, are to connect our Christian faith on an everyday basis with social justice. This justice is the fullness of love or charitable works of mercy to the needy in our midst both in the Church and civil society at large.¹³⁷ Although

133 REA 19, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 59.

134 REA 15, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 58.

135 REA 18, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 59.

136 REA 17, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 58.

137 Benedict XVI, Deus Caritas Est 28, p. 28ff.

the traditional African values of democracy, religiousness, and justice upon which African socialism is ideally thought to be based cannot be found to be the case specifically in the particular African context under consideration in this study, in our view, they may still be viewed as desirable or worthwhile aspirations or moral benchmarks of the “Kenya we want.”¹³⁸ These ethical standards may not be attained as such. Yet they underlie in an important sense, for example, the moral value of non-violence as an effective means to lasting social justice and public peace.¹³⁹ It is undeniable that these social values are conducive to tenable democracy or the active participation of all citizens in public affairs for *salus populi* (i.e., concrete social well being of the people).

Ostensibly, the pastoral letter in 1982, by the members of the Kenya Episcopal Conference, on justice and social harmony as the indispensable means to national peace against any form of recourse to violence for removing structural injustices may then be comparable to Pope Paul VI’s *Allocutio* or Address to the Diplomatic Corps in 1967 on the same issue.¹⁴⁰ Both the pastoral letter and the *Allocutio* warn us against the recourse to violence following the ethical motive or moral argument based on the value-judgment of a lesser evil.

According to the bishops of Kenya and Pope Paul VI, history is replete with examples of the greater misery following a hasty recourse to violence as a messianic way to even out class barriers. One of the major reasons in favor of a strategic tolerance of a lesser evil to avoid greater evil lies, according to Paul VI, in the historical fact that “*la violence, une fois dechainée, se contrôle difficilement. . .*”¹⁴¹ That means, once violence breaks out, it is ordinarily difficult to prevent the disturbance from spreading more suffering and more injustice, which are detrimental to people’s

138 The Theme of Civil Education in Kenya in 1970s.

139 Paul VI, “Allocutio: Address to Diplomatic Corps, 7 January 1976,” in Utz, *Die Katholische Sozialdoktrin, in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Aachen: Scientia Humana, 1976) pp. 124-131

140 Ibid.

141 Paul VI, “Allocutio,” Utz, *Die Katholische Sozialdoktrin*, pp. 124-131.

welfare and destructive of social structures. According to the bishops of Kenya and Paul VI, the best way to win peace effectively is to work for development so that by way of the material well being of all people, social harmony and justice may prevail.¹⁴² Against any apparent view of the apostolic advocacy of non-violent means to overcome structural injustices as mere rhetoric, Pope Paul VI is quick to respond. In doing so he points out that there is no question here of cowardice or recourse to rhetoric, i.e., mere talk and resignation to evil: “we want to be clearly understood: the present situation must be faced with courage and the injustices linked with it must be fought against and overcome.”¹⁴³ It is all a question of clear thinking or moral understanding in terms of storable goals and the realistic means to achieve them. History is replete with clear examples of non-violent means of the most far reaching revolutions, such as the recent fall of the Berlin Wall: “development demands bold transformations, innovations that go deep. Urgent reforms should be undertaken without delay.”¹⁴⁴

It is in the same vein that members of the Kenya Episcopal Conference warned the trigger-happy young soldiers behind the failed *coup d’etat* in 1982, in particular, and the populace in Kenya, in general, that the best way to overcome structural injustices and acquire lasting peace is not having recourse to violence. The best way to overcome structural injustices is working cooperatively for that integral development in which, according to Pope Paul VI, all of us are indispensable protagonists: “it is for each one of us to take our share in them with generosity, particularly those with education, position and opportunities afford the inside scope for action. May they show an example and give of their own possessions. . . In doing so, they will live up to people’s expectations and be fulfilled with the spirit of God, since it is “ferment of the Gospel which has aroused and continues to arouse in our hearts the irresistible requirement of our dignity!”¹⁴⁵

142 PP 32, The Social Teaching of the Church Series, 6, p. 17.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 PP 32, The Social Teaching of the Church Series,6, p. 17.

