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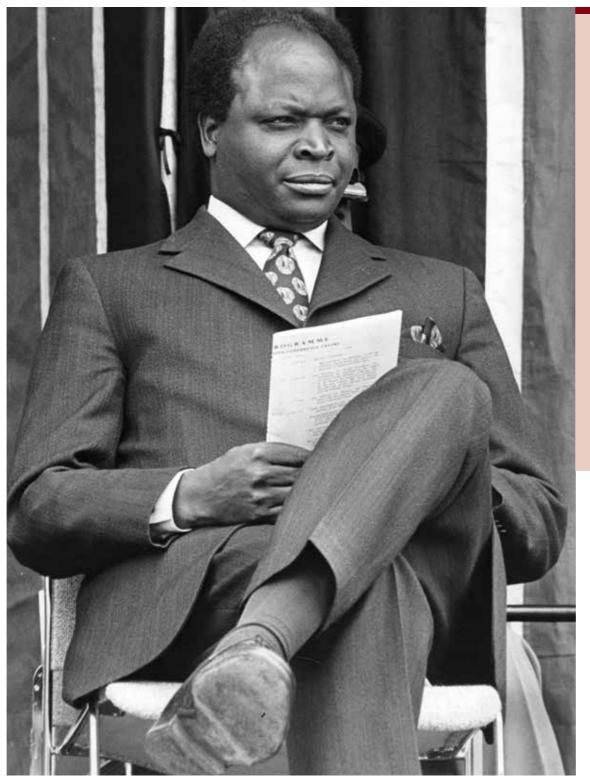
His Excellency President Mwai Kibaki, Her Excellency First Lady Mama Lucy Kibaki and their family members

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# **Timeline**



### **Key dates**

1931 Born

1939 Gatuyaini Primary School

1941 Karima School

1944 Nyeri School

1947 Holy Ghost College (Mangu

High School)

1951 Makerere University College

1956 London School of Economics

1960 Kanu Executive Officer

1962 Married Lucy Muthoni Kagai

1963 Parliamentary Secretary,

Treasury

1966 Minister for Commerce and Industry

1969 Minister for Finance and

**Economic Planning** 1978 Vice President and Minister for

1983 Vice President and Minister for

Home Affairs

1988 Minister for Health

1991 Quit Kanu formed DP

1992 Presidential candidate coming third

1997 Presidential candidate coming

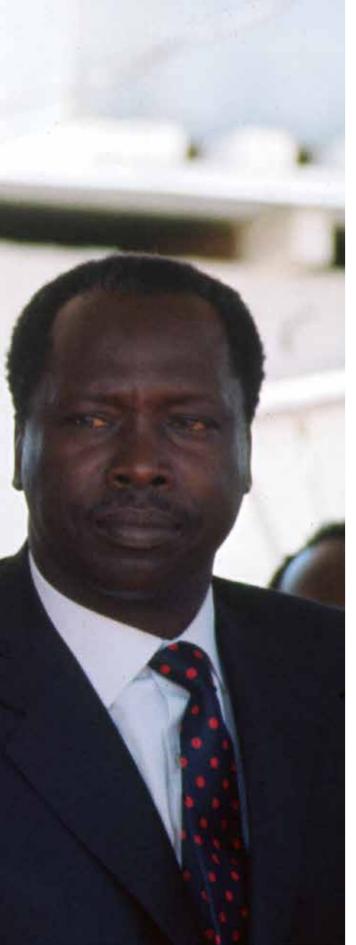
second

1998 Leader of Official Opposition

2002 Elected President

2007 Re-elected President





### **Early influences**

wai Kibaki was born early in the morning of November 15, 1931.

Named Mwai after his uncle from the mother's side, his parents, John Githinji Kibaki and Teresia Wanjiku, had seven other children who, like all the others in the village, would help hew wood, till the garden, milk the cows and take them out to graze.

The young Kibaki was often left in the care of his elder sister, Waitherero, as their mother busied herself in the garden and around the house. She would feed her young brother mainly on a diet of roast bananas. "I would chew the bananas to a bolus then feed him," she recalled in an interview, alluding to an old African tradition of feeding children.

Catholic missionaries had established their base in the nearby Karima Mission. They started going into the villages looking for boys to attend school.

According to Kibaki's elder brother, Nderitu, the young Kibaki was nominated to be sent to mission school by his polygamous father, because he was "not very useful in the garden".

In 1939 a barefoot Kibaki left home for the newly established, 50 cent-a-term Gatuyaini village school put up by the Consolata missionaries. Here they taught the new arrivals catechism and elementary education. And thus started Mr Kibaki's passionate association with education and his Catholic faith. It also launched a brilliant career in academics and politics.

From Gatuyaini Primary, where he was for two years, Kibaki joined Holy Ghost Catholic Missionaries Karima Mission School (now Karima Primary) for the next three years, walking 10 kilometres every day to and from school. He passed his exams to proceed to Mathari School, a boarding institution, now renamed Nyeri High School and his father had to sell two goats to pay the annual Sh18 boarding fee. At Mathari, he learned carpentry and masonry and joined fellow students in repairing furniture around the school.

It was at Karima that Kibaki was baptized Emilio. His father paid the Sh1 baptism fee.

In the Nyeri High School register of 1930, Kibaki was entered as Pupil Number 1107: Emilio Mwai son of Kibaki Githinji and indicates he was there between 1944 and 1946. ■



Right: John Kibaki Githinji, Kibaki's father: He decided to take the young Kibaki to school because he was not very useful in the farm. The young Kibaki turned out to be a bright student.

Left: Mama Teresia Wanjiku has a word with her sons, Mwai Kibaki and Bernard Nderitu.





# Italian Consolata Fathers at Karima mission

The Italian Consolata fathers had arrived in Nyeri in 1902 wanting to grow vines and olives on a 400 acre farm. When that failed they turned to education. They arrived in Karima Mission in 1904 and started building schools, churches, and dispensaries. It is in one of the primary schools that they started in Gatuyaini village which Kibaki joined in 1939 just as the World War II broke out.

The Consolata Fathers were competing for children together with the Kikuyu Independent School's Association (KISA) which had started in 1934 and was opening its own schools in Central Kenya. This was as a result of controversy generated by the question of female circumcision. The other was the question of what kind of education the Africans needed. Kibaki was taken to the Catholic Mission where he studied alongside other village boys. It was this early association with the Catholics that molded his early character. After Karima he attended Mathari School later named Nyeri School between 1944 and 1946.

I was very happy to see Kibaki's class results of 1947 at Holy Ghost College Mangu in a pullour in yesterday's Star. I showed my children the results. Kibaki was number one in a class of 32 students, with the highest score in almost all subjects. We should see early school report forms for other leaders.

Maureen Chepkemoi, vla emall

Kibaki was number one in a class of 32 students, with the highest score in almost all subjects. We should see early school report forms for other leaders.

Maureen. C

The Star newspaper



As President, Kibaki re-visits his old school in 2010

# Holy Chost College, Mangu.

TERM EXAMS: Easter, 1947 CLASS: Form 111

No. IN CLASS: 32.

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NAME	Religion	Scripture	Grammar & Text	Composition	Grammar & Text	Composition	Arithmetic	Geometry	Algebra	Agriculture (Bot & Zool	Physics	Chemistry	Biology	History	Geography	Physiology & Hygiene		Aggregate	Rank in Class
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George Gathara	40		44	45	51	48	77	27	32	63	53			58	42			540	29
James Thuku	52		40	51	46	65	69	81	54	68	65			55	63			687	11
James P. Macharia	58		59	53	48	65	78	56	70	72	64			40	61			666	15
Japhet Nyaga		-	56	51	55	65	57	58	67	80	57			60	64			670	14
Jervasio Monga	30		60	43	57	65	81	85	88	82	50			71	67			749	3
John Othieno	55		49	38	54	65	52	22	40	63	51		14	41	55			530	30
Joseph Karanja	60		63	50	52	40	97	76	58	77	61			70	85	-		729	5 -
Joseph Maina	40		57	45	55	60	64	59	64	68	68			54				661	
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Kwintino Mbio	47		50	49	50	40	57	62	56	79	69			66	79			657	21
Luke Ayuko	41		54	49	60	58	63	66	40	74	51			65	66		1 .	620	23
Matiah Mwaura	55		64	43	64	55	55	4.0	71	75	53			77	62	2	1	659	18
Michael Gichuhi	65		58	45	65	60	72	62	46	66	57			59	69			659	18
Munguti Keoko	45		49	54	55	48	21	56	48	65	61			53	70			580	28 4
Mderito Mathenge	50		55	47	60	60	68	87	69	79	71			61	63			723	6
Mikasio Kimani	35		45	44	38	60	74	75	42	61	.50			58	42	2		589	26
Pius Muketi	43		65	46	53	50	21	46	56	69	54			67	82	2		609	24
Samuel Kimani	57		65	54	65	60	70	84	71	68		1		60	86	5		760	
Silvester Manyeki	49	1	38	42	61	59	33	15	25	38	41			40	40	)		428	31
Theofil Mwangi	61	1	63	55	61	48	62	67	55	78	71	,	1	62	81	-		703	9
Wilson Kibathi	46	1	56	42	45	60	74	1 7:	272	46	65		1	72	73			677	12 /

c/ Paul Murike	. Okaya docation	. P.O. Nyui.	ost College, Mang'u.
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Primary Examination	Weri	Year_ 194	6 Result 15
Entered  Examinations Passed	January,	1947. U-idge, an	nde I, '50 5/2
Position obtained			

BACKGROUND Mang'u

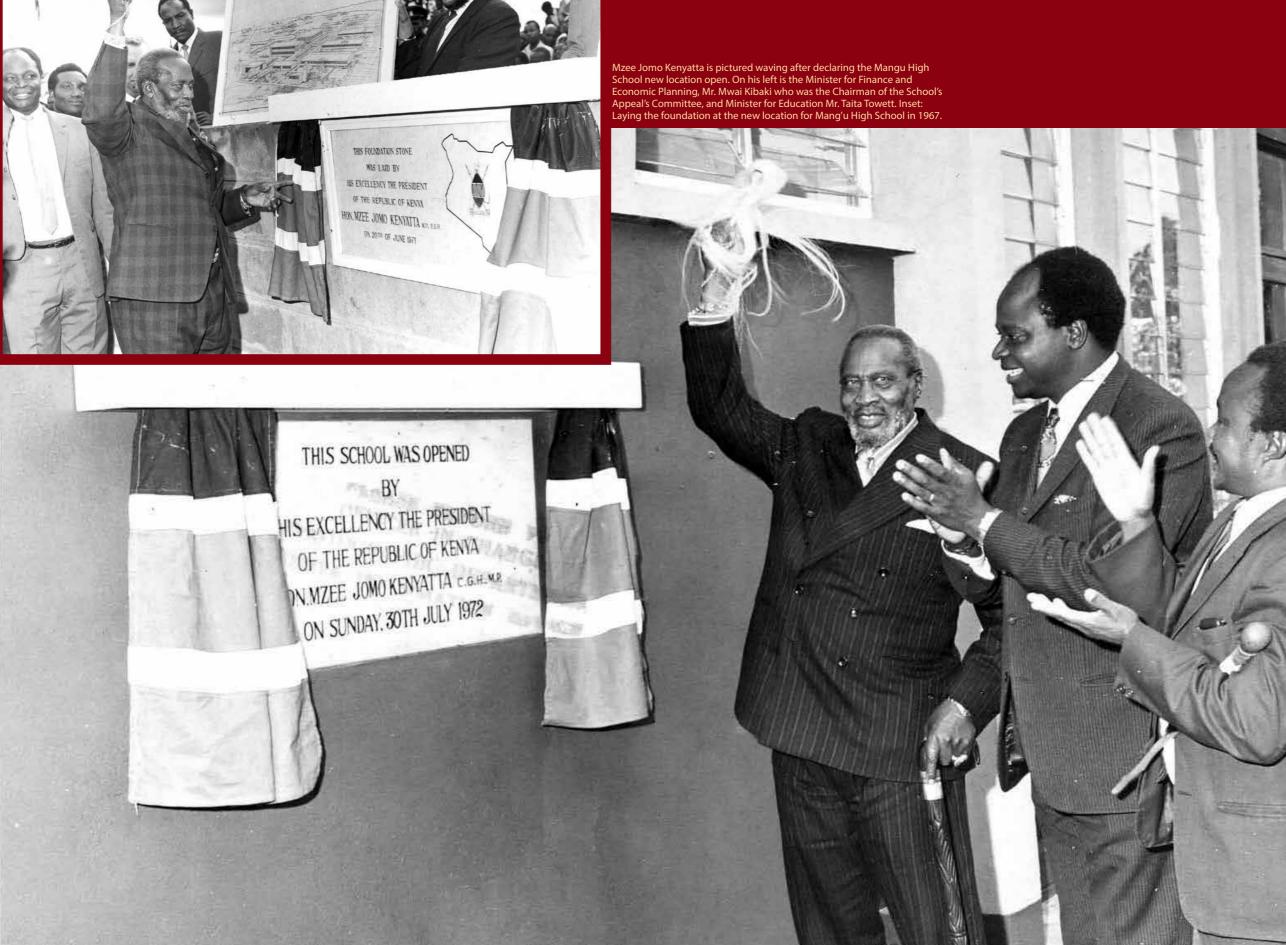
academic excellence.

Kibaki's admission in 1947 to Holy Ghost College (now Mang'u High School), a prestigious secondary school started by Fr Michael Joseph Witte in Kabaa, significantly altered the course of his life. Mang'u was different. The original Principal, Fr Farrely wanted

to craft an Irish school without tight schedules –unlike Alliance High Schoolwhere the students were educated in a Christian, Catholic atmosphere. He believed faith and freedom led to

At Mang'u High School, now situated on the Thika-Nairobi Superhighway, Kibaki was a bright student. School records show him coming first in class and he passed his Ordinary Level exams. He left in 1950.

AME Emilio Mwai	8 Kobaki		1950			
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ATHER OF GUARDIAN						
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Makerere is where my academic and intellectual foundation were laid. Many of my leadership skills were developed and nurtured here,"

Kibaki January 2012; as he received a Doctor of Laws (Honoris causa) degree from his alma mater.

#### **BACKGROUND**

### **Makerere University**

Makerere had been established in 1922 as the Native Technical College on Makerere Hill near Kampala. The initial aim was to provide technical training to East African students but the two-year general course diploma, did not impress many students who felt that Makerere was not a real university and opted to go abroad for real degrees.

In 1944 the Asquith Commission recommended that Makerere should have a special relationships with the University of London. In 1949 Makerere became the University College of East Africa and awarded the first University of London Degrees in 1953.

Kibaki was one of the first students who graduated with a University of London degree from Makerere.

The former principal of Makerere Bernard de Busen would later write that these young people were changing Africa "to the alarm of District Commissioners and Kenya settlers and the sadness of those anthropologists who preferred them naked."

Kibaki joined in 1951 for a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics, History and Political Science. He served as Vice Chairman of the Makerere Students Guild (1954-1955). Despite dividing his time between student leadership and studies, he still emerged among the best students in the Faculty of Arts in 1955, graduating with a First Class Honours Degree (BA) in Economics. Some of his lecturers thought that he should to Oxford for the so-called PPE, Political Science, Philosophy and Economics. But he chose to accept a scholarship at the London School of Economics for a BSc in Public Finance. As he awaited the scholarship, Kibaki worked briefly as an assistant sales manager in the Uganda division of Shell Company of East Africa. On graduation from the LSE, Kibaki

On graduation from the LSE, Kibaki returned to returned to his alma mater, Makerere University, as an Assistant

Lecturer in the Department of Economics from 1958 to 1960.

"Makerere is where my academic and intellectual foundation was laid. Many of my leadership skills were developed and nurtured here," Kibaki would say 52 years after he left the Institution and as he received a Doctor of Laws (Honoris causa) from Makerere in January 2012. Student politics also turned out to the training ground for a later career in public life. Kibaki was elected chairman of the Kenya Students Association and was a notable voice in the debate over the future of the country. He became a strong advocate for decolonisation. In between, Kibaki had been approached by Tom Mboya to become a member of Kenya Educational Trust which was to coordinate the second airlift of students to the US. Kibaki, and Dr Munyua Waiyaki, became the new faces of the airlift.



### **Early influences**

### Kibaki: In his own words

am a democrat. I believe in the virtues and values of an open society. I am also a hardworking man who believes that with careful reflection, careful planning and hard work individuals and nations can change their circumstances of existence for the better. At the more personal level, I am a Christian and a humble, tolerant man who takes seriously his duty to God, to fellow man and to my country.

My parents were peasant farmers. They engaged in subsistence agriculture which involved rearing cows, goats and chicken as well as cultivating food crops, especially maize, beans, vegetables, yams, potatoes and tomatoes among other crops. They also engaged in trade where they could sell some of the agricultural produce at the village market.

#### Childhood

Under the watchful eyes and caring hands of my parents as well as siblings, my childhood was enjoyable. I enjoyed playing with other boys in our neighborhood while rearing cows and goats or while chasing after antelopes in the woods.

#### Challenges

Waking up so early to go to school - sometimes in very cold weather - and occasional caning by teachers were initially challenging. By and large, I enjoyed my days in primary and secondary school. My childhood was a very important since many of the impressions and attitudes I internalized during this period were instrumental in shaping me into the person I am today.

#### Mau mau

Mau Mau was one of the key events during my childhood. This was an uprising against colonialism. It was the struggle that eventually freed our country from the bondage of colonialism. Without the Mau Mau rebellion, our country would probably be still under colonial rule. This struggle was therefore critical in asserting our dignity as Africans and taking responsibility over the destiny of our lives.

#### Colonialism

If colonialism ever had merit, it was laying a foundation for education. Education has enabled our citizens to acquire the competencies we require to run our country and earn decent livelihoods.

#### **Politics**

Kenyans should re-orient their attitude towards politics. Politics must not be seen as a tribal contest. Politics must not be seen as an arena for settling scores or an avenue for the personal aggrandizement of the vanities of a few individuals. It must be seen as the process through which issues are articulated and resources allocated for the good of everyone in the country. Kenyans must now pursue issue oriented politics.

#### Money

Money is important but wealth creation is even more important. We must make money, but this should be done through hard work not short cuts. It is also important to appreciate that money is a medium of exchange. It should not therefore be accumulated for its own sake. Once money is made, it should be invested. This investment must be carefully planned so that the investment can generate more money and facilitate a virtuous cycle. This implies that money must be prudently managed. Since investments entail the means of creating wealth and employment opportunities, it is important to ensure that as many people as possible have access to money for investment. This is the way an economy grows

and it calls for sound and strategic management of the financial sector in the country.

#### Mineral discovery

The minerals and the oil we are discovering must not destroy our country. Let us find ways of ensuring that these newly discovered natural wealth works for our counties and country in general. We owe this to present and future generations. Above all let us be a nation that puts God first.

#### Education

Education is now the most important factor of production. No one, no country can be competitive without massive investment in education. We must therefore ensure all our children have access to quality education. This is the only way of giving them a fair chance in life in today's world. But it should not just be education. We must look at the particular bodies of knowledge and skills that are driving economies around the world and that will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. Let us focus on these areas and others that are relevant to the needs of our country and the world market.

#### **Environment**

After many years of poor environmental management all over the world, we are now facing the serious consequences of climate change. These consequences are dire, and include prolonged droughts and uncontrollable floods. Indeed more than ever before we are faced with cycles of drought and floods. These have severe consequences on our livelihoods and survival. We must do all that is necessary to reverse this trend by embracing the concept of green economy in its entirety. There is no shortcut and the choices are only two: we must protect the environment or perish.

# WHAT OTHERS SAY Kenneth Ingham

In 2004, in a published interview, Kibaki's former lecturer at Makerere paid great tribute to Kibaki. Prof Ingham, who died in 2010, believed that if Kibaki stayed for long in the academia, he would have ended up as the President of the World Bank. "He seemed to stand out among other students," recalled Prof Ingham, a leading expert on the History of East Africa. "He was exceptionally intelligent,"

Prof Ingham, who left Makerere in 1962 just two years after Kibaki resigned, said "his writing was very impressive, exceptionally good, (and) his eloquence was unmistakable. It made him an indispensable student." "Unlike other African students at

Makerere, Kibaki did not want to be noticed, he was



Makerere Guild. It was Prof Ingham who persuaded Sir Andrew Cohen, the then Governor of Uganda (1952-1957) to save Kibaki's studies by giving him Ugandan travelling papers to pursue a scholarship.

Kibaki enrolled at the London School of Economics over the objections of Prof Ingham, who preferred Oxford University, and obtained a BSc - again First Class honours - in Economics. "When Kibaki joined the teaching staff at Makerere, I knew he had

# He was very organised, a diligent student...He was exceptionally intelligent,"

Prof Kenneth Ingham, former lecturer, Makerere University

usually laid back; he preferred to take the back seat, (as) his academic work took precedence. He was a very organised, a diligent student," said Prof Ingham.

"During the final year of his undergraduate at Makerere, it was inevitable that Kibaki would excel in his examinations...Kibaki passed with a First Class Honours.

"I immediately wrote to Kibaki informing him that I had got him a place at Oxford. I was informed that he had already accepted a place at the London School of Economics to study for a Bachelor of Science in Economics. I wanted him to read PPE, (Politics, Philosophy and Economics) or History at Oxford. I was devastated."

The colonial authorities in Kenya were reluctant to give travel papers to Kibaki because of his involvement in student politics. Kibaki was the Chairman of Kenya Students' Guild in Makerere and Vice Chairman of made the right choice. Economics was his subject. He is talented and gifted in this area."

But this was a transition period too. "Young educated men of Kibaki's caliber were in demand in their countries... and pressure was mounting for the likes of Kibaki to return home and help in the nation building. If Kibaki had stayed on as a lecturer in the academic world, there is no doubt he would have become a distinguished economist, and maybe he would have become President of the World Bank.

"When I heard that Kibaki was elected President of Kenya in December 2003, I was pleased Kenyans had chosen a good man. But I was equally worried for him because I thought there were issues which required a measure of ruthlessness to deal with them, and honestly I didn't think it was his nature. Kibaki doesn't crave prominence. He doesn't like to push himself forward. God help him."







1969: Kibaki celebrates winning the Doonholm parliamentary seat with supporters. He would later shift base in 1974 to vie for the Othaya Parliamentary Seat.

fter the 1963 elections, when he was elected MP for Donholm, Kibaki was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury. He is best remembered for pushing through the July 1963 Asian Officers Family Pensions Bill for retired colonial civil servants while some members in the house were opposed.

#### He said:

Before we get too emotionally involved in the House, I would like Members to think seriously of the words that they are uttering...the responsibilities of independence have got to be faced and it is no use indulging in "ifs"...we are going to be independent and we have to face the responsibility and we have to inherit the mistakes of the previous Government: this is the hard part. You cannot say that when a new Government comes into power and the old one made a given mistake, you cannot say that because it was the mistake of the previous Government you are not responsible...this is part of our responsibility. I would like to ask the honourable members to face the challenge of being independent."