In summation, we contend that the three known African roots of complete human growth or integral development, i.e., democracy, religiousness, and justice, are a moral challenge, in the first place, to help the African person to meet his or her basic human need for actualization and expression of his or her fundamental human right to take an active part in politics and public affairs: “Participation in political authority and government took many forms in Africa. In each tribe every individual had a way of being heard or listened to.”¹⁴⁶ The second known root of complete African growth as a human being in a community of others, i.e., religiousness, empowers the African man or woman to enjoy his or her fundamental human right to religious liberty in order to render his or her duty to God and neighbor. This need to render duty to God and neighbor should be not only unhindered but looked favorably upon in doing so by the divine-willed political authority in an African context.¹⁴⁷

While, on the one hand, leaders were considered to represent the people, on the other hand, they were also considered to represent God, in so far as he had delegated to them the political authority that they exercised. They had a responsibility to God and to people. The value of such beliefs directed both leaders and their people to fulfill their duties for the common good. We concur with the social teaching of the Kenya Episcopal Conference that such life-enhancing and community-minded traditional African values are relevant and fundamental

146 Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 29.

147 DH 6, in Flannery, Vatican Council II, p. 803. As the Roman saying goes, according to the African traditional heritage, *vox populi vox dei*, which means voice of the people is the voice of God. The liberal idea of government by the consensus of the governed would entail in an African context, for instance, that any self-imposed leader such as military dictator would not be from God. This is because he would be ruling with force against the will of the people. But this is not to speak positively of divinely willed politicians over and above the consent of the governed, which is one of the main things that liberalism and modernism rooted out.

elements of authentic integral development in an African context of the common good and social justice.

The third known root of integral human development in an African context, i.e., social justice, facilitates the Christian vision of equity according to African socialism. According to the traditional African belief, justice entails mutual concern in a fundamental equality of all before God and in the eyes of society: “Religion demands from all of us to be just in every way, whatever our situation or role in our Kenyan nation. God will then give us the blessing we pray for when we sing in our anthem: may we dwell in unity, peace and liberty, plenty be found within our borders.”¹⁴⁸

Here we make the clarification that the concept of African socialism, according to the traditional African worldview of equality of human dignity, is not identical to the applied concept of African socialism as a concrete program of action. Such a program or social manifesto came to be known as scientific, i.e., real socialism in the former Soviet Union and China. This brand of scientific socialism influenced the thinking behind what came to be popularly known as *Ujamaa*. African socialism as it applied in Tanzania was in the concrete or form of *kumi kumi* (i.e., ten by ten) or common life in working villages. The basic unit or cell of the life in common was ten families or homesteads under a popularly elected headman. This emerging leader was chosen by the local people for the purposes of division of labor and social organization. We understand the general concept of African socialism as the members of the Kenya Episcopal Conference do in view of a basic or God given equality of human dignity (*Utu*). We contend that this equality calls for a fair distribution of social goods, e.g., income and wealth of a nation.

Last, but not least, for the purposes of this study, we will cite the encyclical letters and Episcopal messages related to the Kenyan bishops’ reaction to the politically instigated and tribally motivated ethnic

148 REA 17, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 58.

clashes prior to the general elections of members of parliament on December 29, 1992. The first of these series of pastoral letters and related messages was issued on January 6, 1992, heralding the new era of the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya. This was to mark the first general election under the politics of a multiparty system since the country became a *de facto* one-party state just after one year of its political independence in 1964. It was a historical moment for the country. It was for that reason the Jesuit scholar and pastoral theologian R. Mejia could indeed say, “the year 1992 was an especially productive year for the pastoral teaching of the Bishops of Kenya. They wrote four letters, two press releases and one ecumenical memorandum to the President in union with other Christian Churches. The reason for this productivity is that the year 1992 has probably been the most critical year for Kenya since its independence.”¹⁴⁹ With the ushering in of constitutional democracy and political pluralism by force from international pressures, the establishment felt scared. It took recourse to divisive politics and instigated the ethnic clashes to destabilize the country along tribal lines.