As assistant Minister, Economic Planning and Development, in the post-independence Government, Kibaki was Tom Mboya's deputy. It fell upon them to provide an ideological justification for the economic system that Kenya had adopted.

#### **BACKGROUND**

#### The 1966 cabinet

- Mzee Jomo Kenyatta
   Joseph Murumbi (resigned in 1966)
- 3. E.N. Mwendwa
- 4. J. D. Otiende,
- 5. Dr. Njoroge Mungai
- 6. Tom J. Mboya, (Assassinated in
- 7. Dr. J. G. Kiano
- 8. Mbiyu Koinange
- 9. Paul. Ngei
- 10. Lawrence. G. Sagini
- 11. Bruce. R. Mckenzie, (Resigned in 1969)
- 12. Daniel. T. Arap Moi
- 13. Charles. Njonjo
- 14. James. S. Gichuru
- 15. Duncan. Mwanyumba
- 16. S. O. Ayodo
- 17. J. H. Angaine
- 18. William M. Wamalwa
- 19. Mwai Kibaki
- 20. Jeremiah Nyagah (Appointed 1966)
- 21. CMG Argwings-Kodhek (appointed 1966, died in January 1969)
- 22. Ronald Ngala (Appointed
- 1966, died)
- 23. James Osogo (appointed 1966)

Thus came the acclaimed Sessional Paper no 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya. This was a development blueprint that was to inform the economic progress of the nation.

#### During the debate Kibaki said:

"We have been arguing before this paper was written, as if socialism by itself was an end in itself, as if it was a system we could pluck from a tree and apply to our own country... we need to be clear that socialism or any other ism, any economic system, any social system, is a means to the good life, means to happiness, to prosperity, to abundance for the people. We who drafted it are interested in the living people of Kenya, not with dogma, not whether or not somebody who wrote a doctrine was right or wrong...In writing this paper the Government was not arguing or trying to justify whether or not Karl Marx or Engels or Lenin or Mao Tse Tung or anyone else was right or wrong..."

This was also critical year at the ministry. In June 1965, Tanzania had thrown the East African nations into a monetary crisis after it announced that it would withdraw from the East African Currency Board which had been in place since 1919.

The departure of Tanzania saw the collapse of the East African Shilling with the three separate

nations issuing their own currency. Kenya launched its own currency on September 14, 1966 while Uganda launched its currency on August 15, 1966. Both countries also launched separate Central Banks.

In 1966, following the fallout between Oginga Odinga and Kenyatta and the formation of Kenya People's Union, Kibaki was elevated into a full Cabinet minister on May 3, 1966, taking the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Kibaki thus took over when the strongest pillars of the East African Union, the common currency, had collapsed.

That year (1966), also saw relations between Kenya and the Soviet Union reach rock bottom due to local politics. Kenyatta dispatched Kibaki, Mboya (Minister for Economic Planning) and Bruce McKenzie (Agriculture and Animal Husbandry) to Moscow to review the Soviet-Kenya Economic Agreement which had been negotiated by Odinga and Joseph Murumbi. It was this renegotiation that saw the completion of the New Nyanza Hospital in Kisumu (now Oginga Odinga Hospital).

Three years later, Mboya was shot dead along Nairobi's Government Street, triggering tribal tension between the Kikuyu and Luo.

Kibaki and JM Kariuki were the only prominent Central Kenya leaders who attended Mboya's funeral in Rusinga Island. Some 42 years later, Kibaki unveiled a monument in Nairobi in honour of Mboya in Nairobi. In the late 1960s, his association with Mboya and his boldness at attending his funeral made him a marked man, especially by a small coterie that surrounded Kenyatta's presidency. Thus began the battle in earnest in the Kenyatta succession.

In the elections that followed the Mboya crisis, Kibaki almost lost his Donholm seat to Jael Mbogo and he shifted base in 1974 to Othaya Constituency. This was a tactical retreat.

Explaining it later, Kibaki said he was under pressure, ever since he left Makerere, to go back to his Othaya home. "The folks back home had been after me for years ..."

In July 1967, the Government sought to nationalize its labour and commerce. There was to be limitations on the number of work permits to be issued and a new Kenyanization Bureau was to monitor companies and the job market to ensure that the provisions of the Immigration Bill were followed. Under the terms of the 1967 Immigration Act, all foreigners living in Kenya were to apply for one of 12 different types of work permit from the Department of Immigration. Stringent fines were introduced for businesses that did not comply, with possible withdrawal of business licenses. Some of this task fell on Kibaki's docket. The problems were exacerbated in 1968 when Britain refused to allow Asians from Kenya who held British passports and who could no longer get employment or trade in

Kenya entry into their territory. By then there were an estimated 200,000 Kenyan Asians who were entitled to British passports or already had them. Under the quota system outlined in the Commonwealth Immigration Bill, Britain was to accept a maximum of 1,500 a year and only the most highly qualified. The erection of immigration barriers in London stemmed an influx of Kenyan Asians to Britain but also created a major problem locally for Kibaki.

Home Affairs minister, Daniel arap Moi told London that that was not Kenya's responsibility. He said that noncitizens who had abused Kenya's trust by refusing to register as citizens during the 1964-65 grace periods could leave the country if they wished.: "They are Britain's responsibility," he said. "Why should they come back here? They can go to India."

Under the new Trade Licensing Act, quit notices were issued to traders in the central business district. Managing this transition became a tricky business for Kibaki. The Act was geared to overhaul the whole distribution system, and affect prices. While it would create some new traders, it would lead to loss of jobs to many Africans employed in the homes and shops that belonged to Asians.

It was Kibaki, as Commerce Minister who announced Kenya eight-point plan for Africanisation and Kenyatta dispatched him to London to seek an increase to the immigration quota.



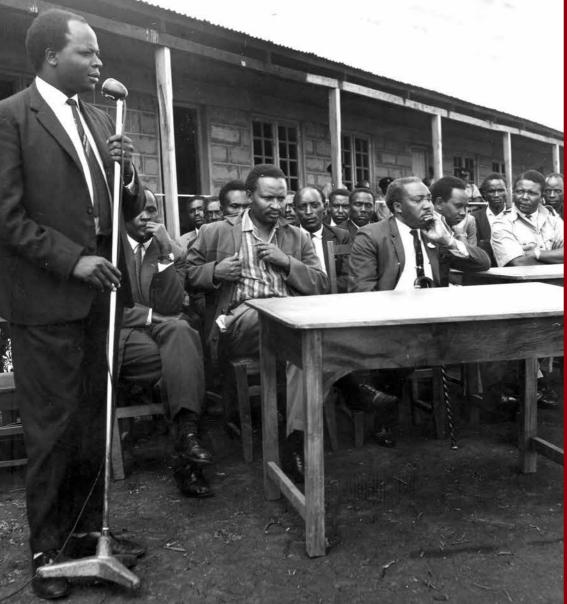


March 1961: Kibaki, the Kanu Executive Officer, exchanges ideas with the New Kenya Party leader Mr Michael Blundell in Parliament buildings. He is flanked by Kanu's Vice President Mr. Oginga Odinga.

Jomo Kenyatta waving his stick as Mboya and Kibaki jump for joy after hearing of KANU's victory in the 1963 General Elections



1964: Kibaki, as Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, joins Governor-General, Malcolm MacDonald and Lands and Settlement minister, Jackson Angaine on a farm during the land redistribution exercise.



Kibaki, then Assistant Minister for Economic Planning and Development is seen here addressing a crowd during the opening of Kiambiriria Bar and Restaurant in Othaya. It was opened by the Minister for Commerce and industry Mr. Eliud Ngala Mwendwa (sitting third from Mr. Kibaki), in the centre is Mr. Henry Wariithi, then MP for Othaya, Southern Tetu Constituency.



1969: This is how we do it, Minister for Information and Broadcasting Mr. James Osogo (second left) is pictured with four newly appointed Ministers at State House before they started their first Cabinet meeting. From right is Mr Kibaki, Argwings Kodhek, Jeremiah Nyagah, and Ronald Ngala.



As Assistant Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Mr. Mwai Kibaki, is pictured here chatting with the Danish head auditor (on his right) Mr. Paul Moller, who was visiting Eastern Africa to review his country's bilateral economic arrangements. Looking on was then Danish Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Birger Abrahamson.

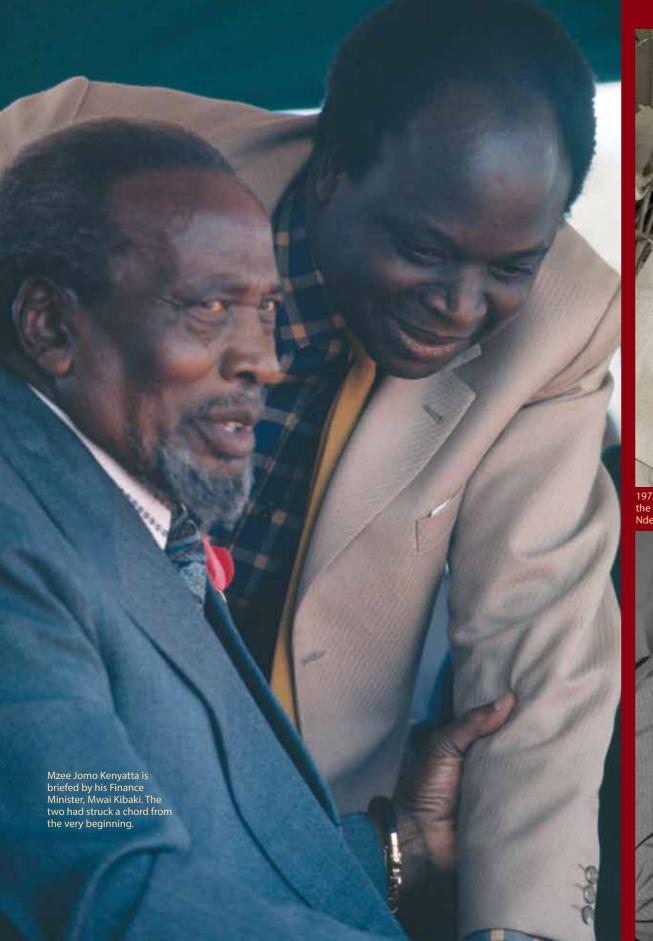


Mr Speaker Sir, I believe that we ought to bring back this debate to where it ought to have continued all along if it were not for some of the members of Opposition who, as usual, draw us away from the positive purpose of this Bill into their fears and suspicions and conjectures and worries, and every other hypothetical thing that happens to be in their mind right now"

Kibaki contributing to the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill, October 1964, to make Kenya a unitary state by abolishing majimbo.



Glad to see you: British High Commissioner, Sir Edward Peck welcomes Kibaki, Minister for Commerce and Industry, and his wife, Mrs Lucy Kibaki at a reception at the New Stanley Hotel, Nairobi.

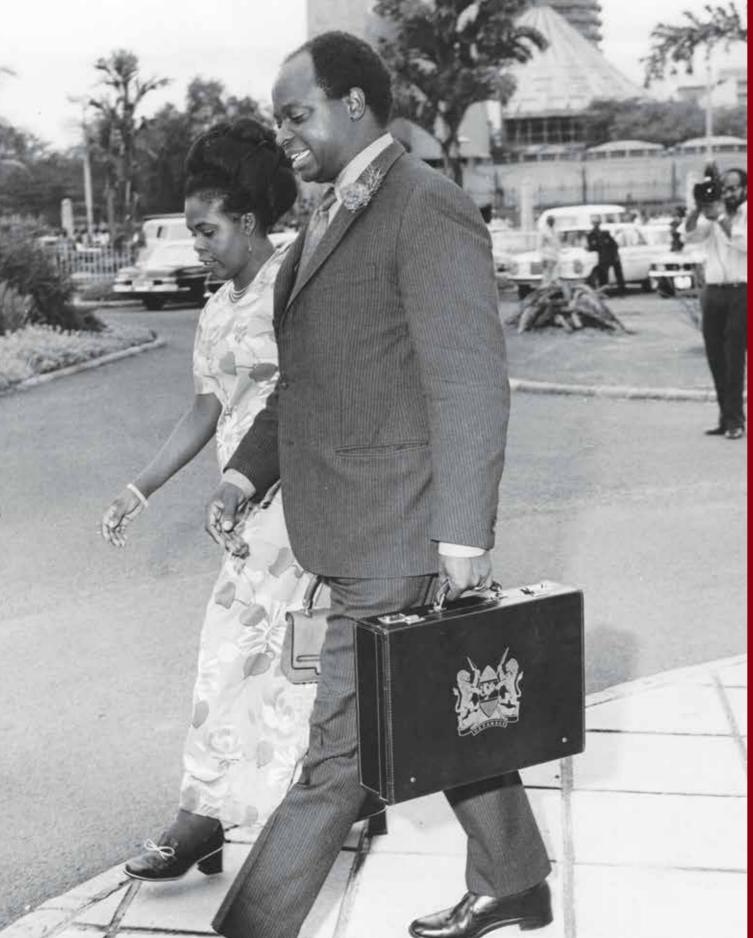




1972: President Kenyatta is welcomed by the Minister for Finance and Planning Mr Kibaki on his arrival to the opening ceremony of the new Central Bank of Kenya building. On his right is then CBK Governor Duncan Ndegwa. And below, Kibaki is joined by World Bank Managing Director, Robert McNamara at a function.



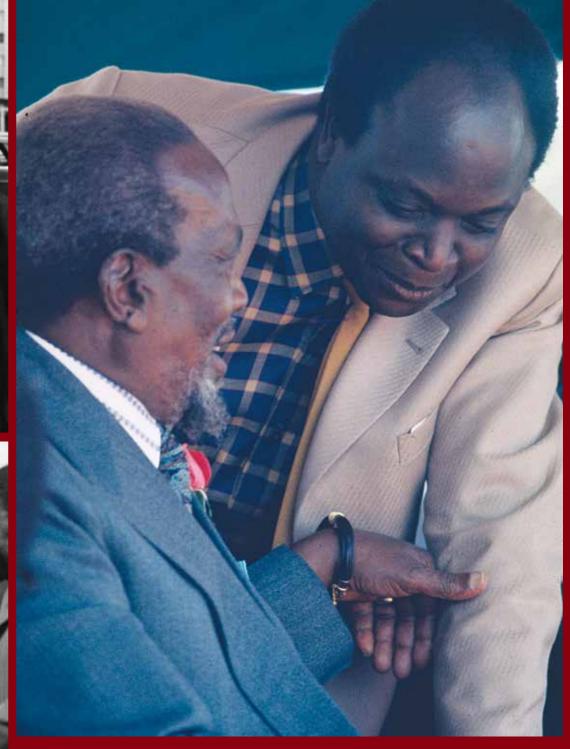




Budget Day: Mwai Kibaki remains Kenya's longest serving Finance Minister. Here he walks to the House with his wife, Mrs Lucy Kibaki, to deliver the budget.







Clockwise above: Kibaki consults with President Kenyatta. And with the East African Community in top gear, Kenyatta introduces his Cabinet to visiting Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. Kibaki is pictured here with (from left) James Osogo, Mbiyu Koinange, James Gichuru and Daniel arap Moi and top: he welcomes President Kenyatta during a Budget Day ceremony.



1967: Mwai Kibaki, then Minister for Commerce and Industry inspects a guard mounted by 204 newly-trained constables at Kenya Police College, Kiganjo, Nyeri.



# The Kenyatta years

June 1971: As the Minister for Finance and Economic Planning Mr. Kibaki with wife, Mrs Lucy Kibaki joins a street parade in support of President Kenyatta. On the right is Chief Justice, Kitili Mwendwa. And below, Kibaki was among top Kenyan officials who joined President Kenyatta and Zairean leader, Mobutu Sese Seko in State House, Mombasa, to help resolve the Congo crisis.



first heard of Mwai Kibaki from his many friends from Nyeri. At the time he was pursuing his studies at Makerere University and I was distributing beer for East African Breweries. There was only a single bar that sold bottled beer to Africans and was run by Muchohi Gikonyo, a former Nairobi councilor. It was known as African Corner. I frequented this bar with my business partner, Charles Kigwe, an uncle of Mama Ngina Kenyatta.

Kibaki would frequent this bar when he was on holiday from Makerere. He felt comfortable there because there were many educated Africans. That is where our friendship started. Kibaki would come to my shop in Kiambu where I lived at the back.

#### **Early Years**

I became closer to Kibaki when he graduated from Makerere and was now a lecturer, earning a good salary. Since Kanu was looking for an Executive Officer, Kibaki opted to quit his position and manage Kanu. That time he was still a bachelor and had a one bed-roomed house in Nairobi West. I knew Lucy Kibaki teaching at Kambui Secondary School but she had not yet met Kibaki.

Those days, the only person who

had a car was my business partner Charles Kigwe and he would give the two a lift if they wanted to go somewhere. We would drop Kibaki in Nairobi West after a drinking session and go to Kiambu.

In Kanu, Kibaki did not earn a salary. I remember one time when we dropped him at his place during the day and he said: "I don't know what will happen at night because I don't have money for my electricity bill."

The bill was Sh6.50 cents and even that Kibaki couldn't afford. Luckily, Kigwe decided to pay the electricity bill and that night we drank till late.

# When Kibaki rejected MD job at East African Breweries

One day Brian Hobson, then Managing Director, East African Breweries, told me: "James, by the look of things, this country will gain independence soon and Africans will become very senior people yet our friend Kibaki has no job apart from this Executive Officer and they do not even pay him. I would like you to speak to him because I would like to give him a job at EABL. I know that we white people will not be here forever... When I look around at all the black people that I know, it is only Mwai who would become Managing Director of EABL."

That was an extremely big job and I agreed to persuade Kibaki to accept Hobson's offer. I took him for a drink at Kimangu Bar in River Road owned by (former Nairobi PC) Fred Waiganjo.

I kept this as a secret because I did not want other people to compete for the same position. I also knew that if Kibaki got the position he would be able to buy me beer. I told Kibaki to forget the Kanu business and that I would take him the following day to Brian and soon he would be the managing director and then Chairman of EABL. He just told me, thank you very much for your faith in me Mr Karume. Go

back to Brian and relay this decision, he told me.

#### The formation of Democratic Family Party

We were celebrating a Christmas party in Mombasa when Kibaki called a journalist and told her to go and announce his resignation from the Government. Moi was very angry and disappointed. He would have wanted to fire Kibaki. Three days later in Parliament I consulted with John Keen and suggested we form our own party. Keen was categorical that Kibaki must be in it. We called Kibaki and he said, Tuanzeni... That evening we met for a

drink in Jacaranda, and the next day at John Keen's residence.

I remember when Tony was about to be born. We drove to Kibaki's house and Lucy was expectant. Kibaki held her hand and said: this week will not go by without you delivering. Two days later, Kibaki informed me that Tony had been born at Nairobi Hospital.

Lucy has been supportive of Kibaki all this time. They have a very good family. ■



Njenga Karume speaking in an interview before his death in 2012





### **Working with Moi**

ibakisteered clear of divisive politics which boosted his image as a national leader. He never identified with the then politically-correct Gikuyu Embu and Meru Association, which had been founded in October 1971 with Dr Julius Gikonyo Kiano as interim chairman and Mr Jeremiah Nyagah as vice chairman.

Even when the Gema mantle was taken up by Njenga Karume in April 1973 at a meeting in Nyeri, Kibaki failed to identify with it and it was not surprising that shortly after the assassination of Nyandarua North MP JM Kariuki in March 1975, Kibaki was put under pressure by Gema leaders to have Nyeri District, JM's birthplace, pledge loyalty to Kenyatta.

Kibaki led a delegation to Kenyatta's Gatundu home, where he distanced the Nyeri people from "rumours" that Kenyatta and his minister of state, Mbiyu Koinange, were behind the killing.

So incensed was Kibaki with the Kiambu leaders that when two years later the Gema leaders started a campaign to block Moi from ascending to the presidency, in case President Kenyatta died, he went to the opposing camp and sided with Moi against an avalanche of Kikuyu politicians who had plotted the 1977 change-the-constitution debate. Kibaki was himself a target of the same Kiambu group which swore that the presidency would "never cross River Chania", in other words it would remain in Kiambu.

Kibaki decided to vie for the Kanu

national chairman's seat, the third most powerful party position, when the polls were called that year. It was to be one of the bravest moves he would ever make in his political career.

Kibaki was to take on James Gichuru, and possibly Njoroge Mungai, two Kanu veterans from Kiambu district. Although the polls were called off in March 1977 and Kenyatta died the following year, Kibaki had by then managed to get into the center of Kenyatta Succession politics.

When Kanu called for elections in October 1978, Kibaki was again under pressure not to run for the chairman's position in favour of James Gichuru. The other aspirant was Cabinet minister Jeremiah Nyagah.

In the end, it was Gichuru who pulled out and Kibaki eclipsed Nyagah by polling 1,191 votes against 390. There would be more battles in the days ahead as political influence began to revolve around two camps, one loyal to him, and the other to then powerful Attorney General Charles Njonjo.

The death of Kenyatta in 1978 saw Kibaki elevated to vice-president. The Kikuyu from Kiambu and Nyeri were openly jostling for the position. If Moi wanted to incense the Kiambu group, which was opposed to him, he did it by appointing Kibaki his vice-president.

Kibaki and Charles Njonjo, the Attorney-General, had helped put Moi in power by standing up to the powerful Kiambu group. In the first days of his regime, Moi got on well enough with his political friends. But then things changed. Njonjo had quit as Attorney General and won the Kikuyu constituency by-election after MP Amos Ng'ang'a stepped down in his favour. Njonjo was subsequently Constitutional appointed minister. But his political journey was cut short in 1984 when he was named as the "Traitor" out to overthrow the President Moi Government with the help of foreign powers. A judicial Commission of Inquiry, headed by Justice Cecill Miller, found him guilty but was pardoned by Moi. One of Kibaki's tormentors was out - although he was next on line.

Kibaki, a reserved and moderate politician not given to theatrics took longer to remove as a political threat. Moi was as patient as he was ruthless. First, he stripped Kibaki of the Finance ministry and gave him the less glamorous Home Affairs docket. In 1988, during the infamous Mlolongo queue-voting election, an attempt was made to rig Kibaki out as Othaya MP. It flopped after he protested strongly but Moi dropped him as Vice-President, appointing him instead to the Health ministry. Kibaki reported to his new docket and worked until 1991 when he resigned from the Moi Cabinet and quit Kanu to launch his own party, the Democratic Party after the introduction of multi-party politics.

A new political chapter had opened



## **Working with Moi**

You do not have to blacken the other fellow in order for you to shine. You can shine very brilliantly and the other guy can also shine very brilliantly. This business of being jealous and envious is ridiculous. It is a mark of smallness of mind and spirit. It is only people of very small minds and spirits who think that they can only shine if the other fellow is totally blackened."

Kibaki complaining of Charles Njonjo's brand of politics September 1982







KANU's Acting Secretary General and Minister for Local Government Mr. Robert Matano hands in Moi's nomination papers fro Presidency to the Supervisor of elections, Mr.Norman Montgomery. In the early days of Moi's Presidency, Kibaki was often captured engaging Moi in talks.