In the ensuing social disintegration the civil government could strengthen its hold on the developing nation-state: *divide et impera*. As the Jesuit social analyst again concluded, “the government accused the opposition of being behind the clashes, but evidence showed that it was rather members of the government and political leaders of the ruling party who were organizing them with the collaboration, at least passive, of the armed forces.”¹⁵⁰ That was what emerged from the inquiry made by the NCKC (i.e., National Christian Council of Kenya) and also from the report of the presidential commission appointed to inquire about the clashes. It was then a year of mixed feelings and tension as well as moral suspense as the bishops critically assessed the past perpetration of structural injustice. The bishops indicated their critical social analysis against this historical background of the un-

149 Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 117.

150 Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p.117.

derdevelopment of the nation-state in the light of the new hope for better things to come with the re-introduction of competitive politics. Indeed, the aim of multiparty politics, as it was imposed by the Western governments through their financial institutions, such as the World Bank and IMF as well as the latter's ESAP (Economic Structural Adjustment Program), was the achievement of a better quality of life or higher standard of living in the long-term. As the bishops say in their initial pastoral letter of January 6, 1992, looking toward the future with hope, "A new era is starting in our country with the amendment of section 2A of the Kenya constitution . . . making Kenya a *de jure* multi-party state."¹⁵¹

This new found hope is in contrast to the past experience of a generalized corruption and political manipulation of the judiciary system. The Bishops' pastoral letter in 1992 was like a prophetic warning that went unheeded. With the constitutional overthrow of the old corrupt regime and its structural injustices, at the end of the year 2002, the first agenda in the new government was the fight against the generalized corruption in the civil government, in general, and the judiciary, in particular. An anti-corruption unit in the police force and civil government was instituted. The unit was geared toward the zero tolerance of corrupt practices in a heightened moral awareness of the general population in Kenya. It was also at the center of the prosecution of suspected prominent business people and civil servants involved in corrupt deals to steal money from public coffers. Such was the case, for instance, with the public inquiry into the Goldenberg scandal.¹⁵²

151 KEC, "Looking Towards the Future with Hope, Pastoral Letter of 6 January 1992," 1, in Meija, The Conscience of Society, p. 121. References to the text Looking towards the Future with Hope, will be given by the initials LFH.

152 The Goldenberg scandal was a fraud by high-ranking corrupt civil servants in collusion with unscrupulous prominent businessmen to steal over \$500 million from the public coffers. As the judicial inquiry into the Goldenberg Affair was on February 24, 2004, constituted and mandated to settle, according to the Daily Nation Newspaper, Friday, December 2, 2003, p. 12: "allegations of irregular pay-

The unit of inquiry also sent the majority of the high court judges and law court magistrates packing to go home because of their corrupt execution of justice in the past regime. It is a time for moral reckoning and social reconstruction in Kenya. The prophetic call of the Church as the moral conscience of the civil society went unheeded in 1992 long before the prosecution of alleged culprits in 2002 for social evils denounced a decade earlier by the bishops of Kenya. As we have already indicated, the prophetic warning of the bishops of Kenya in 1992¹⁵³ is the fundamental sense in which the Church can be truly said to be the conscience of society, according to Pope Benedict XVI.¹⁵⁴ The bishops lamented, among other injustices, the rampant structural injustices:

Respect for human rights is not reserved for any particular system of government but must be observed by all governments, Kenya is a signatory of the universal charter of Human Rights. However, complaints of the abuse of human rights in our country have been raised in the recent past at both national and international levels, and it would be wrong to ignore these.¹⁵⁵

In concrete terms, the bishops refer to certain misappropriation of political powers with references to, “Freedom of expression, association and movement for some has been notoriously restricted. There

ment of million of shillings in export compensation to Goldenberg International and associated companies in the early 1990s. It is investigating whether any gold and diamond jewelry was processed through customs as required, whether any export remittances were made to C.P.K. (Central Bank of Kenya) and if so, how much. It is also investigating how the government accepted and implemented a proposal to award export compensation for gold and diamond jewelry under the local Manufactures Compensation Act.”