KANU YAJENGA NCHI: Kibaki joins President Moi, Kanu Secretary General Robert Matano and National Treasurer Justus ole Tipis during a Special Delegates Conference at KICC in December, 1981

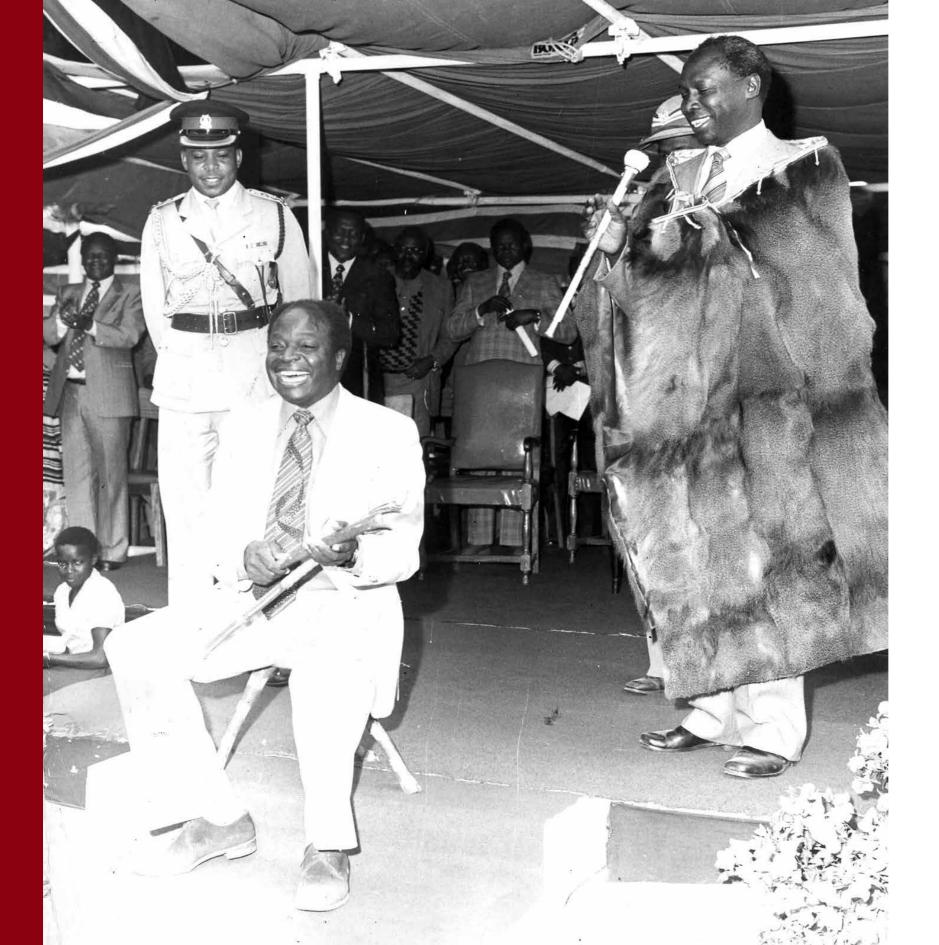
And below, in January 1985, Kibaki leaves a Kanu National Executive Committee function together with President Moi



1986: Kibaki, them Vice Oresident and Minister for Home Affairs, joins Moi after a Kanu membership recruitment drive in Ruring'u Stadium in Nyeri. Here Moi is seen speaking to Nyeri District Kanu Chairman, Mr Isaiah Mathenge.

LEFT: 1982:, Kibaki accompanies President Moi during a Kanu Parliamentary Group meeting in Nairobi.





# **Working with Moi**









The banning of Oginga Odinga's Kenya People's Union had left Kanu as the sole political party in Kenya. While the single party rule was supposed to help cultivate national unity it would later become a challenge as dictatorship creeped into the party. Kibaki was in the mainstream of Kanu politics and unable to change it from within he would later decamp and found the Democratic Party.

# **Working with Moi**









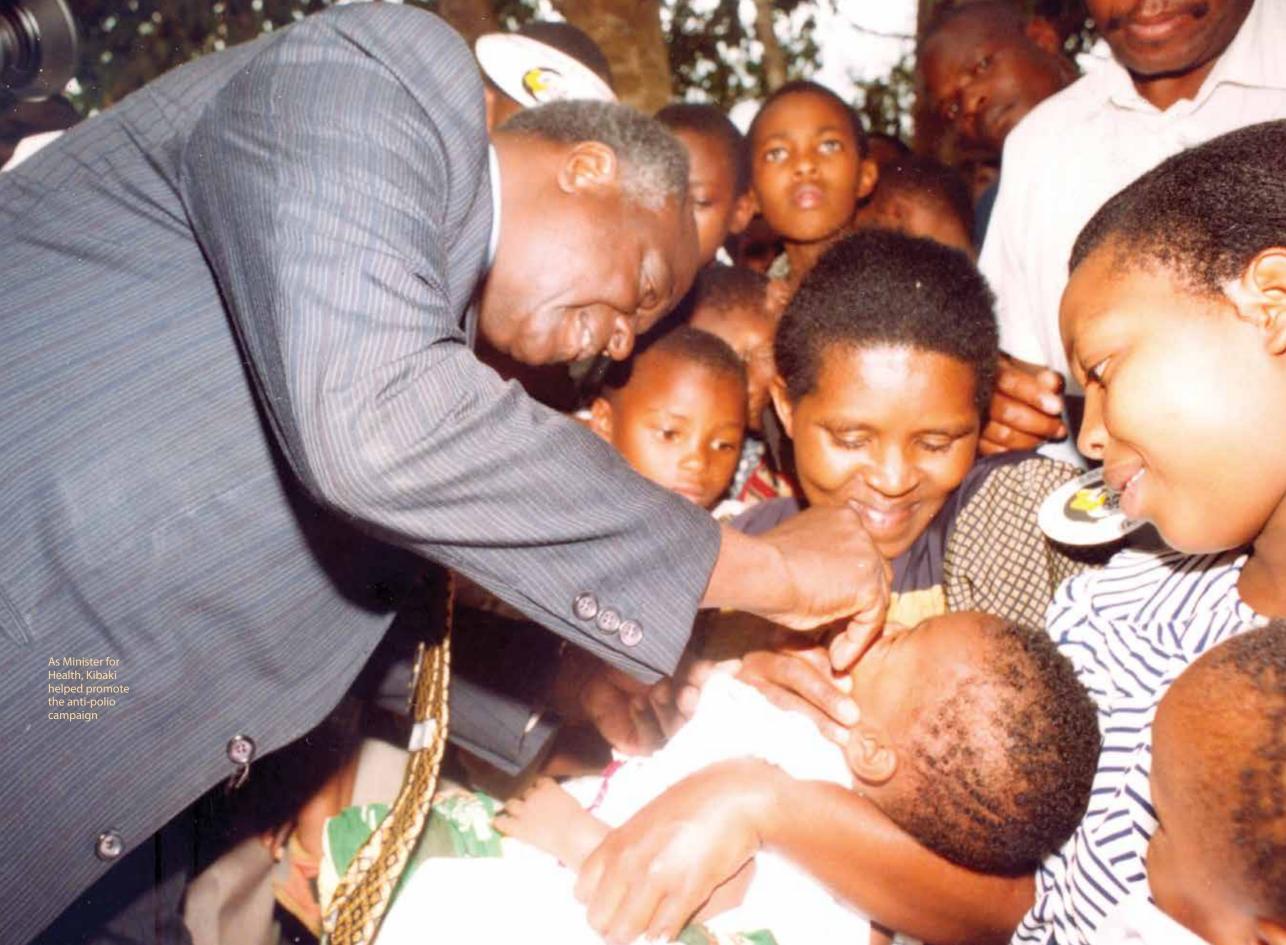






With the support given by Kibaki during the Kenyatta Succession debate, Moi was relaxed when with Kibaki. At times, both would don similar red Kanu shirts in public functions. But the rapport would not last long.

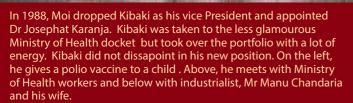














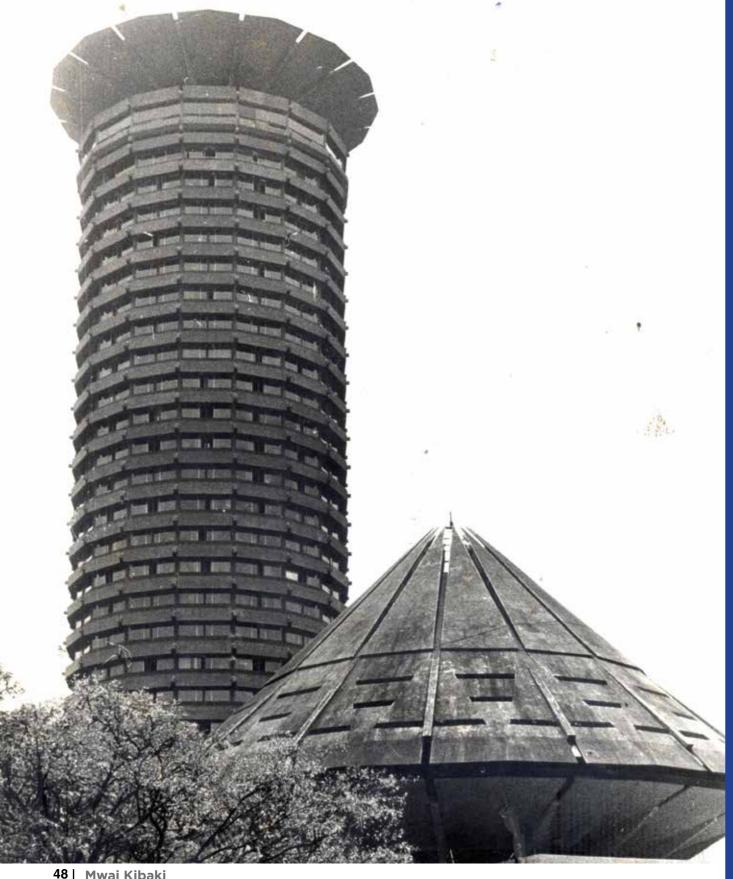


When Kibaki joined the teaching staff at Makerere, I knew he had made the right choice. Economics was his subject. He is talented and gifted in this area."

Prof Kenneth Ingham, former lecturer, Makerere University



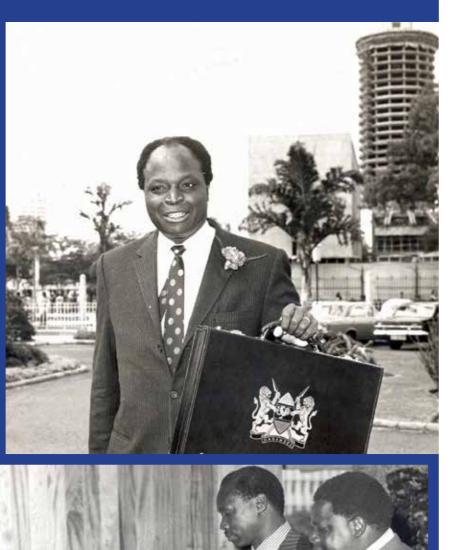




HARAMBEE MAN: Kibaki is seen here receiving a Ksh1 donation from a boy named Hirsi as he conducted a funds drive in aid of Merti Primary School in Isiolo in August 1972. LEFT: The imposing Kenyatta International Conference Centre was built when Kibaki was the Minister for Finance and Economic Planning. It was one of the signature projects that indicated Kenya's economic progress. On extreme left., Kibaki watches as President Kenyatta signs the visitors book after opening KICC in September 1973.



**One year after Kibaki** was appointed into Finance ministry, Kenyatta decided to give him an expanded docket that included **Finance and Economic Planning following the** assassination of Tom Mboya in 1969. This was to allow Kibaki, who was known to favour an expansionist policy based on more positive **Government direction of** the economy, to have a greater hand in running the docket.





n 1969, Kibaki took full charge of the economy, being appointed minister for Finance and Economic Planning. These were troubled times with the economy confronting shock after another: the collapse of the East African Community, the oil crisis and the devaluation of the dollar. Kibaki's abilities have never been doubted, and in July 1974, Time magazine voted him one of the 150 men and women who would become the world's new leaders.

Kibaki was instrumental in managing the crisis within the East African Community. In August

1975, Kibaki led a Kenyan delegation that was to review the Treaty that governed the East African Community. While the Treaty had been amended several times to accommodate both political and economic challenges, one of the most significant changes was the demolition of the East African Income Tax Department and the amendment to the Charter of the East African Development Bank

Uganda, where Idi Amin had toppled Milton Obote in 1971, had recalled all its employees serving in EAC and various regional parastatals. Most of the regional bodies had also atrophied after the East African Currency Board collapsed, followed in 1973 with the breakup of the income tax authority.

Kibaki oversaw the transition and led the negotiation on the sharing of assets.

In August 1976, the East African Railways Corporation (EARC) was wound up, ending what was to become the engine of economic union and in June 30, 1977 EAC died.

All this time, Kibaki had distinguished himself as a negotiator in the east African region.

In 1977, Time recognised Kibaki as one of the African leaders of the 21st century, with high

among its annual top 100 people who could lead the world in various capacities.

recorded economic growth rates of up to 7 per cent and Kibaki's sterling performance in that docket is widely known. World Bank President Robert MacNamara described Kibaki as "one of the greatest economic brains to have emerged from Africa".

Yom Kippur War had triggered an oil crisis and he was forced to spell belt tightening measures for Kenya. Fuel prices rose by 25 per cent and shares

potential. In 1981, the magazine again named him at the Nairobi Stocks Exchange lost value after US President Richard Nixon devalued the dollar. Kibaki proposed measures to protect local industries During his tenure as Minister for finance, Kenya by restricting importation of goods similar to those which can be manufactured locally. He also introduced the Export Compensation Act of 1974 which established reimbursement procedures for exporters for duties paid on imported intermediate inputs. But firms would only qualify if they had a The year 1973 was a critical test for Kibaki. The 30 per cent domestic value added. That saved the economy.







Kibaki has always sought to widen Kenya's external support when he was the Kenyatta's Minister for Commerce and Industry. It was Kibaki who signed the Government of Kenya and Japan exchange papers for technical training of Kenyan youths and establishment of a technical rsearch centre in Nakuru. In the picture (seated left to right) is Kibaki, with Mr T. Watanabe signing on behalf of the Japanese Embassy. (Standing left to right) Mr. Muliro, Mr. T. sato and Mr. Nishimura in this July 1968 photo.



ANOTHER SIGNATURE: Here Kibaki, then Minister for Finance and Economic Planning, signs for an aid package with the Swedish Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Lenhart Rydfirds.



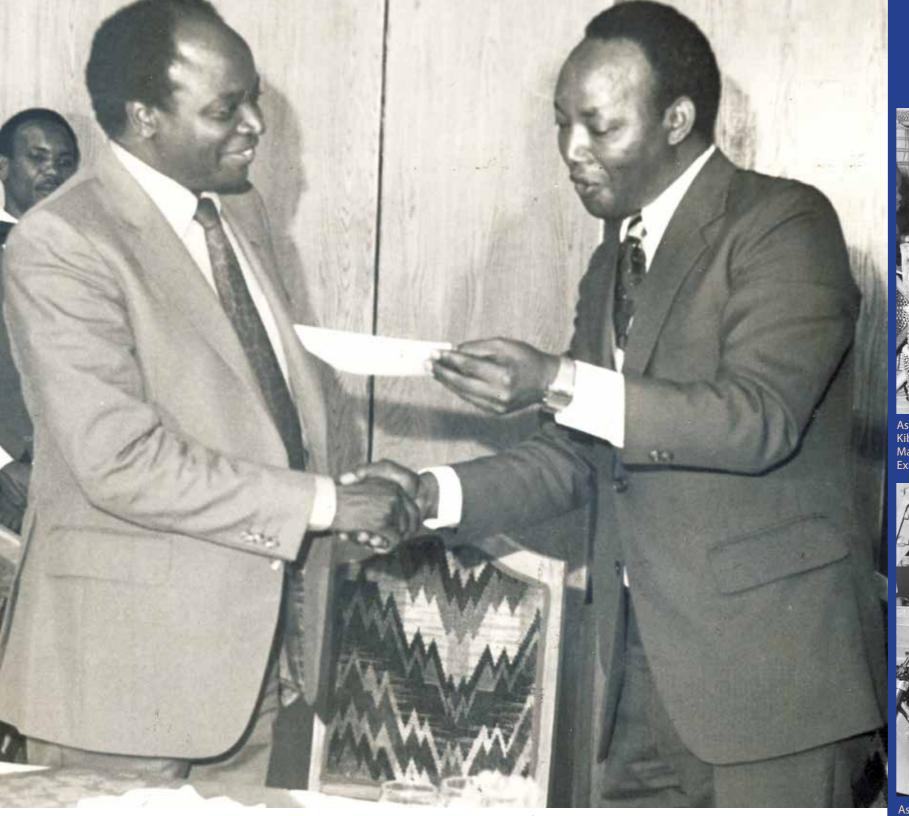
NOVEMBER 1980: As Vice President Kibaki and the West German ambassador Dr. Alfred Kuehn signs a Ksh84million deal for financing two small-scale irrigation projects at Mitunguni; Meru District and Muka Mukuu, Machakos District.

March 1972: The Minister for Finance and Economic Planning Mr. Mwai Kibaki and the Swedish Ambassador to Kenya are seen signing aid agreement. Looking on left to right are Mr. J Mahner, programme officer SIDA, Nairobi and Development Assistance attachee to the Swedish Embassy and Mr. Chris Kahara, a deputy Secretary in the Treasury.

Mwai Kibaki Commerce and Industry. 30th Dec 1965.







Well Done! Kibaki congratulates the Kenya Commercial Bank Executive Chairman, John Michuki after the state-owned bank handed over a Sh 15 million cheque as the bank's dividend in April 1979. Kibaki warned parastatals that were not profitable that they would be sold.



As the Minister for Commerce and industry, Mr. Kibaki admires a decorated walking stick made by the Maendeleo ya Wanawake movement, at the Homes Exhibition in City Hall, Nairobi.



As Minister for Commerce and Industry Mr. Mwai Kibaki is pictured glaring at a crown corks machine at the Crown Cork Company (E.A) Ltd in Industrial Area, Nairobi



JUNE 1966: Mr Kibaki speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Kenya Export Promotion Council at City Hall Nairobi. With him is Mr. Brian H Hobson (left) and Permanent Secretary, Mr Keneth Matiba.

I would like to congratulate the **Minister for Finance** because he is one of the most honest ministers in this Government. I am saying this Mr Speaker because he has not been involved in any racket since he took over this ministry...Kibaki is an honest man, as well as an intellectual, and he stands for a very good future in this country and this is what most people say.

Jackson Kasanga Mulwa, Makueni MP, June 22, 1973





MR SPEAKER SIR: June 1980: Kibaki had become associated with budget speeches and had mastered the art. This was his 11th Budget Speech since he was appointed Minister for Finance in 1969.



Kibaki is taken around BAT factory. With him are Kenneth Matiba, Charles Njonjo and the BAT Chairman Bethuel Gechaga.

# Kibaki and the Kenyanisation Policy

In July 1967, the Government sought to nationalise its labour and commerce. There was to be limitations on the number of work permits to be issued and a new Kenyanization Bureau was to monitor companies and the job market to ensure that the provisions of the Immigration Bill were followed. Under the terms of the 1967 Immigration Act, all foreigners living in Kenya were to apply for one of 12 different types of work permit from the Department of Immigration. Stringent fines were introduced for businesses that did not comply with possible withdrawal of business licenses.

Some of this task fell on Kibaki's docket as Minister for Commerce and Industry. The problems were exacerbated in 1968 when Britain refused to allow Asians from Kenya who held British passports and who could no longer get employment or trade in Kenya entry into their territory. By then there were an estimated 200,000 Kenya Asians who were entitled to British passports or already had them. Under the quota system outlined in the Commonwealth Immigration Bill, Britain was to accept a maximum of 1,500 a year and only the most highly qualified. The erection of immigration barriers in London stemmed an influx of Kenya Asians to Britain but also created a major problem locally for Kibaki.

Under the new Trade Licensing Act, quit notices were issued to traders in central business district. Managing this transition became a tricky business for Kibaki. The Act was geared to overhaul the whole distribution system, and affect prices.

It was Kibaki who announced Kenya's eight-point plan for Africanisation and Kenyatta dispatched him to London to seek an increase to the immigration quota.

# KNF 629

Kibaki's tenure as Minister for Finance was tested during the 1973-74 oil crisis. As the price of fuel rocketed, Kibaki was off to the streets to spur confidence that Kenya's economy would not falter. He would meet industrialists and other stakeholders to help spur economic growth.

JULY 1972:
Minister for
Finance and
economic
Planning Mr.
Kibaki admires
sweet potato
exhibits in the
farm and dairy
produce stand
aafter opening
the Contral
Province show
in Nyeri.

# **The Economist**



1968: Kibaki, Minister of Commerce and Industry, welcomes the Chairman of the East African Legislative Assembly Mr. H.E Sarwatt at a coktail party organised by the Assembly at Parliament Buildings, Nairobi.



Kibaki and his assistant minister for commerce, Mr A.N. Mutunga welcomes the Federal Minister for Economic Co-operative in West Germany, Mr.s Marie Schloi after her arrival at Nairobi Airport.

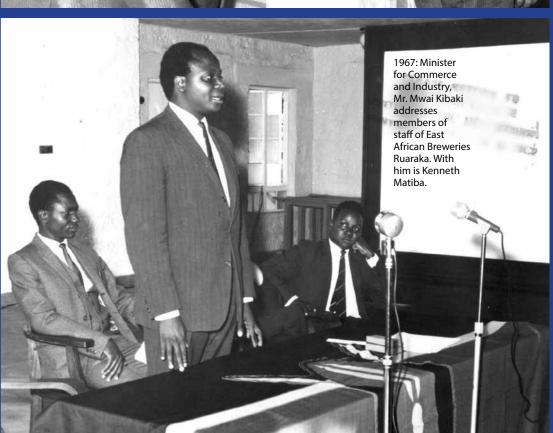


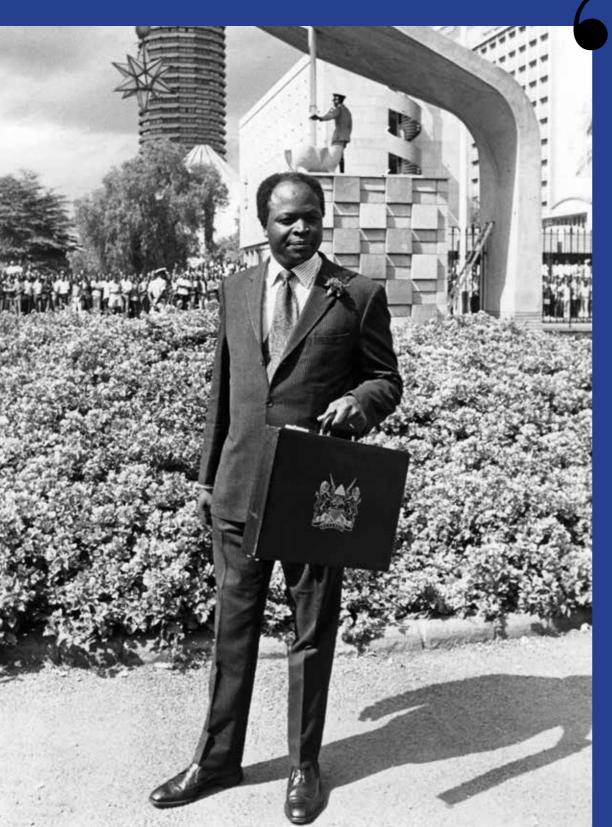


1967: As the MInister Industry Kibaki is seen (Top) handing keys for a fleet of mini-buses to the Managing Director of Lindbland-Irwin, Mr. Tonny Irwin at a ceremony at KENATCO Headquaters in Industrial Area, Nairobi. Looking on are Mr. Peter Spencer, General Manager of KENATCO, and Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Kenneth Matiba.