In its conclusive report the inquiry implicated important government ministers and high-ranking civil servants as well as prominent businessmen in acts of fraud punishable by law. However, because of the prevailing culture of impunity the accused were never charged or tried in a court of law.

153 LFH5, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 123.

154 Benedict XVI, Deus Caritas Est 28, p. 35.

155 LFH 5, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 123.

should be no reason to forbid Kenyan citizens to meet after 6 p.m. and to restrict their meetings to fewer than 10 people. Also any form of political dissent has been considered as subversive and seditious and as a personal attack on those in authority.”¹⁵⁶ A practical example of misapplication of political power by the members of parliament can be found in the excessive or selfish increment of their huge salaries and traveling allowances in 2002 and 2006. They voted for themselves¹⁵⁷ the huge salaries with fringe benefits while denying minimal salary increment to civil servants and the working Kenyan population at large. They have declined to pay taxes as the rest of the citizens honor the legal obligation in Kenya.

As the first president of the Republic of Kenya is reputed to have told AMECEA (i.e., Association of Members of Episcopal Conference of Eastern Africa) bishops at their Plenary Meeting in July 1976, in Nairobi: “The Church is the conscience of the society, and today society needs a conscience. Do not be afraid to speak.”¹⁵⁸ In speaking out against various structural injustices and criticizing the misappropriation of political powers, the Church indicates that it is a conscience of the society.

In the concluding part of this study, we will raise two concerns or outstanding questions for further research from the above quoted prophetic words of Mzee (i.e., elder) Kenyatta, the founding father of the nation-state of Kenya. The first of these would be to wonder how such visionary leaders came to succumb to the temptation to turn a blind eye to political machinations avowedly directed toward the murderous elimination of their life-long colleagues. The response of the local Church in Kenya is that it is not enough to point accusing fingers against anyone from the personal perspective of individual sin. It is

156 Ibid.

157 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Kenya/story/O,,1761332,00.html>, p.1.

158 KEC, “*Family and Responsible Parenthood*,” Pastoral Letter of Bishops of Kenya, 27 April 1979, 42, in Mejia, *The Conscience of Society*, p. 50.

more necessary to understand such issues from the objective viewpoint of the prevalent structural injustices. According to the social teachings of the Kenya Episcopal Conference, these are, in the first place, suggestive of or conducive to individual sin and the consequent collective guilt of people as a whole. This is the social dimension of sin.¹⁵⁹ How sinful structural injustices are in their conducive allurements to individual sin may be illustrated from the moral viewpoint of basic lack of social justice in a nation state. The notorious case of systematic deprivation of an entire people or race from enjoying their God-given ownership of social goods, such as income, wealth, and prosperity, in the former apartheid or racist South Africa of apartheid is a practical example of how sinful the underlying structural injustices could be.¹⁶⁰ Sartre depicted figuratively the escapist and appeasing moral viewpoint of individual sin on the part of a die-hard conformist or defender of such a systematic oppression of man by fellow man: “it is only human,”¹⁶¹ i.e., it is what everyone does.

The aforementioned confusion of the objective public realm with the subjective meaning of the perceived character assassination on the part of many African leaders opposed to any kind of criticism is simply misplaced. That means, according to the bishops of Kenya, the constructive criticism is mistakenly seen as an affront to one’s personal interests: “also any form of political dissent has been considered as a personal attack on those in authority.”¹⁶² As we have already mentioned, W. McGurn regrets such a confusion as it “is particularly regrettable in that it is actually a misapplication of personal criteria to

159 Anthony J. Tambasco is a theologian who defines social sin, for instance, as “sinful economic structures [which] are not always eliminated by conversion of individuals”, in “Option for the Poor,” R. Bruce Douglas, The Deeper Meaning of Economic Life: Critical Essays on U.S. Catholic Bishops’ Pastoral Letter on Economy (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1980); 47ff.

160 Leslie Witz, Apartheid’s Festival: Contesting South Africa’s National Pasts, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 1ff.