1973: The management of the Kenya Shilling after monetary crisis occassioned by the devaluation of the dollar left many countries in crisis. Here, Kibaki, announces the East African countries will maintain parity with the dollar at a press conference. With him is Central Bank Governor, Duncan Ndegwa, and PS Treasury, Phillip Ndegwa.





"I would like to advise Hon. Kibaki not to make himself a kind of Jesus to die for the sins of others. I say this because the **Minister for Finance** and Economic planning has an umbrella covering all the Ministries. But during the old times, when we used to have Mr. Humphrey **Slade as the Speaker** of this House, we used to have all **Ministers present** when there were matters concerning their Ministries. They used to take notes of the points raised in debate ... today ministers leave the **Minister for Finance** and Economic **Planning sitting here** throughout the day. Where are they now?"

Martin Shikuku in Parliament



January 1980: As Vice President Mwai kibaki escorts the President of the World Bank Mr. Robert McNamara (centre) at the end of his visit to see progress of Nairobi City Council projects financed by the bank. With them is Mr. Fritz Walchli, the Inter Continental Hotel general Manager







OCTOBER 1980: Some delegates from the Coast Province seen pledging their firm support to the Vice President Mr Mwai kibaki during Kanu elections at which he was overwhelmingly elected the party Vice President. Below, Kibaki is carried shoulder high by his supporters after being elected Kanu Vice President.

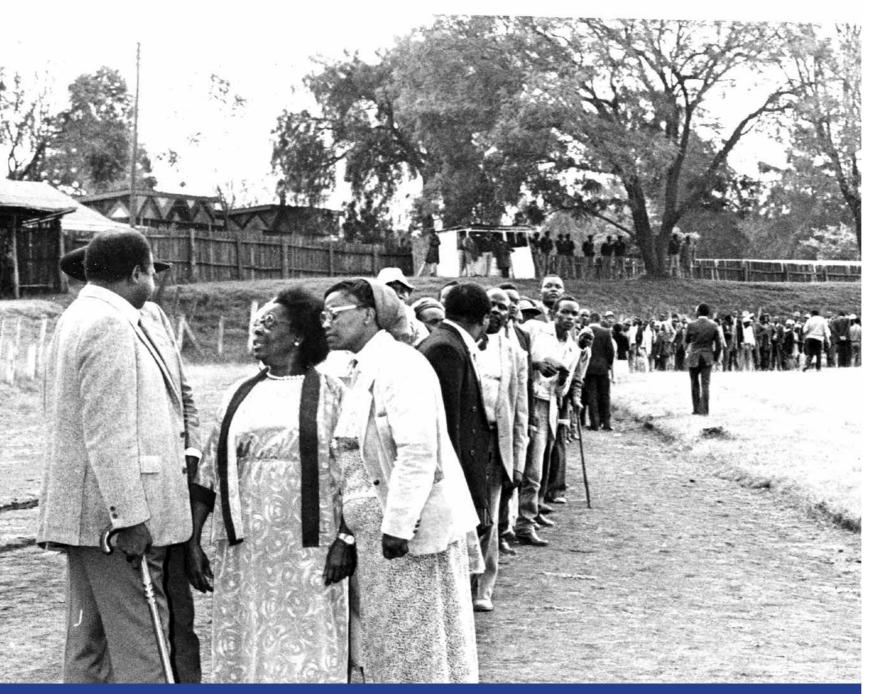




KANU DRIVE: Kibaki hands a Kanu life membership certificate to Nairobi businessman, Samson Muriithi in June 1979



Mwai Kibaki with Nyeri leaders (to his left) Isaiah Mathenge and Munene Kairu



1988: Already fallen out of favour with President Moi, there was an attempt to rig Kibaki out of parliament despite his growing popularity. He bitterly protested this attempt by saying that "rigging required intelligence." He was overwhemingly returned as Othya MP but dropped as Vice President after this queue-voting exercise.

n December 1991, Mwai Kibaki left Kanu and formed the Democratic Party. The Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD), the dominant political force in the early 1990s was critical of Kibaki for failing to join them. But being a political moderate, the populist politics of FORD would have been against his nature. The split of Ford into Ford-Kenya, led by Oginga Odinga and Ford Asili led by Kennth Matiba played into Kibaki's favour and solidified his reputation as a stable and principle-driven person. He came third in the elections that saw Moi secure 1.9 million votes, Keneth Matiba 1.4 million (26 per cent), and Kibaki over one million (or 19.5 per cent).

In the opposition, Kibaki distinguished himself in parliament once gain as an astute debater and a voice of reason.

In 1997, he contested the presidency again on a DP ticket and came second to incumbent President Moi, polling 1,911,742 votes against Moi's 2,500,856 votes. Raila Odinga was third with 667,886 votes.

With brilliant debates as the Leader of Official Opposition, Kibaki defined that office and gave it credibility. He also appointed a solid Shadow Cabinet which contributed fresh approaches to Government. During the 1997 – 2007 Parliamentary Session, Kibaki served as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and Member of the House Business Committee.

Kibaki immersed himself in the search for a new Constitution by joining other leaders calling for a total overhaul of the Lancaster Constitution.

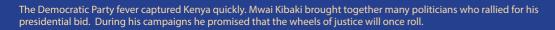
In 2002, he went into an alliance with other political leaders and parties and he became the candidate for the wider National Rainbow Alliance (NARC) to fight Kanu's dominance in national politics. Because of his record of integrity, honesty and experience in public service Kibaki became a natural choice for NARC.

He was overwhelmingly elected as Kenya's third President, garnering over 65 per cent of the popular vote and started to initiate critical economic changes in the country- even while nursing injuries from a motor vehicle accident during the campaigns.

Kibaki was sworn into office on December 29 amid a jubilant celebration. "I am inheriting a country which has been badly ravaged by years of misrule and ineptitude," he stated at his swearing – in-ceremony. ""The era of anything goes is now gone forever."



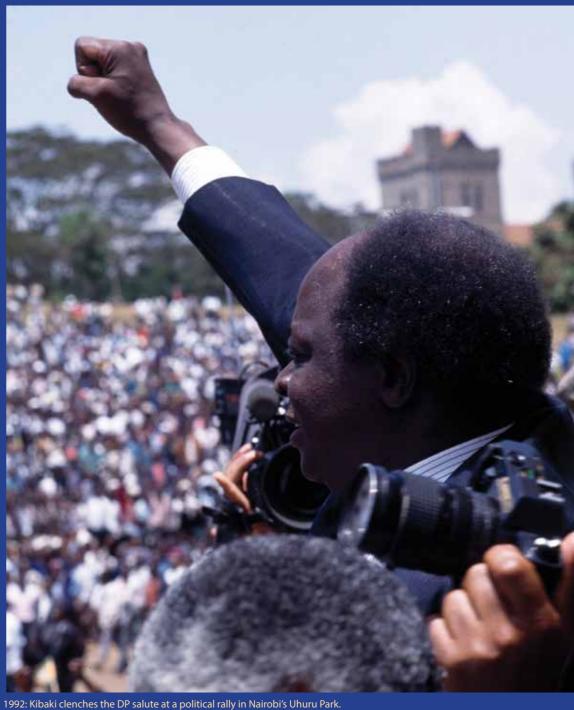




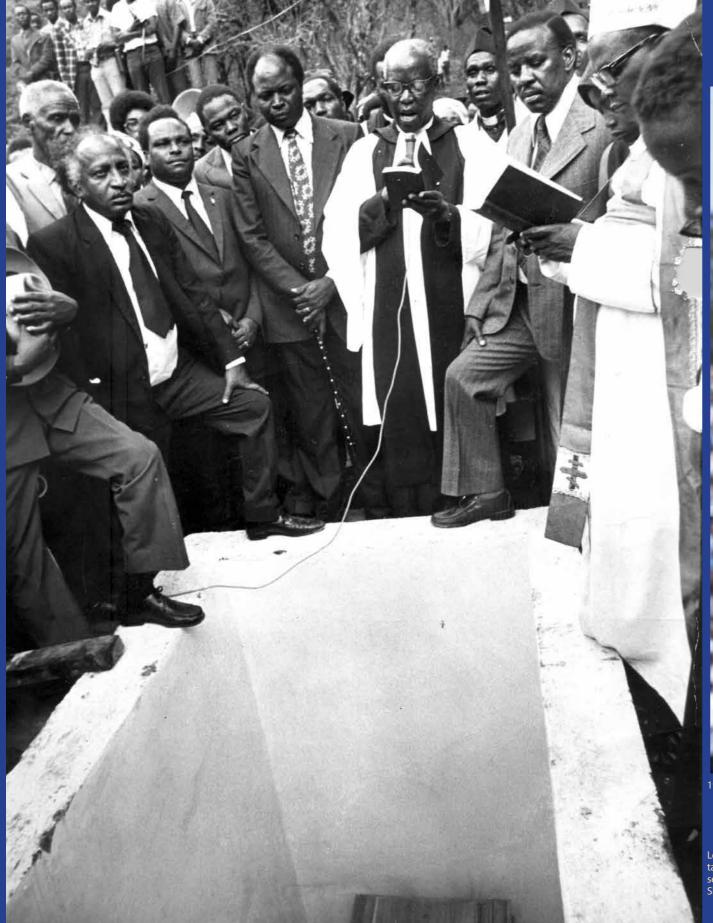


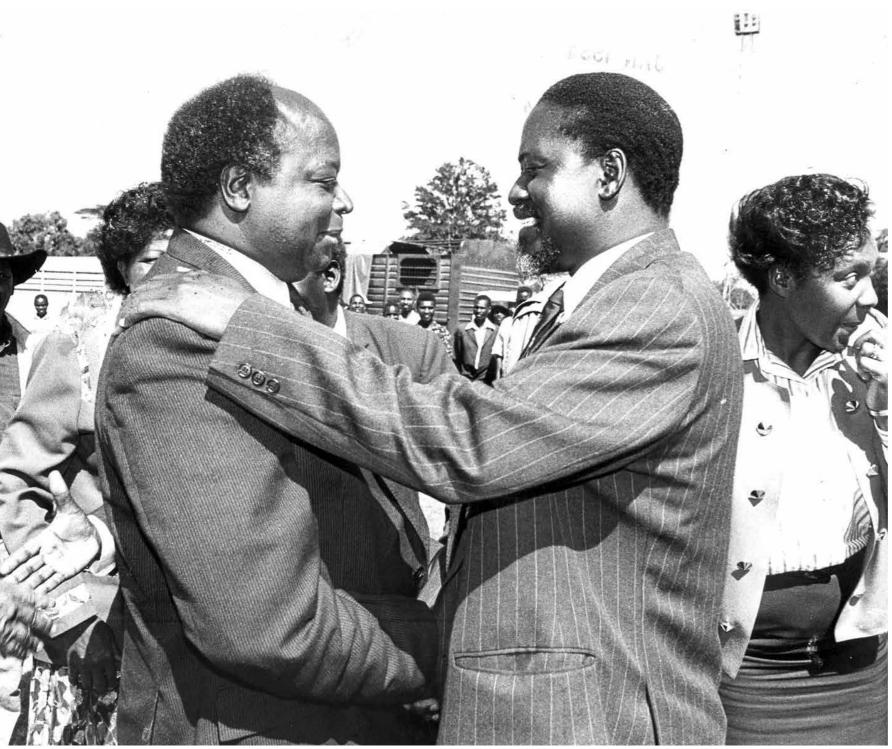


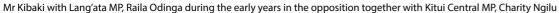




Left: The death of veteran politician JM Kariuki in 1975 saw Kibaki become an easy target by politicians out to defend their image over the murder. Kibaki was the seniormost politician during Kariuki's burial in Gilgil. With him is Charles Rubia and Shariff Nassir.









## Kibaki in the Opposition

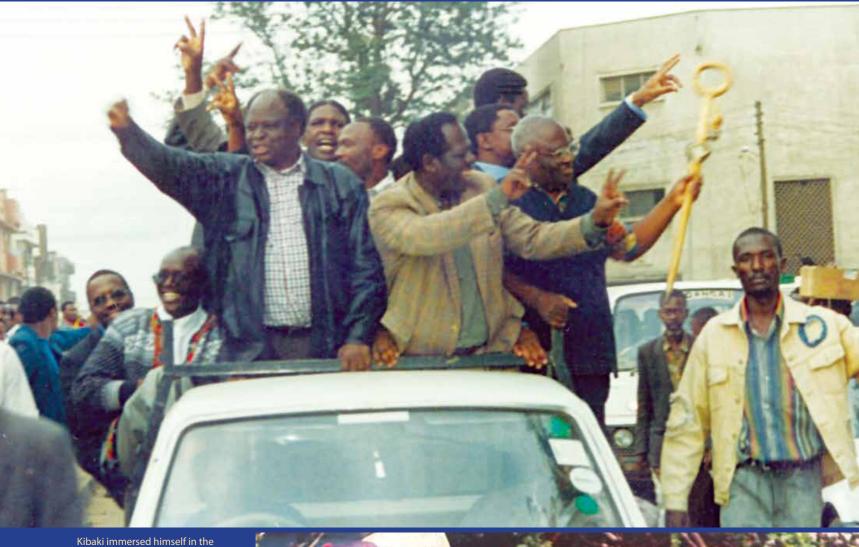
In December 1991, Kibaki quit Kanu and formed the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) after the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya. While he was criticized by Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) members for failing to join their party, Kibaki's moderate stand saw him attract many conservative and moderate politicians to his side. He came third in the elections that saw Moi secure 1.9 million votes, Keneth Matiba 1.4 million (26 per cent), and Kibaki over one million (or 19.5 per cent).

In the opposition, Kibaki distinguished himself in parliament once gain as an astute debater and a voice of reason. In 1997, he contested the presidency again on a DP ticket and came second to incumbent President Moi, polling 1,911,742 votes against Moi's 2,500,856 votes. Raila Odinga was third with 667,886 votes. With brilliant debates as the Leader of Official Opposition, Kibaki gave the new office credence and many Kenyans began to understand the crucial role of that office. During the 1997 – 2002 Parliamentary Session, Kibaki served as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and Member of the House Business Committee.



August 1992: Kibaki leads other opposition leader (from Left) Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KENDA) chairman, Prof Mukaru Ng'ang'a, Social Democratic Party chairman, Johnstone Makau, and SDP Secretary General Prof Anyang' Nyong'o at a Press Conference in Chester House, Nairobi.





Kibaki immersed himself in the search for a new Constitution by joining other leaders calling for a total overhaul of the Lancaster Constitution. Here he joins opposition leaders Michael Wamalwa Kijana and Martin Shikuku to a rally called by the National Constitution Executive Council, (NCEC). Below, police block Kibaki from attending a pro-change rally.





2002: National Alliance Party of Kenya Big Three, from left: charity Ngilu, Mwai Kibaki, and Ford K's Michael wamalwa after they were picked for Prime Minister, President and vice President positions respectively. The positions were later revised to accomondaté LDP



### From NAK to NARC

and Kijana Wamalwa had agreed to form a coalition that brought together their separate parties: Democratic Party (DP), Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Ford Kenya. The formation of National Alliance of Kenya (NAK) came at a time when KANU was going through a nomination crisis on its Presidential flagbearer to succeed Daniel arap Moi. Those who had shown interest in the position included Kanu Secretary General, Raila Odinga, Cabinet Minister Kalonzo Musyoka, Uhuru Kenyatta and Vice--President George Saitoti. By settling for Uhuru Kenyatta, Moi scuttled the bids of other politicians forcing them to decamp to Liberal Democratic Party of Kenya (LDP) from where they started negotiating with NAK for a solid alliance to battle Kanu. The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) was born with Kibaki as the flag bearer.
Narc scored a decisive victory in the 2002 elections with Kibaki garnering 65 per cent of the popular vote thus ending Kanu's dominance of Kenya's politics since 1963.





## The reformer



The arrival of Prof Yash Pal Ghai to lead the Constitution making exercise was a major breakthrough. Here, Kibaki is seen with the Prof Ghai and a Constitution of Kenya Review Commission official, PLO Lumumba



# Passion for Education

## **Passion for Education**

As captured in the archives of St. Mary's School.



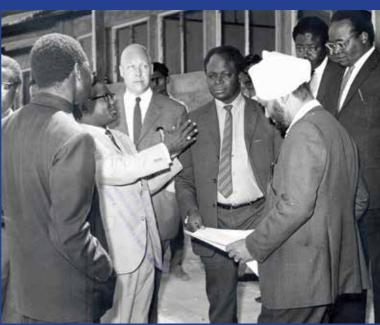
To Uhuru with Distinction (Uhuru Kenyatta receives 'A' Level History prize)

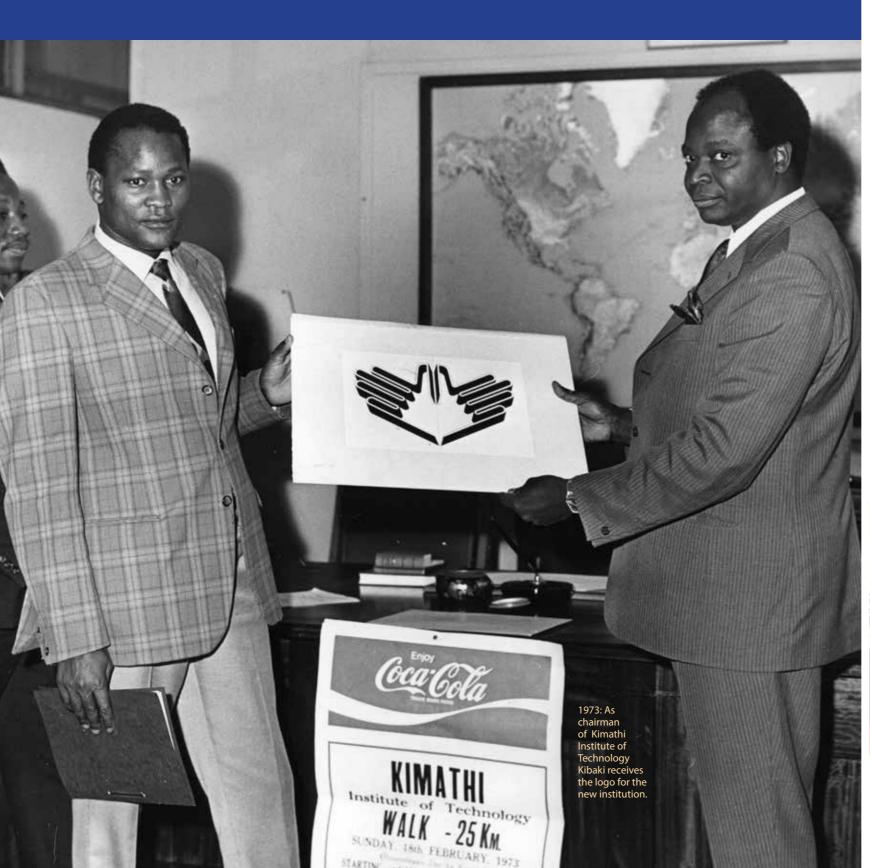


Father and Son (David Kibaki receives 1st prize Standard 7)









#### **Passion for Education**

**Education** is now the most important factor of production. No one, no country can be competitive without massive investment in education. We must therefore ensure all our children have access to quality education. This is the only way of giving them a fair chance in life in today's world. But it should not just be education. We must look at the particular bodies of knowledge and skills that are driving economies around the world and that will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. Let us focus on these areas and others that are relevant to the needs of our country and the world market."

Mwai Kibaki



January 2013: 40 years later President Kibaki signs awards charter to the Dedan Kimathi University in the company of Mukami Kimathi, widow of freedom fighter Dedan Kimathi.



Kibaki visits Starehe Boys Centre in Nairobi in the company of Education minister, Prof George Saitoti, State House Comptroller Matere Keriri and the School's founder Geofrey Griffin. Bottom: Kibaki meets students at a girls's school.











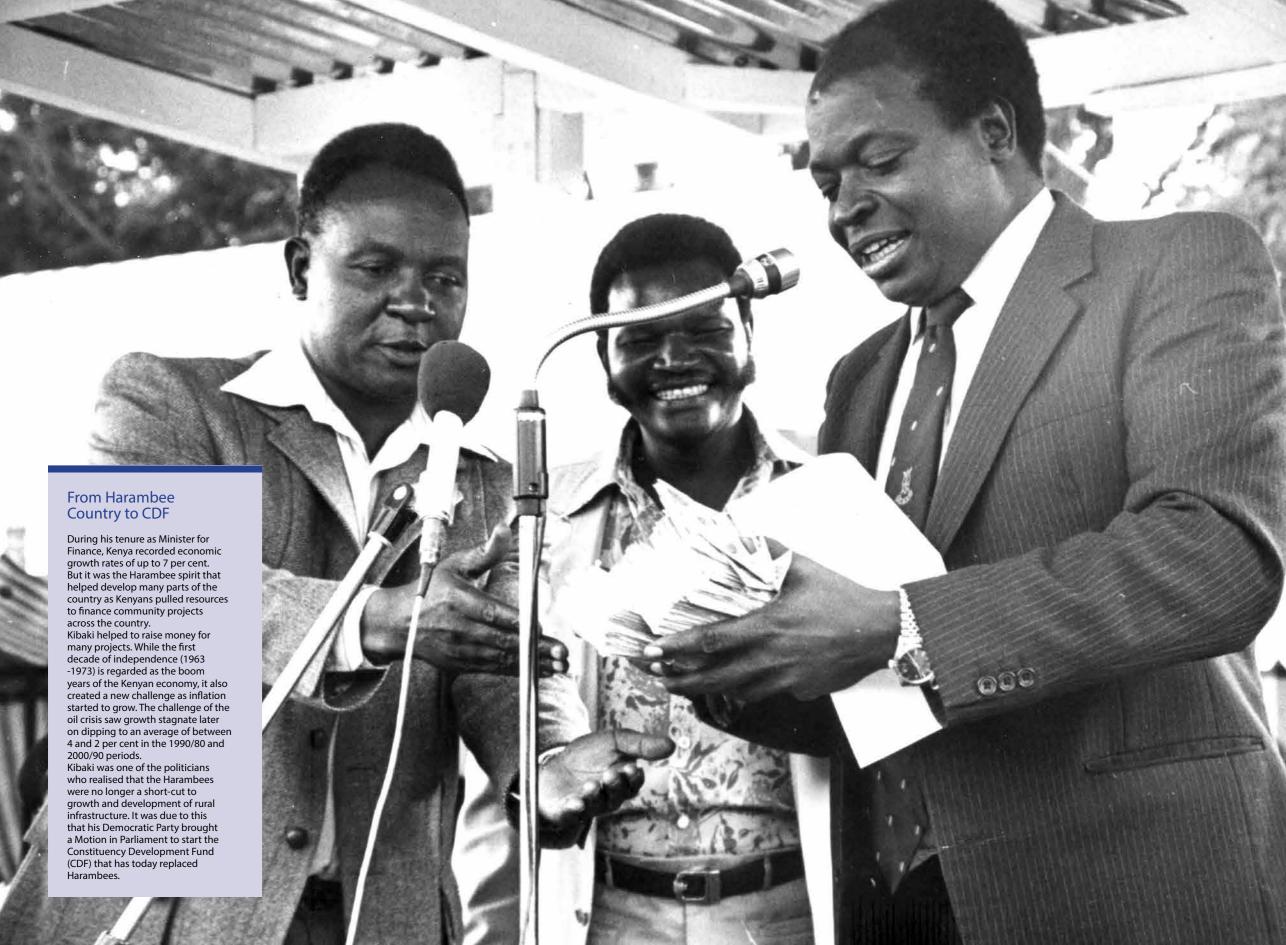


Kibaki takes an official photo with the staff of Starehe Boys Centre in Nairobi. while below, he meets Mr Kimani Maruge, the world;s oldest pupil who had returned to school as a beneficiary of Free Primary Education and other students.

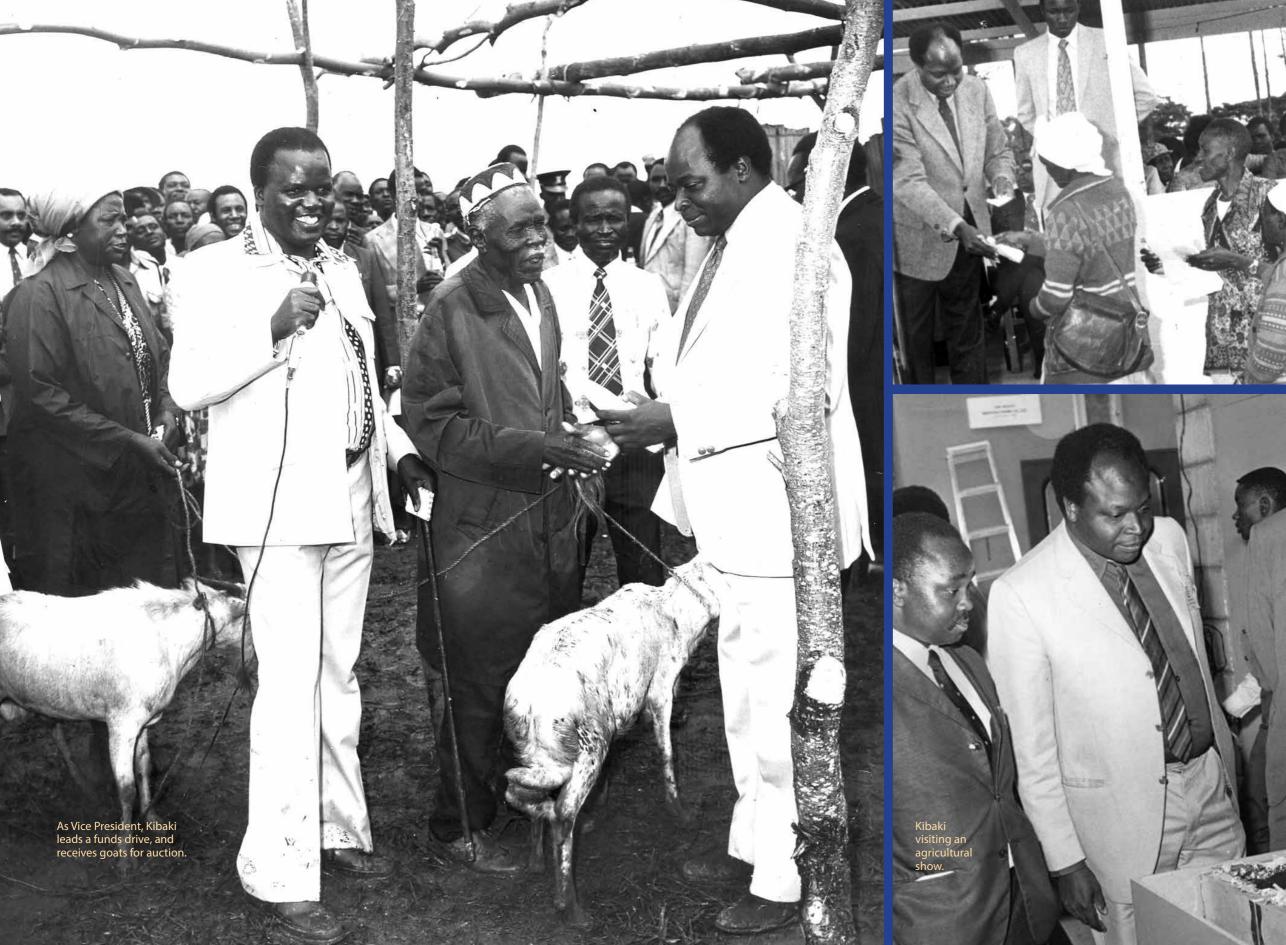








Kibaki the working man



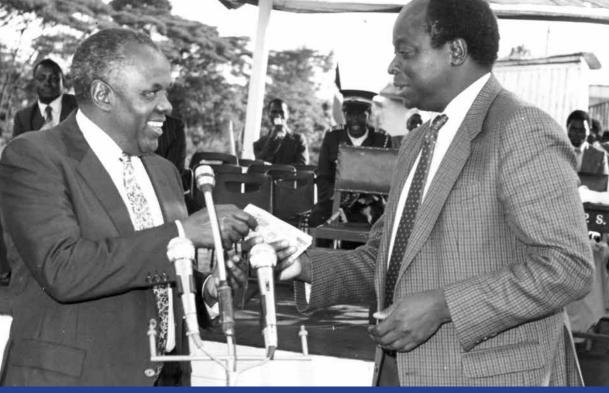
## **Kibaki the working man**

We should not try to deceive our people that socialism will bring things from **Heaven easily. Every** single person in this country must be prepared to sacrifice. I mean sacrifice in the sense that we must be prepared to work hard and to save and invest. If we are not prepared to do it voluntarily, this paper has declared that this State is entitled to enforce people to work, to enforce savings, to enforce people and even **Members of Parliament** to pull their weight."

Mwai Kibaki on the Sessional Paper No 10

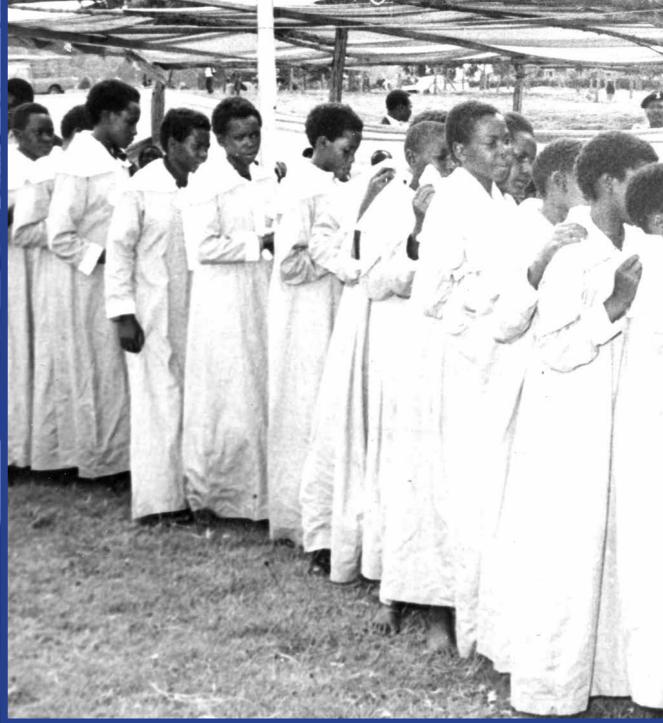






As the Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs Mr. Mwai kibaki presents his donation of Shs. 10000 to Mr. Njenga Karume who was the guest of honour during a fund raising meeting in aid of Chongi Primary School in Nyeri.





1983: Kibaki, then Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs leads a Harambee funds drive in aid of African independent Pentecostal Church of Africa, Othaya, Nyeri

1989: Kibaki receives a gift from Mrs Manu Chandaria. Industrialist, Mr Manu Chandaria looks on.





Vice President Kibaki receives a Shs20 donation from four year old Jane Mano during a funds drive in aid of Kwale primary schools



First Lady Mrs Lucy Kibaki







ALWAYS TOGETHER: Kibaki and wife, Lucy, were a constant feature in many official functions.



Mrs Kibaki has supported her husband to raise a very good family, stick with him, shoulder to shoulder all through. I have a lot of admiration for Mrs Kibaki. I like her stand as a no nonsense lady and very family oriented.."

Joe Wanjui

irst lady, Mama Lucy Kibaki has been the bedrock of Kibaki's success in politics. Born Lucy Muthoni Kagai in 1940's, Mama Lucy is the daughter of late Rev John Kagai and Rose Nyachomba – former pastor with the Presbyterian Church of East Africa at Nyeri County's Muhito Parish in Mukurweini.

The First lady, after going through her basic education in Mukurweini, passed her primary school exams and was admitted to the prestigious Alliance Girls High School before undergoing her teacher's training course.

Mama Lucy first taught at Kamwenja Teachers College before she was transferred to Kambui College now known as Kambui Girls from where she got to know Kibaki – then the Kanu Executive Officer - when he was establishing grassroots' branches for the new party. The 28-year-old Kibaki would drive his Peugeot 404, bought by Kanu, to Kambui and together with John Keen they would meet either at the APS Quarters near Githunguri Town, or at the Kiambu Golf Club. Others in the mix would be Kiambu beer distributor and later politician, Njenga Karume and his business partner, Charles Kigwe.

After 1963 Lucy quit her teaching career after Kibaki had won the Donholm parliamentary seat. This allowed her to raise the young family while also concentrating on family business.

For many years, Lucy undertook many grassroot campaigns and was the patron of several women's groups in Othaya where she also earned respect as a tea farmer. She was also a constant face alongside Kibaki during State functions.

Lucy continued to be in the national limelight after the formation of Democratic Party (DP) and trailed Kibaki's presidential campaigns.

Close friends of President Kibaki describe

the First lady as the bedrock of Kibaki's political career.

"To be in leadership you need that kind of back-up. She has raised a very good family for the President. I think she is a first class lady," says Dr Joe Wanjui, the Chancellor of Nairobi University who has known the couple for many years. "I have a lot of admiration for her and I like her courage. She is a no nonsense lady".

The late Njenga Karume, who had known Mama Lucy, even before he met President Kibaki says Lucy has been very supportive of the husband "and they both love their children totally". In State House and as first lady, Lucy has been a fervent campaigner on the HIV/AIDS and the girl child educations. She is the the Patron of Kenya Girl Guides Association.

Mama Lucy is known for her support to the underprovided and the physically challenged.

In 2003, she launched the Kenya Chapter of the Organization of African First Ladies against HIV/Aids (OAFLA).

The role of the organization was to advocate for increased awareness and mobilise resources to fight HIV/Aids at the national, regional and international level.

Through her effort, Kenya began the Treat Every Child as your Own Campaign that has contributed to the improvement of the welfare of children in Kenya ranging from a reduction in child labour, girl child prostitution, female genital mutilation and the mother-to-child transmission of HIV/AIDS.

Due to these efforts, a new hospital in Nairobi – Mama Lucy Kibaki Hospital - was named after her. Together with President Kibaki, they have four children; Judy, David, Jimmy, and Tony; and six grandchildren.



First Lady Lucy comforts a student during the opening of Starehe Girls.



First Lady Lucy, joins Kibaki during a meet-the-people tour.



First Lady Lucy applauds entertainers during a national day in Nairobi.





Besides being the First Lady, Mrs Lucy Kibaki is the love of her grandchildren and enjoys being among them



# BRITAIN'S GULAG

The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya



# Disturbing and herrifying... important and mea-

British bught in the Second World War to save their from howers But pot a few years after the delet from howers But pot a few years after the delet hitler came the May Max opinising in Kenya - a max armed rebellus by the May open people, demanding to course of Britans colonial government was to present the entire River sopulation of one-and-a milico - to hald them in camps or confine them in visiges roged with barbed wire - and to portrar as treat them as sub-human savages.

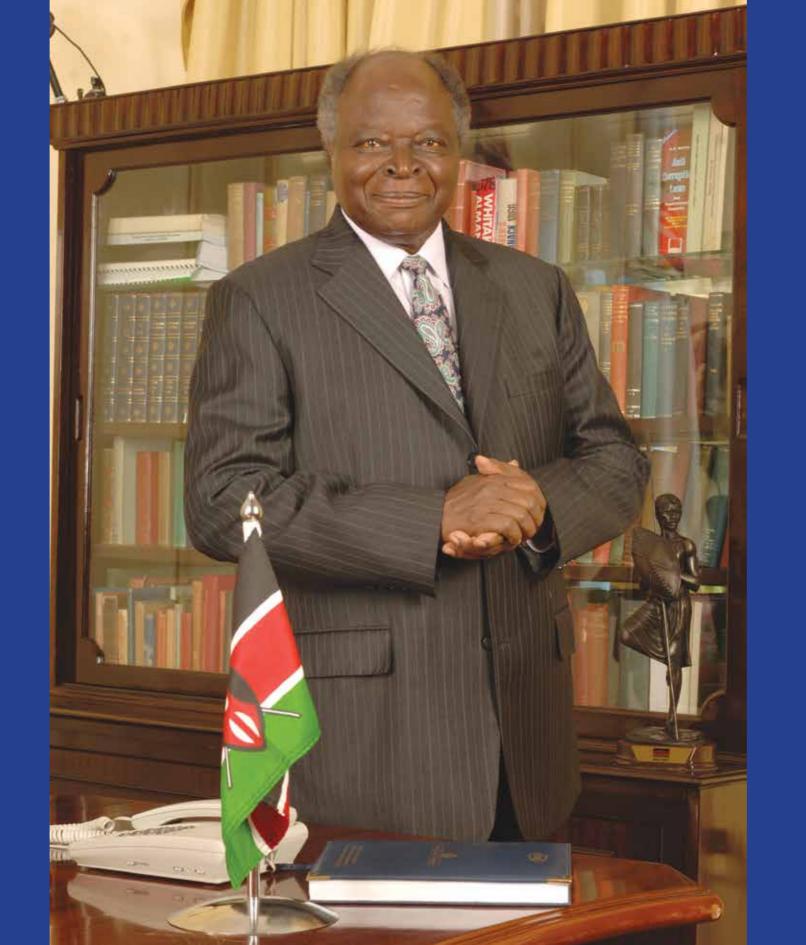
From 1952 until the end of the withousands of detainees – and ruthousand in more – died from inflaustion, disease, stanval tridailly. Until now these elegistic because the British Decause the British Decause the British

Cernine Elements com plece legather the stary and intervening sever

Britain's Goldgentals









2002: Mwai Kibaki as he was sworn-in as Kenya's Third president to succeed Moi following the NARC victory.

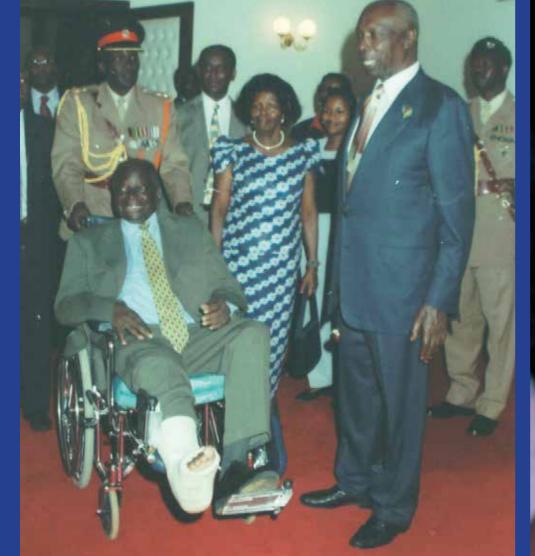
I am inheriting a country which has been badly ravaged by years of misrule and ineptitude. There has been a wide disconnect between the people and the **Government, between** people's aspirants and the Government's attitude toward them... We want to bring back the culture of due process, accountability and transparency in public office. The era of "anything goes" is gone forever. Government will no longer be run on the whims of individuals. The era of roadside policy declarations is gone. My Government's decisions will be guided by teamwork and consultations."

Mwai Kibaki





2002: The sword Passes over: A smiling former President Moi hands over the Sword of honour of the commander in Chief of the armed Forces of Kenya to his beaming successor, President Mwai Kibaki, during the swearing in ceremony at Uhuru Park in Nairobi. Power changed hands swiftly, smoothly and peacefully.









2002: Kibaki took the leadership of the country while on a wheelchair after a motor accident during the campaigns. But that did not dampen his spirit to lead the country to more prosperity. Clockwise: Kibaki at his Muthaiga home shortly after he was declared the winner of the 2002 Presidential race. In other pictures, Kibaki is shown around State House by former President Moi.



n 2001, Mwai Kibaki, Charity Ngilu and Kijana Wamalwa had agreed to form a coalition that brought together their separate parties: Democratic Party (DP), Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Ford Kenya. The formation of National Alliance of Kenya (NAK) came at a time when KANU was going through a nomination crisis on its Presidential flagbearer to succeed Daniel arap Moi.

Those who had shown interest in the position included Kanu Secretary General, Raila Odinga, Cabinet Ministers Kalonzo Musyoka and Uhuru Kenyatta and Vice--President George Saitoti.

By settling for Uhuru Kenyatta, Moi scuttled the bids of other politicians forcing them to decamp to Liberal Democratic Party of Kenya (LDP) from where they started negotiating with NAK for a solid alliance to battle Kanu. The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) was born with Kibaki as the flag bearer.

Narc scored a decisive victory in the 2002 elections with Kibaki garnering 65 per cent of the popular vote thus ending Kanu's dominance of Kenya's politics since 1963.

Kibaki's first term was complicated by wrangles within the coalition after the LDP wing felt shortchanged on the distribution of portfolios. In Parliament, the LDP voted against Government motions and increasingly teamed up with Kanu to frustrate the Government. Matters got worse after a draft Constitution was crafted and the LDP members joined hands with Kanu to oppose the document. This led to the birth of Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) after the Orange symbol for the NO campaign during the Constitution. Kibaki fired the LDP members from his Government and they all started campaigning against his Government. The leader of this new group was Raila Odinga

Immediately he became President, Kibaki unveiled the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation. As a result of its implementation, GDP expanded by 5.8 per cent in 2003 compared to 0.4 per cent when he

took over in 2002.

He also launched Vision 2030, his development plan to reach a GDP growth of 10 per cent annually and transform Kenya into a middleincome economy by 2030.

This has included rehabilitation and expansion of infrastructure - roads, rail, power generation, telecommunications and port services.

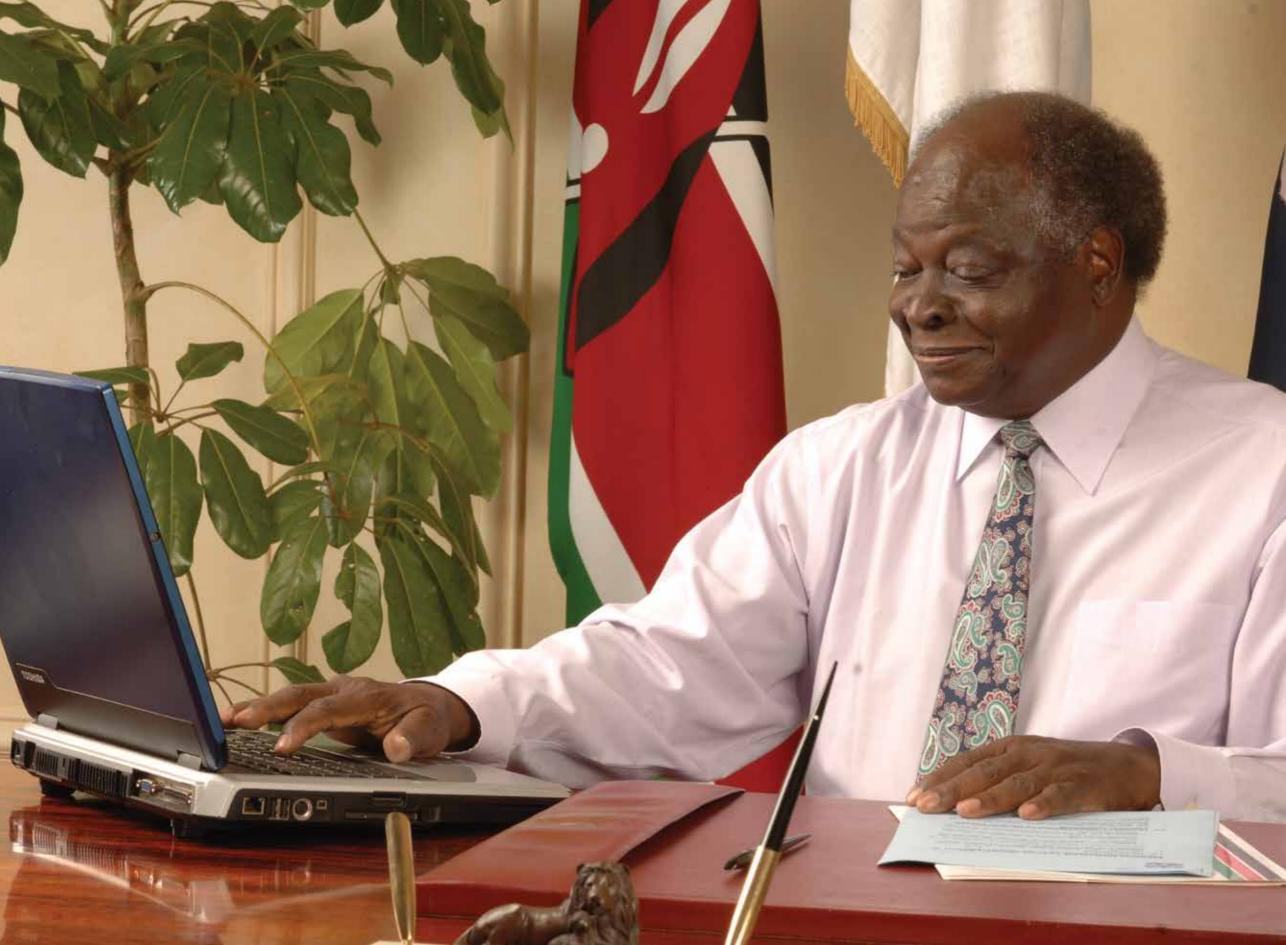
Kibaki also launched an investigation of the country's banking system and ordered an inquiry into a complex bank scandal known as the Goldenberg affair, in which the Central Bank paid out money for nonexistent export credits.