161 Sartre, Existentialism and Humanism, p. 45.

162 LFH 6, in Mejia, The Conscience of Society, p. 123.

the public sphere.”¹⁶³ Paradoxically, this misapplication of personal criteria to the public sphere seems to also be recently infiltrating into the ways of thinking and doing things in the Episcopal hierarchy in Kenya.

In the present socio-cultural context the phrase “misapplication of personal criteria to the public sphere” refers to the patronizing way the male head of an African family was the unquestionable authority before whom every member of the household must be fearful or respectful if they expected to benefit from his largess within the traditional African society. Similarly, some modern dictatorial African heads of state have tended to carry over such a baggage of traditional African family ethos to the public sphere of their political authority. That means that every one must be obedient without question to such an authority if one wants to survive in post colonial Africa. This paternalistic method of punishment and reward to subdue adults down to the level of docile children is what is meant by the phrase “misapplication of personal criteria to the public sphere.”

The bishops were instrumental in the change from the old regime to the new civil government. One of the election pledges that the then opposition parties made during their united political campaigns was to spearhead a people-driven constitutional review on forming the new civil government of Kenya. One of the main objectives of the constitutional review was to divest the office of the president of the draconian powers it had used to assassinate political opponents at random as well as instigate the tribal clashes at the president’s own pleasure. He is himself above the law of the land. However, since the new government came into power, it has been reluctant to relinquish some of the excessive powers. A national reconciliation committee headed by a Catholic bishop proposed the *status quo* or preservation of the dreaded draconian presidential powers. It had astonishingly recommended the previous constitutional agreements sanctioning the draconian powers to last

163 McGurn, SRS, in Weigel, A Century of Catholic Social Thought, p. 172.

up to the year 2012 to coincide with the office of the present president, who is a Catholic. The proposal to retain the draconian presidential powers in the newly proposed constitution was categorically rejected by the majority of the national delegates in the forum for constitutional review. The conservative proposal to ignore the past systematic abuses of the draconian presidential powers in the new draft constitution was overwhelmingly defeated in a national referendum.

In our view, if the Church in Kenya does not learn to respect the majority popular opinion, and let the people alone and free to decide on the future of the Kenya they want, it would appear to many observers that the country may inevitably be headed for troubled times as have many of the neighboring countries in Eastern Africa. They erred with the constitutional review process in their countries to their own detriment. As one experienced local journalist, Onyango – Obbibo, assessed the fateful situation from an observer’s point of view:

Non-Kenyans reading the heated arguments and abuses that have marked the constitution-making process will be forgiven for asking: “why did it happen?” Does it mean that Kenya, even after the dramatic victory of the NARC (National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition) in December 2002, has failed to capitalize on its promising future? And is it sliding back into a “typical African basket case?”¹⁶⁴

With reference to clear examples of manipulated constitutional review processes in various parts of Africa, the previously cited journalist illustrated how Africa is about to lose credibility in the eyes of the outside world:

But to understand “why” there was tension over the new constitution, we must examine what happened during the “second democracy movement” in Africa whose first wave first swept around 1985. With the rare exception of Mr. Abdoulaye Wade’s victory in Senegal, most political developments after the defeat of the old dictatorships or authoritarian parties have neither moved in a straight line nor in progressive order. In Zambia, for example, after the great “democrat”

164 Daily Nation Newspaper, Thursday, January 22, 2006, p. 8.

Fredrick Chiluba defeated President Kenneth Kaunda, he turned into a more corrupt and repressive leader than Mr. Kaunda had been. He suppressed the press and stooped even lower when he stripped Mr. Kaunda of his citizenship. He was only ousted by his movement for Multiparty Democracy when he tried to change the constitution and give himself a third-term or to succeed himself as they say. The cruel rule of Dr. Kamuzu Banda in Malawi was ended by Mr. Bakili Muluzi. But Mr. Muluzi has elevated politics of patronage to dizzying heights. He even attempted to scrap the limits to his term so as to perpetuate himself in office. He only gave up the attempt after his United Democratic Front Party rebelled. In Uganda, the government of rebel leader Yoweri Museveni made tremendous achievements in nearly all sectors. But it lost great opportunities by imposing a virtual one party state over the country.¹⁶⁵