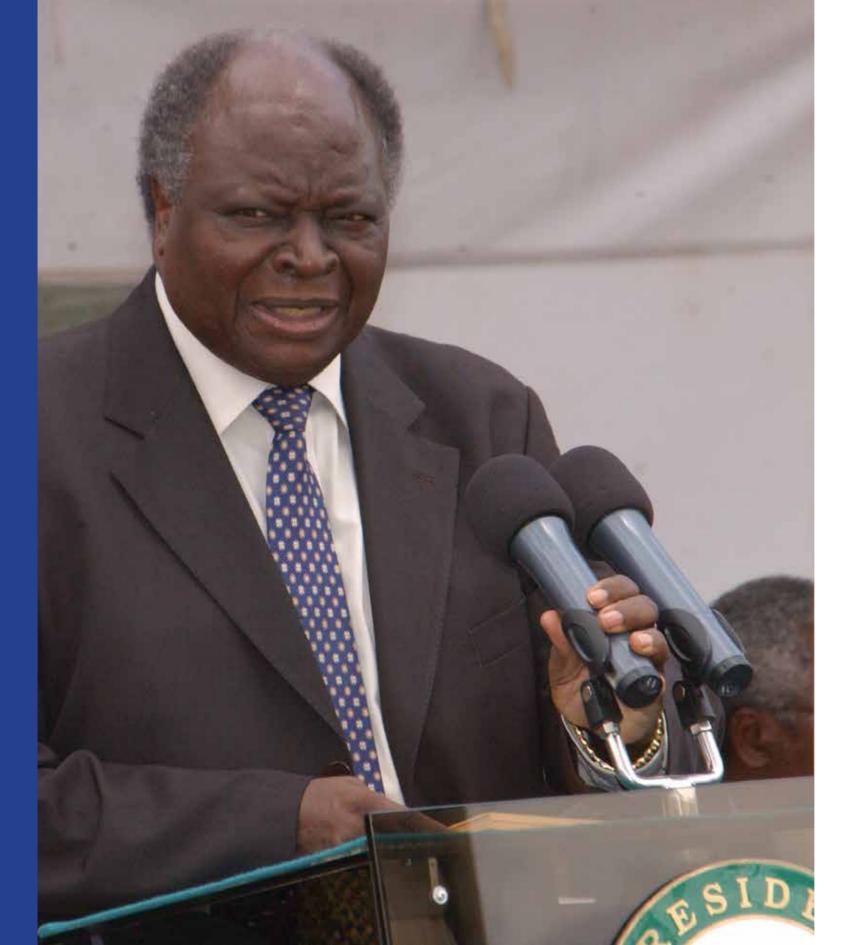
Also Kibaki rolled out the free primary education and the Government started providing free drugs for malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS.

It has also meant transformation of institutions of good governance and this led to the promulgation of a new Constitution for Kenya in August 2011 after many false starts.

The long campaigns period became extremely divisive and balkanizing. One of my wishes is that Kenya can actually legislate on how long campaign periods should be and proper mechanisms be put in place to deal with those who flout this..."

Mwai Kibaki reflecting back on the opposition to his Government





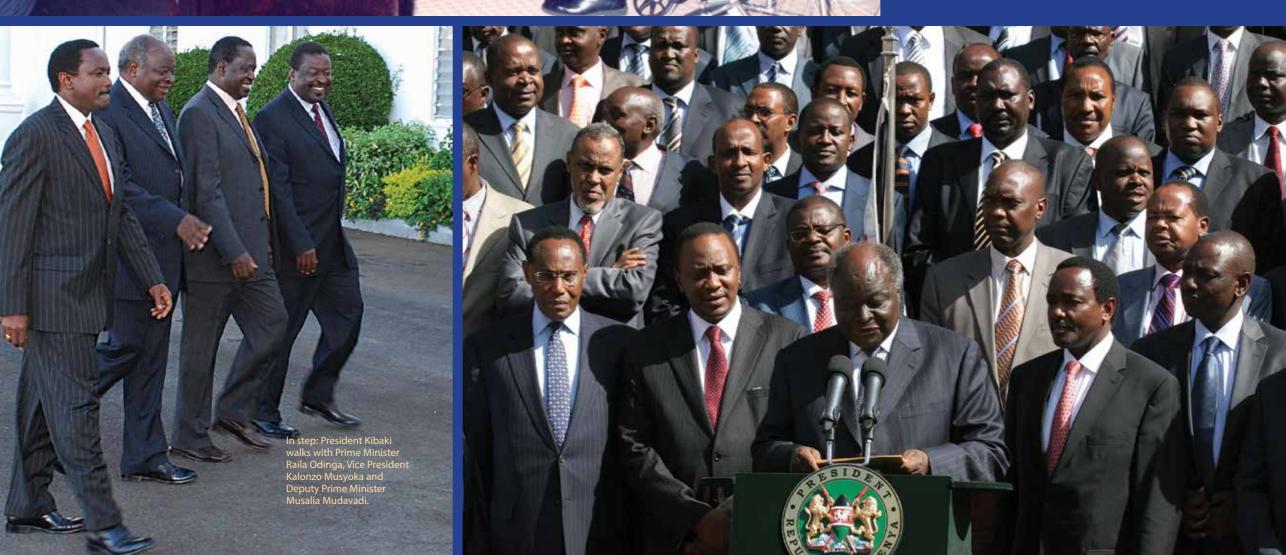


Above: The Cabinet after the President removed members of the Orange Movement after the 2005 Referendum fall-out. Below: Kibaki addresses the Nation on the ICC process soon after a meeting of the Grand Coalition





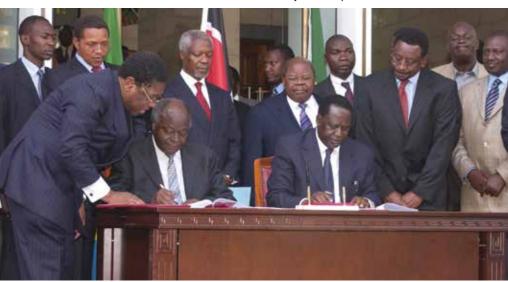
Kibaki chairs one of his first Cabinet sessions. Seen in the picture are Vive President Wamalwa Kijana, Finance Minister David Mwiraria and Roads Minister, Raila Odinga.





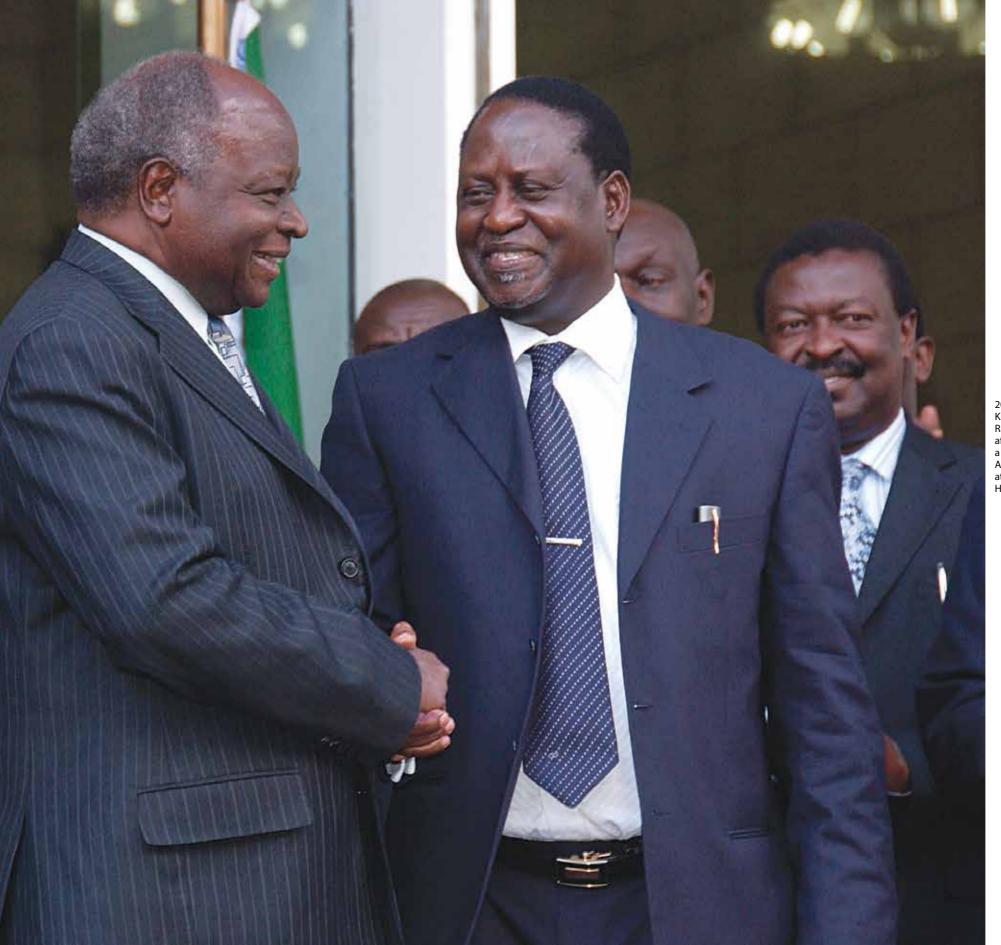
TOP: Opposition supporters brandish crude weapons during protests in Nairobi after the 2007 general elections. Police battled protesters in blazing slums on Monday as President Mwai Kibaki began a second term after a disputed vote that has convulsed Kenya, hurt its democratic credentials, and brought a rising death-toll. REUTERS/Thomas Mukoya (KENYA)

BELOW: President Mwai Kibaki and ODM leader Raila Odinga sign coalition agreement at his Harambee House office. Looking on is Tanzania President Jakaya Kikwete, Chief mediator Kofi Annan and former Tanzania President Benjamin Mkapa.



Kenyans will always prefer peace over conflict, prosperity over desolation, unity over discord and justice over injustice. That is why on February 28, 2008, I and Hon Raila Odinga signed the National accord because our people had spoken clearly that they wanted one Kenya - in which all lived in peace, justice and harmony.

President Kibaki



2008: President Kibaki and Raila O dinga after signing a Coalition Agreement at Harambee House, Nairobi.







The youth are the backbone of our nation. This is why I am personally committed to their empowerment... I know that in any country no effective development can take place without the participation of the youth. I am therefore keen to see our young people play their role in our national endeavors of building our country into a vibrant and dynamic working and caring nation".

President Kibaki speaking at the St. John ambulance annual parade and inspection at KICC on 25th June, 2006





SALUTE: Vice President Kalonzo Musyoka gives President Kibaki the three-finger scout salute as Francis Kaparo, Scouts Commissioner, looks on.



As the Patron of the Scouts movement, President Kiabaki has always given his support to the youth.











President Kibaki opens a road project.







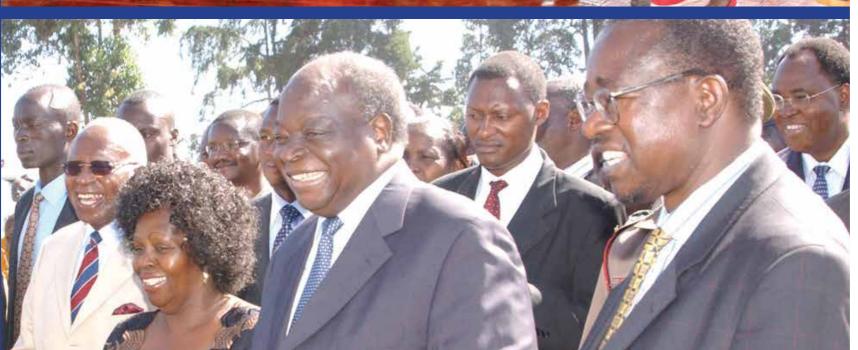
During his first term, President Kibaki joins agricultural officials, Minister Kipruto Kirwa (right) in a GMO laboratory.



Cabinet Minister Raphael Tuju (left) explains a point to President Kibaki.







Clockwise: Kibaki joins Minister John Munyes and traditional dancers while (bottom) President Mwai Kibaki and First Lady Lucy Kibaki, accompanied by West Mugirango MP (r) Henry Obwocha and Finance Minister Simeon Nyachae (L) arrive at Rugenyo Primary School to start a tour of Nyamira and Kisii Districts. Extreme left: President Kibaki and First Lady Lucy Kibaki join a pro-Constitution campaign.





Tourism minister Najib Balala joins his voters in celebrations at the victory by the 'YES' campaign team in referendum along Mombasa's Hospital Road. And below, supporters of the 'NO' campaign addressed by Higher Education Minister William Ruto, Information Minister Samuel Poghisio, Lugari MP Cyrus Jirongo among other leaders at Kipchoge Stadium in Kapsabet Town on July 12, 2010.





A pro-Constitution campaigner arrives in style at Uhuru Park on August 01, 2010 for a rally.



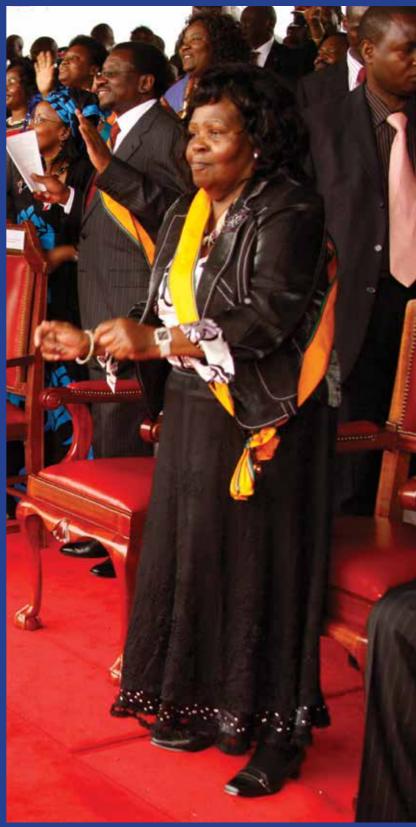






HISTORIC MOMENT:
The promulgation of
the New Constitution
was one of the most
important days for the
nation. Besides the
colourful display of
might by the Armed
Forces, President
Kibaki shared the
happy moments
with his family and
grandchildren.





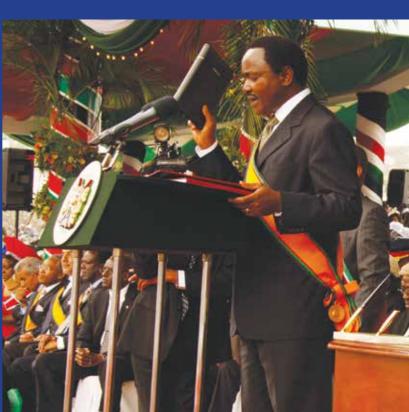


Cabinet Ministers take their oath of office after the promulgation of the New Constitution.

Kibaki's personal secretary Nick Wanjohi (third left) and Isaiya Kabira, head of PPS, at the Promulgation Ceremony.



President Kalonzo Musyoka takes oath of office after the Promulgation of a New Constitution.

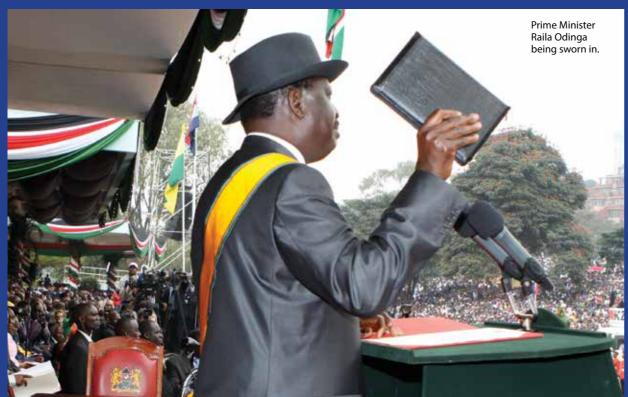






Traditional dancers entertaining wananchi during the celebrations that followed Promulgation.

Below: President Yoweri Museveni, President Paul Kagame and Comoros President.





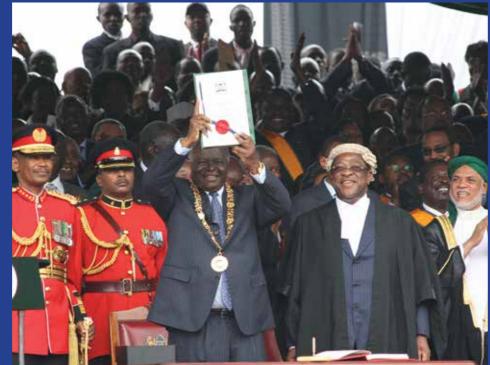




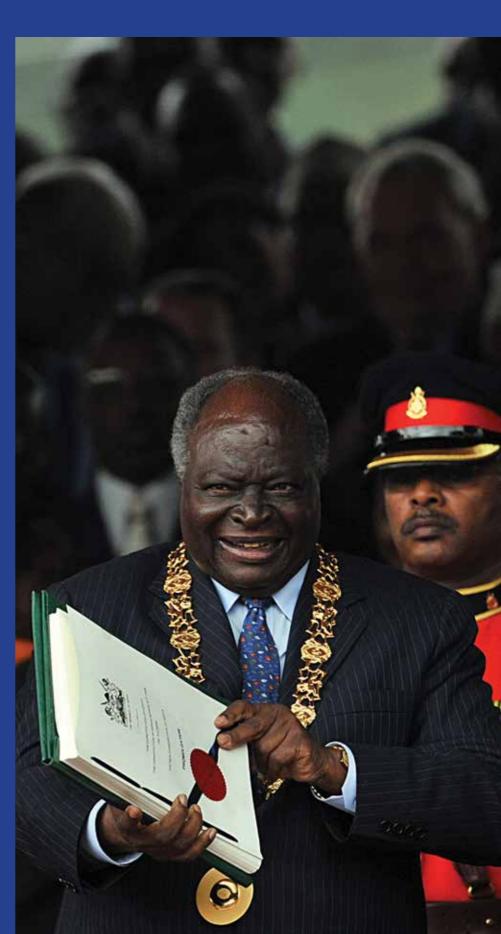
President Mwai Kibaki takes the Oath of Alegiance to the New Constitution, before the presence of the Chief Justice, Evans Gicheru during the Promulgation of the New Constitution at Uhur Park, Nairobi.

**The Constitution** I promulgated in August 2010 is the boldest step the Kenyan people have taken towards changing their lives. This constitution, which Kenyans sought fruitlessly for more than two decades, effected fundamental changes in the way in which the country shall be governed

President Kibaki



President Mwai Kibaki signs the new constitution into law at a public function witnessed by the nation at Uhuru Park, Nairobi. Standing by is Attorney General Amos Wako









President
Mwai Kibaki
addressing
Members of
Parliament
during the
official opening
of the 10th
Parliament at
Parliament
Buildings,
Nairobi.

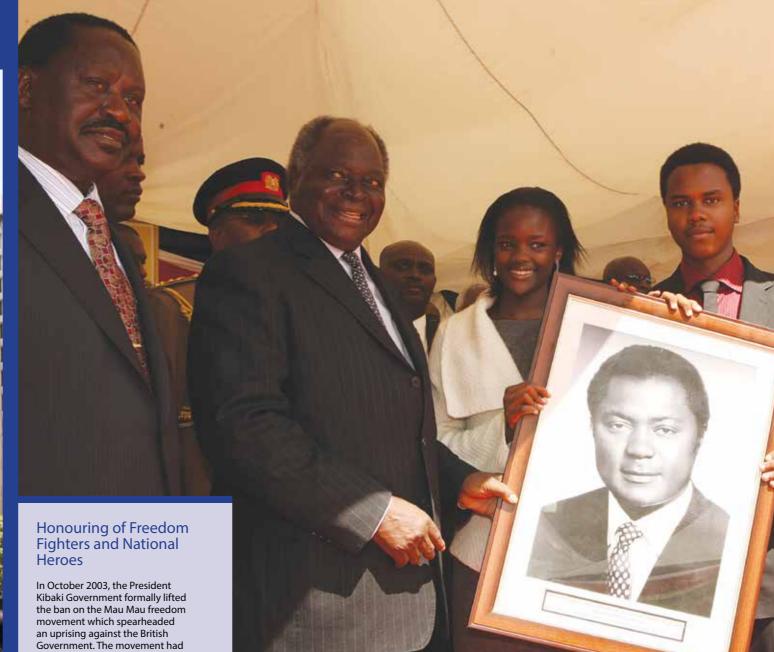


# St. Paul Miki

TOP: Kibaki and his wife, Mama Lucy Kibaki tour Nyumbani children's home in Nairobi. Below: He visits maternity ward at Kenyatta National Hospital.

# **The President**



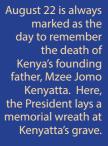


been banned since 1953 and by lifting the ban, the Government gave its members a chance to claim for compensation from the British Government.

The Mau Mau freedom fighters had for years complained that successive Governments had failed to recognize their role in the freedom struggle. Today, a statue of Mau Mau leader Dedan Kimathi Wachiuri is erected at the Central Business District in Nairobi along Kimathi Street. Kibaki also unveiled a monument in honour of Tom Mboya, who was assasinated in 1969. The Government has also

maintained the burial sites of various national heroes as monuments.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS: The Government took a lead initiative in honouring forgotten freedom fighters. During his presidency, Kibaki unveiled a monument in honour of Mau Mau freedom fighter, Dedan Kimathi and another for his political friend, Tom Mboya. Above, in 2011, Kibaki meets with Mboya's grandchildren shortly after unveiling his statue, along Moi Avenue and right, he unveils Kimathi's monument in 2007 together with Kimathi's widow, Mukami.





In order to preserve the memories of their deeds for posterity, we have identified, demarcated, and registered the Heroes Square at the Uhuru Gardens' grounds. The Heroes Square will honour our past, present and future heroes and heroines."

President Kibaki



REMEMBRANCE DAYS: President Kibaki walks to the Kenyatta Mausoleum and left, he attends the burial ceremony of freedom fighter, Bildad Kaggia.





Pleasure to meet you: Mukami Kimathi, wife of freedom fighter, Dedan Kimathi with President Kibaki. The late freedom fighter Achieng Oneko, and Heritage Minister Suleiman Shakombo, look on.

first heard of Kibaki in 1960. He was always in the news as the Kanu executive officer. We were in high school then and some of the names that we used to admire included Kibaki, Tom Mboya and Dr Julius Gikonyo Kiano.

But I first met Kibaki in 1967 when I was in Nyeri High School while in Form V and as a member of the Economics Club. Kibaki – as the minister for Commerce- had already launched a campaign "Buy Kenyan, Build Kenya" and we liked the concept. He was very impressed with our club.

# My First Impression

My initial impression of Kibaki was that of a sharp, knowledgeable and confident politician. When I joined the Provincial Administration in 1972, Kibaki was already a Finance minister and was deemed one of the best ministers.

### My First Admiration

I came to admire him during the budget of 1975. This is the time he said that the soft options have ended. He wanted to protect local industries. It was he who came up with import substitution policies that helped the local industrial sector expand.

### My first official meeting

I first met and interacted with Kibaki officially as a Government officer in 1986 when I was working as a diplomat. Kibaki had come to an OAU (Organisation of African Unity) meeting in Addis Ababa. I was to brief him as Vice-President and he was together with foreign affairs minister Elijah Mwangale. I was to brief him on issues that were to be discussed by the Council of Ministers. What surprised me that time was that he was alone and he had not come with any staff from Nairobi. I found this strange and did not ask him why he was alone.

# When I almost lost my job for meeting Kibaki

I was appointed Kenyan Ambassador to the European Economic Community (he served in Brussels, Belgium from 1988 – 1993) and one day by accident I met Kibaki as I was heading home to see my ailing father. This time Kibaki was

the Chairman of Democratic Party (DP) and he was leading a (parliamentary) delegation from Washington DC. I went to his cabin and wanted to greet him as the Kenyan ambassador in Brussels. Somebody reported me to Nairobi that I was about to join DP and that my father was not sick. That time I almost lost my job and some security agents were sent to my rural home to verify whether my father had been sick. I did not meet him again until October 1999 when he came to attend President Julius Nyerere's funeral when I was the East African Community Secretary General.

### The Transition from Kanu

As a Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Environment in 2002, I was preparing to go home after Kanu was removed from power. I thought we were winding up and I called Dr Sally Kosgey (then head of civil service and secretary to the Cabinet) asking her whether we should resign. She told us to hold on. The same day I called her, I heard an announcement that I had been appointed the PS Ministry of Provincial Administration and Internal Security. My minister was Dr Chris Murungaru. But after only one month, I was transferred to Office of the President as Permanent Secretary, Head of the Public Service, and Secretary to the Cabinet.

Until this time I had not met Kibaki since our meeting in Arusha. This was a surprise because I was a senior member of Moi's Government.

### My Initial Meeting as PS

When I met him Kibaki after I was appointed to OP, he told me he was very happy to work with me and that I was free to go and see him in State House any time I wanted. This surprised me because I had not known him much. Again, I had been in the previous Government.

### Working with Kibaki

Kibaki is a very detailed man. There are times I would go to ask him a question and get embarrassed. What I found interesting about him is that he insists on written briefs before any meeting. He also wants all the original letters plus any other attachments. And once you give him these documents, you have to have copies because it is very difficult to retrieve

written materials from him. So, every time I went to see him, I carried two copies.

Again if you are going to brief him, you have to be clear and straightforward. He doesn't like to be taken round.

## Line of Authority

In any briefing, Kibaki doesn't talk about other people. He hates gossip and respects line of authority. He will always be happy to be briefed by his minister and permanent secretary. That way, he can hold people accountable. I realized Kibaki becomes impatient if he doesn't get an answer to a query. Those who worked with him know one rule- never go back to him without an answer or with a shoddy answer. Although he doesn't exhibit emotions you will see that he becomes impatient.

### Food Security and Education – The Hardest brief

This was one of the hardest briefs. We could brief him for hours assuring him that all was well but he never got satisfied with our answers. This was the most difficult brief I ever faced. He always had his figures and we would go on and on. Another brief that would keep us on our toes was on education. The President used to monitor the enrollment of children. He took it personally for he knows the value of education. He used to tell us: "primary school education haitoshi...(its not enough)"

# Working with PSs and other executives

Kibaki is a believer in delegation of authority. Once he has given an assignment he wants to see results. I found out that he won't give you direction on whom to employ or work with. He gives all the executives a free hand to make decisions. That is why we even came up with appraisals to enhance performance.

### Appointments with the President

Kibaki is very particular with appointments booked. He does not do them on a first-come first-served basis. He accepts them on the basis of importance and on the weight of the brief. A lot of people made this mistake and thought that we were shielding the President. For instance, a minister for Finance and Foreign Affairs would get to Kibaki very easily. He has absolutely no time for casual talk and gossip.

### What annoys Kibaki

Kibaki can get really disturbed when people are not honest. I think it is because he is an honest person and that is why he gets uneasy when people distort facts. The good thing is that he won't show it in public but he can lose his temper when he hears people distort issues when addressing the public.

# How to make Kibaki happy

Kibaki does not get excited easily. But if you want to see him happy, just go and complete a good project. He was for instance passionate about the Lamu port and always said that it would open the economy of this country.

### Is he indecisive?

### a) Referendum results

Kibaki is the first President to commit Kenyan troops to go to war. What can be more decisive? That did not surprise me because I have seen Kibaki make other decisions. I remember during the Referendum of 2005 and he was in Othaya when the counting was concluded. I called him and told him we are devastated and asked him to come to Nairobi in the morning to accept defeat. Initially, he had planned to return in the afternoon. I was very demoralized and I remember him telling me: "You should not be too low. That matter is concluded." Kibaki appeared to be in high spirits and that helped us a lot. He came to Nairobi that morning and addressed the Nation. I was happy about that.

### b) When ODM group was kicked out of Cabinet.

Immediately after Kibaki addressed the Nation after losing the referendum, he asked me to call a leaders meeting of various parties allied to PNU to forge the way ahead. That meeting was chaired by Vice President, Moody Awori and others in the meeting were Simeon Nyachae, and George Saitoti. One of the options on the table was to dissolve the Cabinet and we went to him with that as the verdict. We did not know how he would react. When he was told about that option he simply said, "Yes, we are doing that..!"

### c) Koffi Annan Talks

Another time that Kibaki was confronted with a difficult decision was during the post-election violence negotiations.

At one point, it was difficult for the two parties to agree. His side had refused to agree on a 50-50 formula and he took it over himself. He told them: We cannot talk indefinitely. (That was on February 28 and the Cabinet was finally swornin in April.)

# The 2007 Elections – That lonely night at State House

I was the only person with Kibaki that night as we were watching the results trickling in. At one point, Raila opened a gap of 1 million votes. We were seated in a room in State House watching TV. The gap continued to widen and I told the President that our field officers have told us not to worry since the PNU strongholds had not announced their results yet. But the gap of 1 million votes was worrying. I started counseling Kibaki to see whether I could offer him some help. I told him that this was like a repeat of 2005 and that people have just ganged up against Mt Kenya region. I told him that his record of performance as President in both infrastructural development is all there to be seen. Kibaki did speak much. He just told me: "There is everything to show."

### Stabilising the Nation

When the votes from PNU strongholds started trickling in, the ODM side started talking of rigging. I told Kibaki that we need to talk to the media for the stability of the country. It was a very tense moment and he said, "go and talk to them." Kibaki told me that the media was key to holding the country together and we had a meeting with media owners and senior editors. We returned to State House and there was an overnight recount at KICC which all parties had agreed to abide to. These were the results that enabled Electoral Commission Chairman Samuel Kivuitu to announce the results.

### Kibaki was prepared to accept defeat

I was with him all this time and Kibaki was prepared to accept defeat. There was no time he said that he won't accept the results.

### Hurried Swearing in

I remember I was with Raphael Tuju, Chief Justice Evans Gicheru and Attorney General Amos Wako when we made the decision to swear-in Kibaki that day. Initially, we had thought of having an elaborate ceremony but due to the crisis that was developing we thought that a power vacuum would encourage power struggle. And since the Electoral Commission had announced the results, we invited diplomats to State House to come and witness the swearing in. It was not at night. But that was the best way to save the country.

### The Half Cabinet decision

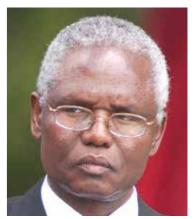
For one week, Kibaki operated without a Cabinet. There was a lot of pressure on him with VIPs and Heads of State calling to help resolve the crisis. In private and public the President had said he wanted an all embracing Cabinet in order to restore peace. We advised him to pick a skeletal cabinet to help him absorb the pressure. He needed a Minister for Foreign Affairs, a Finance minister and a Special Programmes minister. Kibaki agreed to this proposal. We were not giving PNU prime jobs. Those were jobs to help us deal with the crisis.

### Did he panic?

All this time, Kibaki did not show signs of panic. He knew that at the end of the day the buck stops with him. He never failed when he was required to make a decision. The good thing with Kibaki is that if you give him advise, he owns it and would never apportion blame if it fails. One thing he knew was that the security of the country was intact. It is sad we lost people, but at no time was the Kenyan nation under threat. The international community blew the crisis out of proportion.

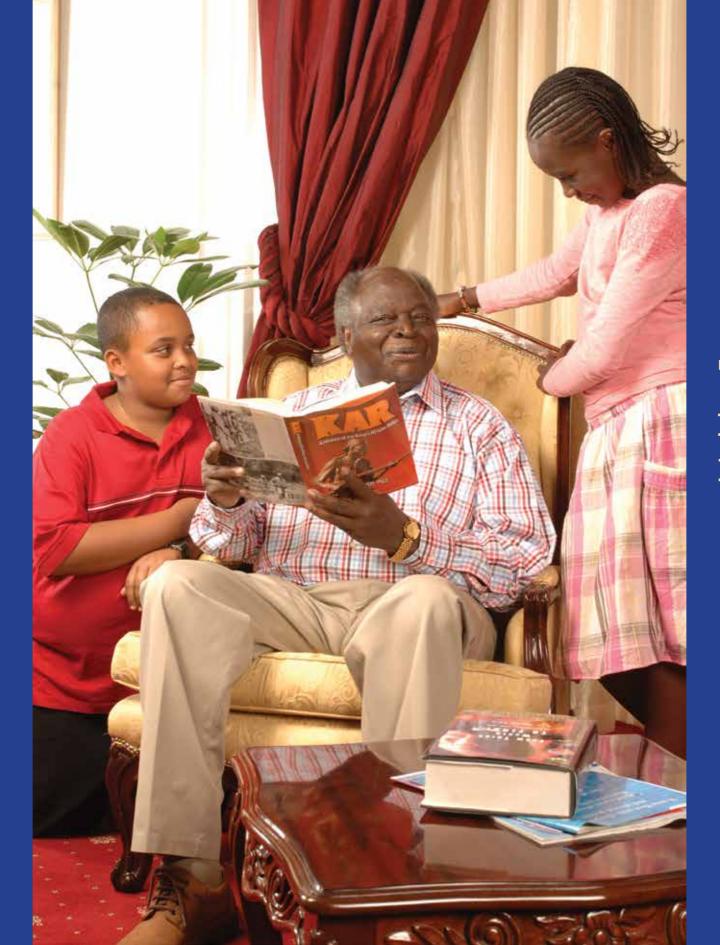
### At the Cabinet

At the Cabinet, Kibaki would not rush things. He allows everybody to be heard. If somebody is not happy with a particular paper it will have to be brought again until everybody is in agreement. He will allow comments to improve a particular paper. Inside the Cabinet, it is hard to know who is from which side of the Coalition. It is a very democratic cabinet.



**Ambassador Muthaura** 



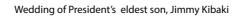


The family man











1972: Mr. Kibaki, as Minister for Finance and Economic Planning with two of his sons

1980: Mrs Lucy Kibaki cuts a a Budget Day cake during a reception in a Nairobi Hotel



1974: Mr. Kibaki is greeted by his son on arrival from Paris at Nairobi airport. Mrs. Kibaki looks on.





The Minister for Finance and Economic Planning Mr. Kibaki seen receiving a welcome home hug from his wife when he returned to Nairobi from Britain where he and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Njoroge Mungai, successfully negotiated for a 22 million pounds loan.



Early in his political career, Mr and Mrs Kibaki kept a busy schedule on official engagements.











# The family man



President Mwai Kibaki and First Lady Lucy Kibaki arrive for the Madaraka Day Garden Party at State House, Nairobi.







Above president Kibaki with his sister Waitherero and in other pictures with members of his family.









Man of faith





President Mwai Kibaki has a word with Bishop Cornelius Korir after he attended a Sunday mass at the Sacred Heart of Jesus Cathedral in Eldoret.

President Mwai Kibaki is received by the Karima Consolata Sisters on arrival at Karima Catholic Parish, Nyeri where he joined other faithfuls in centenary celebrations of the church.

# **Man of faith**

President
Mwai Kibaki
is received by
Raphael Ndingi
Mwana a Nzeki,
the Archbishop
emeritus of
Nairobi, during
the canonical
installation at
Holy Family
Minor Basilica,
Nairobi.

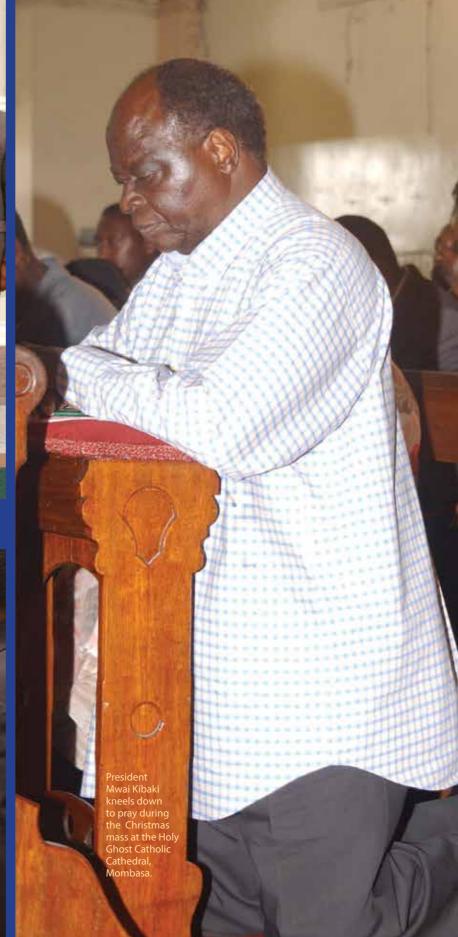


President Mwai Kibaki joins Muslim Leaders and Imams in prayers when they paid him a courtesy call at State House, Mombasa.



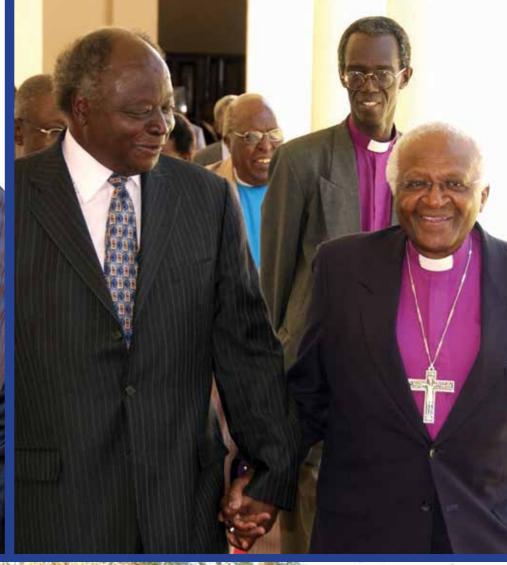
President Mwai kibaki poses for a group photograph with National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) who paid him a courtesy call at State House, Nairobi. They were led by the General Secretary Rev. Mutava Musyimi.











President Mwai Kibaki meets the visiting US Televangelist Bishop T.D Jakes who paid him a courtesy call at State House Nairobi. And above right, with Nobel laurete, Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu and below with evangelical leaders

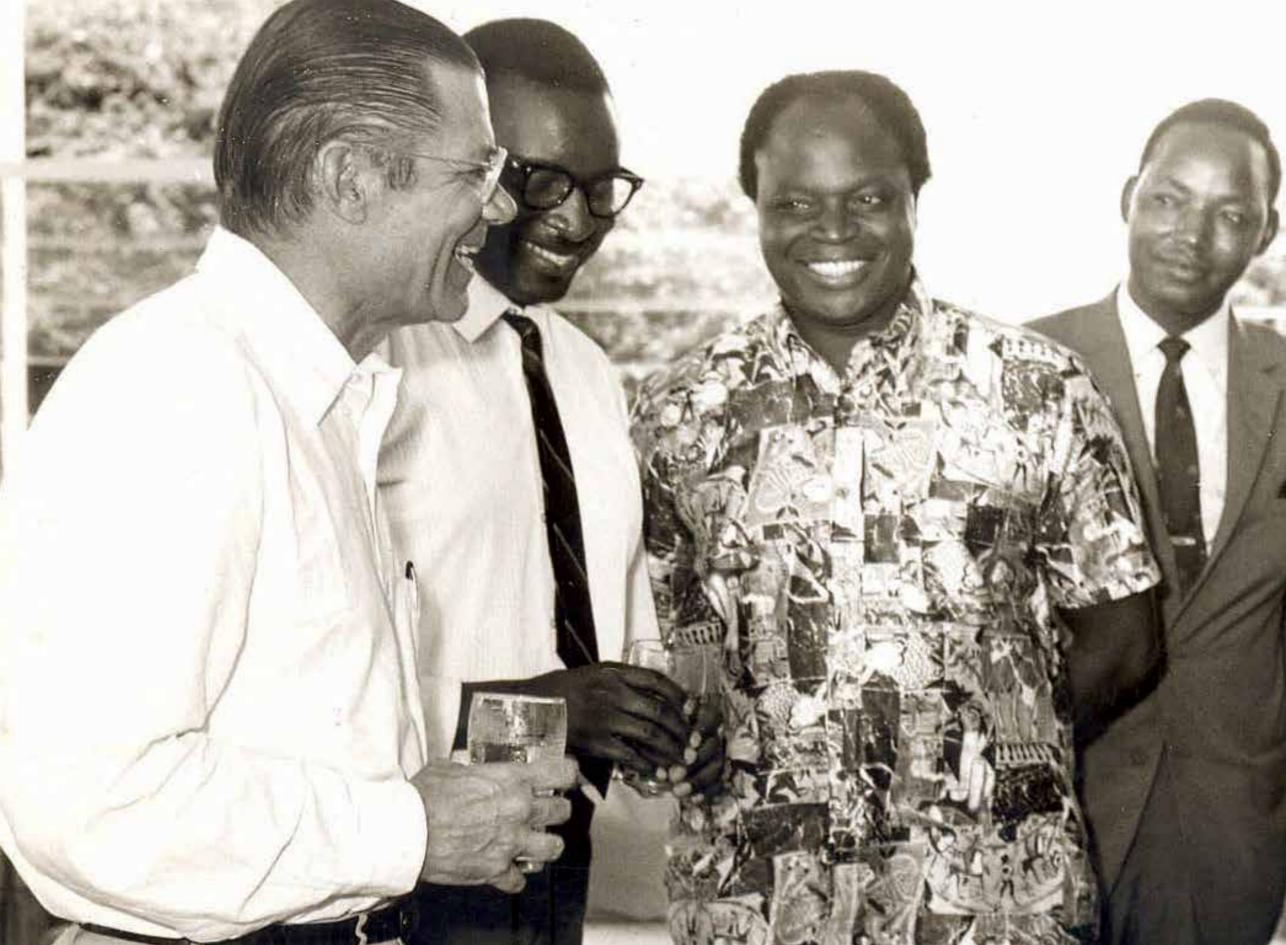


With Catholic faithful at Consolata Catholic Church, Westlands Nairobi





The man



# The friend

President Kibaki joins Mzee Jomo Kenyatta together with President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, (extreme left) who called on Mzee Kenyatta at State House Mombasa. Picture shows Mr. McNamara sharing a joke with President Kenyatta Mr. Kibaki (third left) and Minister for Economic Planing and Development, Dr. Zachary Onyonka (Second from left) with their Permanent Secretaries, Mr. John Michuki and Mr. Joe Kibe.



Kibaki with his long time friend Munene Kairu and below with John Michuki.



Mwai Kibaki

have known President Kibaki since 1974. That is the time he became my MP. I remember I used to meet him and his close friend, the late Munene Kairu (Former Kieni MP), in the many harambees we held across Othaya in those days and we struck a good rapport.

When he came to Othaya, having moved political base from Nairobi, Kibaki identified leaders from across various ridges to head different projects. That is how I became a board member of Chinga Boys and Chinga Girls and was board chairman at Gathera Secondary. Kibaki encouraged us to participate in the development of Othaya and to take leadership roles.

I don't know how many churches, secondary schools and dispensary harambees that we did during all those years. And this development agenda is something that has continued to date.

When he became President he formed the Othaya Development Association where he identified professionals who would lead various sectors. We had leaders in Water, Agriculture, Health, Education, Electricity, and Roads and our work was to ensure that each and every region was

well served.

Out of this initiative, all the tea buying centres in Othaya have electricity now.

#### Kibaki's last Golf

While I had known Kibaki at the home front, our personal association grew in the golf circuit. We were members of Muthaiga and Karen and have been together for the last 25 years.

I played the last golf, a four ball, with Kibaki, George Muhoho, and James Koome on the Sunday before he got an accident. He had come to the campaign centre in Kilimani and he told me:

"I want to play nine holes, I don't know when I shall ever play golf again."

This was because he knew for sure that he would be the next President after Moi. At first he wanted us to play in Muthaiga, but there was a tournament there. So we decided to go to Karen. I believe George Muhoho retained the card...and I still recall that statement because since then he never played golf again.

#### Kibaki on Taxes

Kibaki has this private passion and belief in

collecting taxes. That's why he is an economist. Just before he became President he told me that his aim was to double the tax collection in this country. I remember one night in State House, shortly after he was sworn in when he told me: "I want this country to be like Singapore..."

That time I was going to Singapore and we stayed late discussing development issues. He told me he was going to encourage people to build houses and get loans from banks.

#### Kibaki's anger

I have seen Kibaki very angry on two episodes. There was this time we had gone to Nyeri Golf Club and found that some people had cut some of the trees. This time he was very angry...I had never seen him like this before.

The other time was after he became President. There was a major golf tournament in Karen and some protocol officials refused the winner a chance to make the final speech. You see in golf etiquette, the winner must make a speech, but the President's men said it was not procedural for anyone to make a speech after the President. On this day, Kibaki was very angry. He did not even speak to us. He

just left and we could see he was raving mad.

### 1988 - Attempt to rig him in Othaya

I was one of his agents in my village and this was the time I got to see Kibaki as a fighter. His opponent was (former Bahati MP) Dr James Muriuki and the then PC attempted to rig the elections. That is the time Kibaki told him that "rigging requires intelligence".

## Dropped as VP

People think that Kibaki was angry upon being dropped as Vice President and on the elevation of Dr Josephat Karanja. In private he was not bitter about the turn of events and he continued with his life as usual. I have never heard him complain that he was demoted. Actually, he worked harder at the Health ministry.

### Formation of Democratic Party

Now this was his own idea and he was not pushed by anyone. If I am not wrong, the first meeting was held at Mr George Muhoho's house and all the subsequent meetings took place in John Keen's Karen home. That is where DP was born

### Kibaki's Flexibility

When we had a golf tournament in Muthaiga in 2011, the President was supposed to be there but the golfers played quicker than expected. I called State House and somebody said: "just stop the golfers!" I asked them to simply request the President to arrive earlier than expected. And to their shock the President agreed to come earlier. Personally, I know that Kibaki is very flexible.

The other time was during the Presidential campaigns and there was the bombing in Kikambala, Mombasa (in November 2002). We told him to go to Mombasa but he was reluctant. He wanted to send a representative. The next morning, he just called and said "let's go." We knew he would change his mind and had already chartered a plane.