In summation, the journalist inferred correctly, in our view, that the Kenyan population voted the way it did in reducing the powers of the presidency in the constitutional draft because of their vivid historical consciousness of the extent they were abused during the dictatorial reigns of the former two heads of state. As such, the sovereign will of the people should be respected even by the Church hierarchy: “clearly, the vote against a powerful presidency at Bomas was inspired by the reality of the iron-fisted rule of the Moi and Kenyatta regimes.”¹⁶⁶

1.7. Conclusion

The starting point of this chapter was a succinct geopolitical and historical background of the socio-cultural context of underdevelopment in Kenya. This underdevelopment was identified as generalized poverty owing in part to retrogressive tribalism and political corruption. It persists to the detriment of the social economic stability and public peace in the nation-state. The local Roman Catholic contribution in overcoming the neo-colonial tribalism and political corruption was then considered *sub aspectu moralitatis*. That means that the contribution was evaluated from the religious and ethical or moral theo-

165 Daily Nation Newspaper, Thursday, January 22, 2006, p. 8.

166 Ibid.

logical critique of the emerging capitalistic greed in the civil society in Kenya. This greed or excessive desire for material gain was seen by the Kenya Episcopal Conference as a social menace to public peace. It is also conducive to the prevalent unfair distribution of wealth in the nation-state.

The local Roman Catholic contribution consists then in the role of the Church serving as a conscience of the nation. It entails the gospel mandate of the universal Church to teach all nations (Mt 28:19). The parts-whole relationship between the local Roman contribution and the universal social teaching of the Church underlies the intrinsic connection between the present chapter and the next as well as the subsequent chapters. They are focused on the holistic understanding of human development as integral development on the local or national level in chapter one, in the first place, and at the worldwide scale or international level in chapter two and the subsequent chapters in the second place.

As Paul VI affirmed in Octogesima Adveniens the nature and scope of encyclical letters as well as papal documents are general and universal in their orientation and meaning. The local Churches are then expected to apply them variously according to the particular circumstances and felt needs.¹⁶⁷ These needs are, in present context of underdevelopment, neo-colonial tribalism as well as political corruption. They are aspects of bad governance in Kenya today. Hence, they call for a remedy which will be definitely considered in the concluding chapter of the present study. This remedy will be proposed in the socio-cultural and politico-economic form of constructive dialogue or socio-cultural encounter between the success-oriented liberalism and the communitarian African socialism in the light of the recent social teaching of the Church.

The above named local Roman contribution was then seen as

167 On New Social Problems: Octogesima Adveniens 4, Social Teaching of the Church 7 (Nairobi: St. Paul Publications, 1971), p. 7

a challenge to demonstrate how the breach of peace and the lack of social harmony engender politico-economic injustices in Kenya. According to the Kenya Episcopal Conference, the religious significance of such injustices is seen clearly where the malpractices of injustice are the adverse effects of biased Church worshippers, i.e., ethnic tribalism and generalized corruption are also practiced by some active members of the Church. In this connection, the logical relationship between the present chapter and the next as well as subsequent chapters can also be appreciated. According to the latter teaching, the mainstay of peace is working for development and practicing social justice.¹⁶⁸ That is to say, to advocate social justice the Church itself is called to practice strict justice within its own ranks and in its relationship to the world at large.¹⁶⁹ This moral argument is the common religious grounding of the present chapter and the next as well as the subsequent chapters.

168 Pope Paul VI, On the Development of Peoples: Populorum Progressio 87, Social Teaching of the Church 6 (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 1990), p.39. References to the encyclical Populorum Progressio will be given by the initials PP followed by the paragraph and page numbers. See also PP 32, p.18.

169 Third Synod of Bishops, "Justice in the World" in Michael Walsh and Brian Davies, Proclaiming Justice and Peace: Documents from John XXXIII- John Paul II 40 (Mystic, CT: Twenty Third Publications, 1985), p. 197. References to the document Justice in the World will be given by the initials JW followed by the paragraph and page numbers.