### Party Democracy

During the Narc nominations, Kibaki wanted Matu Wamae. But when he lost during the nomination, Wamae and Nderitu Gachagua brought their supporters to Mwenge House. It was Kibaki who said: "Who said that winners cannot get certificates..."

That evening Wamae came after we had played Golf and called Kibaki aside. I don't know what they discussed but we were worried if he won the seat on a Safina ticket. When he lost we were vindicated. But I was very worried because, Wamae thought I was behind the refusal to give him direct nomination. And that is how Gachagua was elected MP for Mathira

### A happy Kibaki

When he won the Presidency, although he was still on wheel chair, Kibaki was extremely happy. He called his friends to State House to thank them and he made a very powerful speech. And that was before he got sick and was taken to hospital.

The other moment that I saw him extremely happy was after promulgating the new Constitutions. I think sitting there and signing the new Constitution gave him extreme joy and I could see that.

#### Food

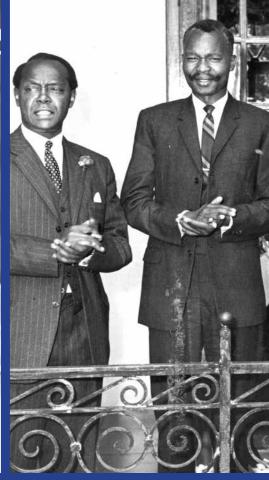
Kibaki loves steak. Any food that is towards traditional. Many years ago he used to love a good drink too.



Peter Tirus Kanyago

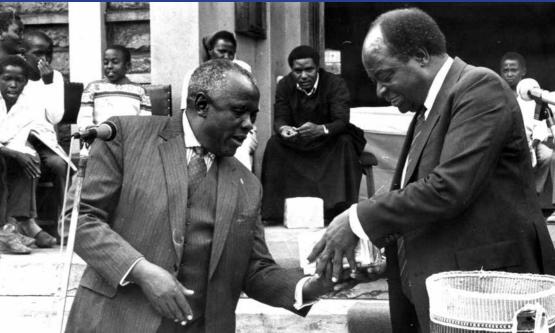
– Chairman, Kenya Tea
Development Agency
-Former Chairman, Kenya
Medical Supplies Agency
(KEMSA)





Kibaki attends wedding of his Vice President, Wamalwa Kijana and below, with his political ally, Karisa Maitha.





## The friend



Kibaki with then Vice President, Mr Moi singing Kanu Yajenga nchi after the State launcheon at State House to mark the fourth Madaraka Day. In the picture is Attoney General Charles Njonjo and Cabinet Ministers, Lawrence Sagini and Tom Mboya

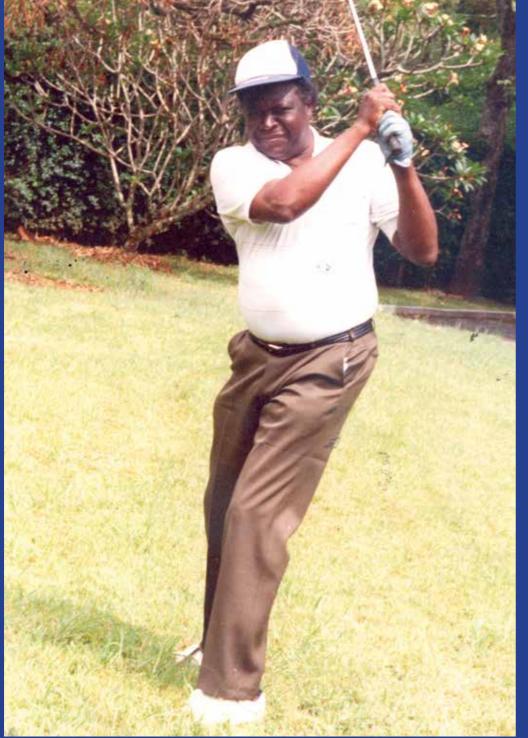


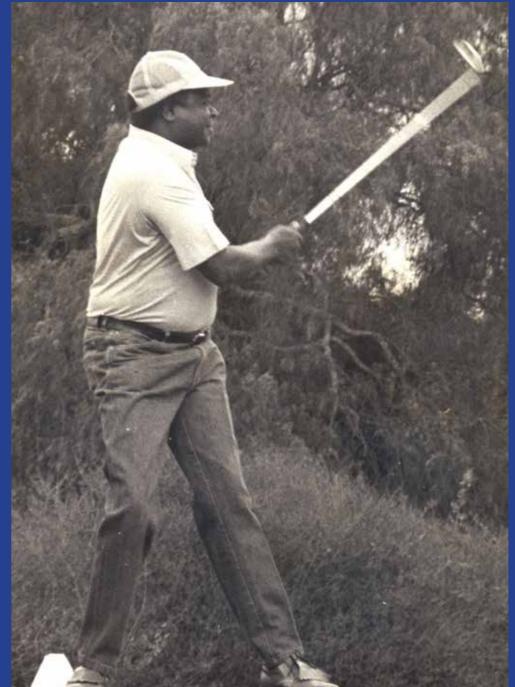
Kibaki are pictured being shown brands of cigarettes produced by B.A.T. company. Looking on is the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry Mr. Kenneth Matiba (extreme left) and Mr. B.M Gecaga Acting Chairman of the B.A.T Kenya Ltd.



1985: Mr Kibaki, then vice President joins Minister for Culture and Social Services, Kenneth Matiba at an international health seminar in Nairobi. With him is Dr Karuga Koinange, Director of Medical Services.

1992: DP Leader Mwai Kibaki (right) hands over his donation to Mr Njenga Karume during a harambee he conducted in aid of Mary Immaculate Catholic church in Riabai, Kiambu District.

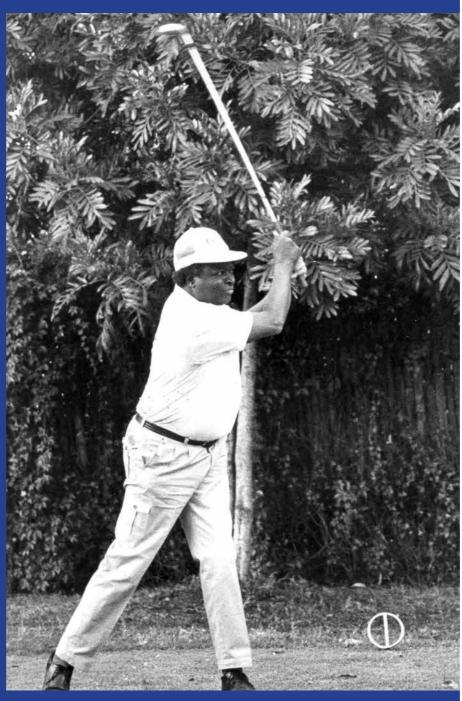


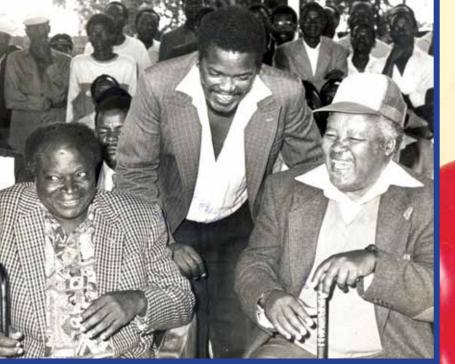


For many years, Kibaki has been an avid golfer and Patron of Kenya Golf Union



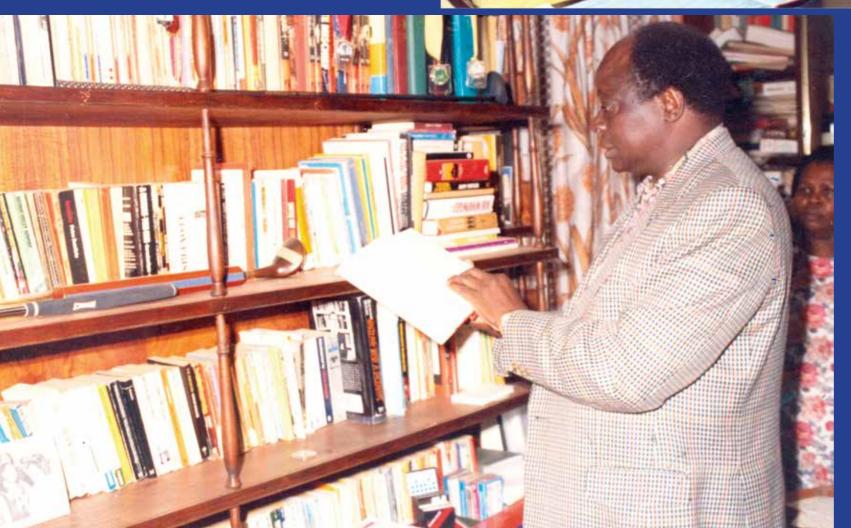






1993: DP Chairman Mr Kibaki (left) shares a joke with the Machakos DP branch chairman mr. Joseph Munyao (right) and the Machakos town parliamentary poll loser on a DP ticket, Mr. Jonesmus Kikuyu during a public rally at Kenyatta Stadium.





Right: President Mwai Kibaki chats with retired Othaya Councillor, Mzee Kimwatu shortly after holding talks with local leaders at the Othaya Catholic Hall and LEFT at his home in Muthaiga



# The man









The statesman

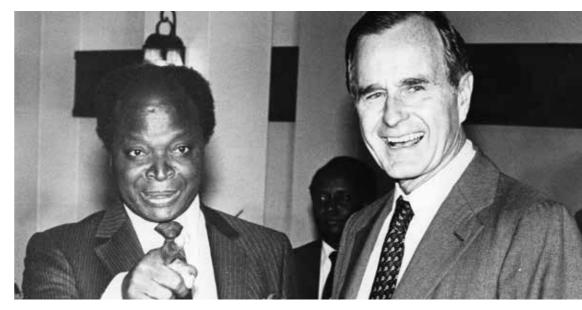








Even as a young politician, the Government entrusted with the most delicate assignments. Here he is seen with Queen Elizabeth II and then Vice-President George Bush.



Mwai Kibaki | 179 50 Years of national service





With President Benjamin Mkapa and First Lady, Mrs Lucy Kibaki and Left, Kibaki with Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda



Kibaki with former Somali Transitional Federal President, Abdulahi Yusuf





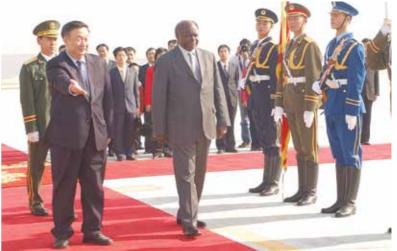


President Mwai Kibaki leads the Kenyan Delegation (L) in bilateral talks with Chinese Government officials led by President Hu Jin Tao at the Great Hall of China in Beijing.The President is in China to attend the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.



President Mwai Kibaki and the visiting Chinese President Hu Jintao salute the guard of honour mounted by Kenya Armed Forces as they march past the presidential dias during the official welcoming ceremony at State House, Nairobi.







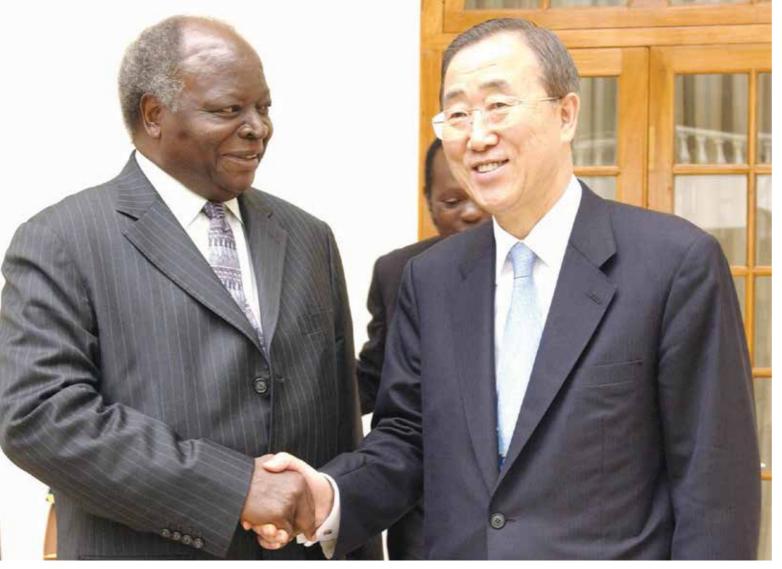
President Mwai Kibaki addressing the 1st East African Investment Conference at Kigali Rwanda and below with East African leaders.







Presidents Mwai Kibaki Pierre Nkurinzinza (Burundi), Jakaya Kikwete (Tanzania), Yoweri Museveni (Uganda), Paul Kagame (Rwanda) and Amani Abedi (Zanzibar) pose for a group photograph after the 8th Summit of EAC Heads of State at A.I.C.C, Arusha, Tanzania.



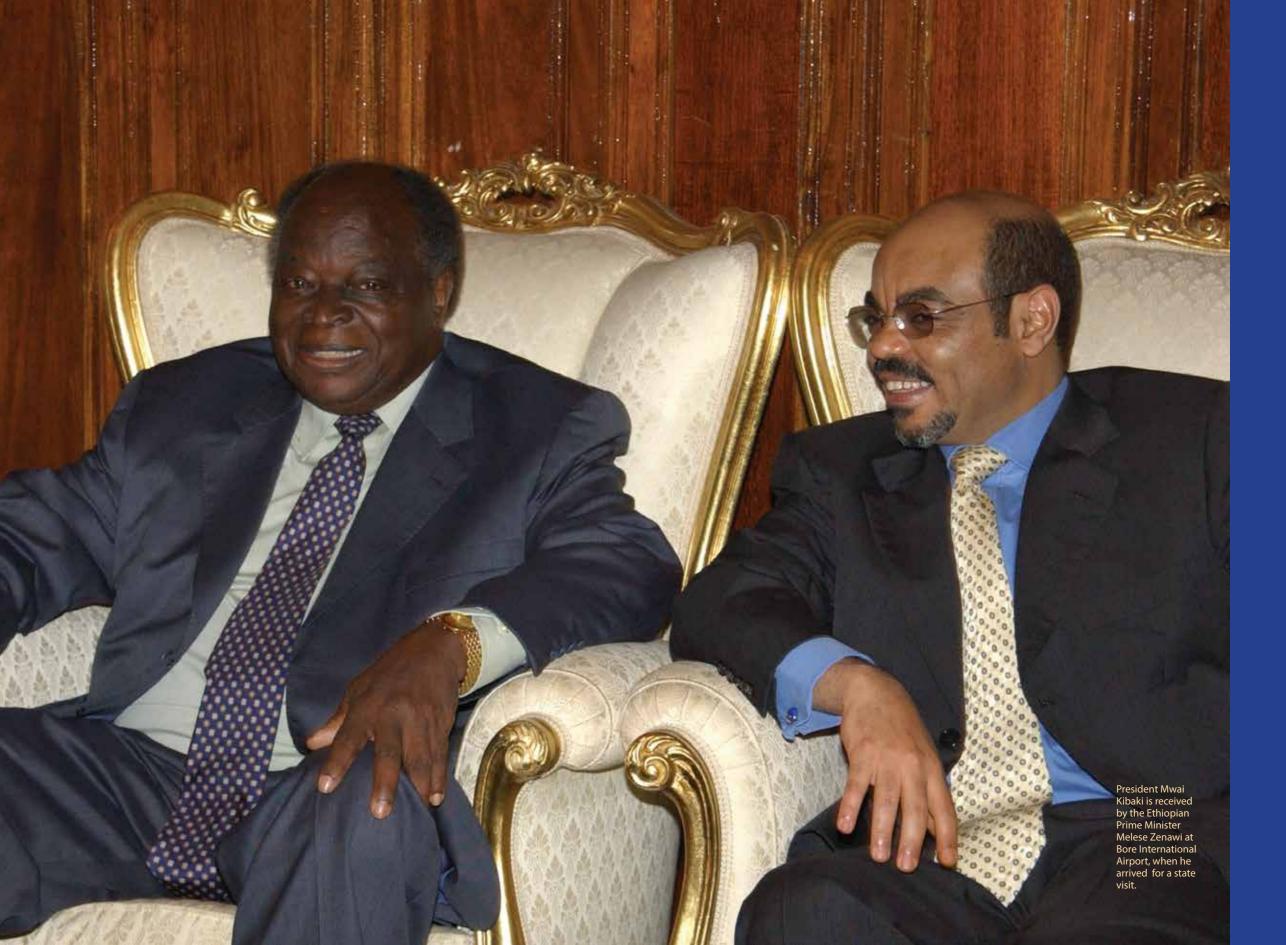
President Mwai Kibaki receives the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon when he called on him at State House, Nairobi. And below with former Secretary-General Koffi Annan.

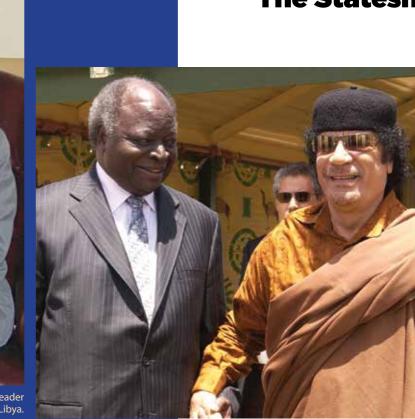
"The construction of a multipurpose, ultramodern and eco-friendly building is a clear testimony of this commitment. We commend the UN fraternity for this investment"

Kibaki









TOP: Kibaki with Iranian President Mohamed Ahmedinijad and right, with Libyan Leader Muammar Qaddafi wn he bade him farewell after Kibaki's three day visit in Sirte, Libya.

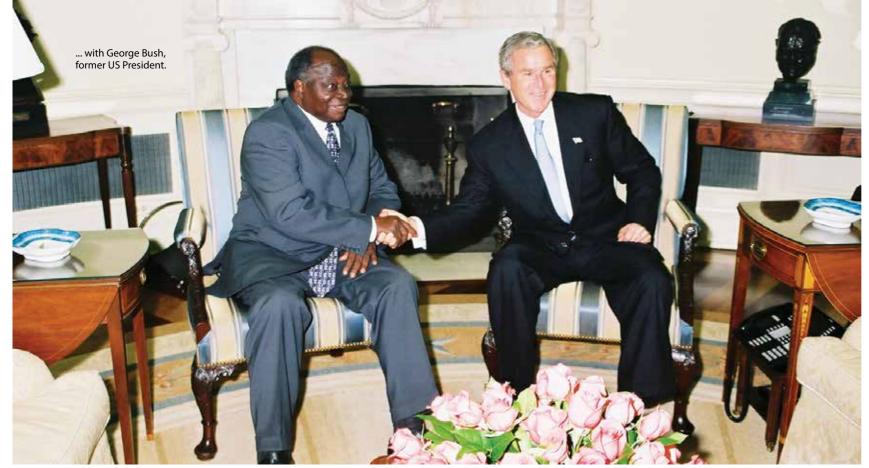


As chief guest
President
Mwai Kibaki
joins Malawi's
President Joyce
Banda for the
begining of
construction
works on the
Lilongwe by-pass
road

We have watched how you have transformed your nation and we want to replicate the Kenyan model."

Malawi President Joyce Banda speaking during President Kibaki's state visit to Malawi in January 2013



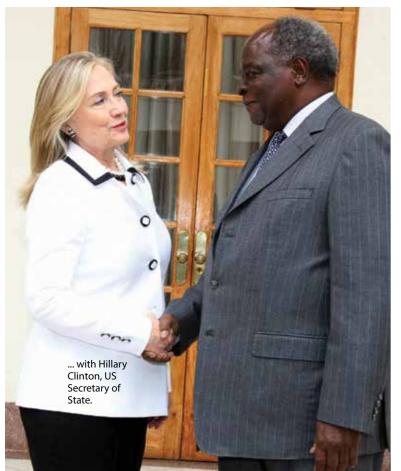




During a State visit to the Middle East.



Mwai Kibaki | 193 50 Years of national service

















From top Clockwise: With US Secretary of State Colin Powell and first Lady Laura Bush; Ghanaian President John Kuffuour, Nigerian leader Olusegun Obasanjo, South Africa President Thabo Mbeki and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton



# President Mwai Kibaki recieves the former South Africa's President Nelson Mandela who paid him a courtesy call at State House, Nairobi.



President Mwai Kibaki is with Burundi President Pierre Nkurunzinza at the office of the President in Bujumbura where they held talks.



President Mwai Kibaki accompanied by First lady Mrs. Lucy Kibaki share a light moment with Tanzania President Jakaya Kikwete on arrival at Kilimanjaro International, airport, Arusha, Tanzania

was admitted to Makerere University in 1958 at the time Kibaki had just returned from London to teach. I used to hear people talk about him and how he topped his class in Makerere and at the London School of Economics. But since I was taking history and geography I never got to meet him. But he was famous in Makerere. By the time I graduated in Makerere in 1962, Kibaki had already left.

I came to know him personally in 1970 when I was appointed deputy Provincial Commissioner in Nyeri, two years under Charles Karuga Koinange and then two years under Simeon Nyachae. This time, Kibaki was still the Bahati MP and this is the time we started building Kimathi Institute

of Technology. Kibaki was one of the committee members whom we brought in. The others were Jerry Gichuki, Duncan Ndegwa, and a former Kajiado DC Peter Nderi.

When we selected the Kimathi Institute Trustees, we picked Kibaki to be the chairman, Ndegwa was vice chairman, Nderi the secretary and I was the treasurer. As treasurer I found it easier to deal with Kibaki than with Ndegwa. He was much more approachable and easy going. Actually, we all ceased to be Trustees of Kimathi Institute when it became a University College in 2007.

### Business with Kibaki

When I joined a company called Farmlands Ltd,

I found Kibaki was a shareholder too. The others were Amos Wamunyu, Gerry Gichuki and Charles Mwangi. Farmlands are shareholders of Mweiga Estate, a coffee farm near Treetops and I was one of Farmland's directors meaning I had to see Kibaki often while conducting business. What I noticed about him from those early days is that he speaks little. Actually, you may think he is not listening or is casual. But he will follow up on anything you ask.

### Follow Ups

If it were not for Kibaki, the land on which Kimathi University College stands would have been bought by individuals. While we had acquired





A hearty welcome during a State visit to Burundi.

some land for the institute, there was an adjacent 700 acre farm which some chiefs and a politician wanted. It was Kibaki and Duncan Ndegwa who went to see Kenyatta because the white settler had his preferred buyer. If Kibaki did not follow up we could have lost the land.

# **Delegating Business**

One peculiar thing about Kibaki is that when he knows that a company is well run, he would never ask any questions and would let you do it. At Farmlands, he actually sent his son to represent him. That is the kind of person he is. And that is why even in the Government he won't interfere with parastatal heads who are doing well.

# Comparison with Kenyatta and Moi

I have served under Kenyatta as Deputy Provincial Commissioner and under Moi as the Chairman of Kenyanization Bureau. Kenyatta struck me as a dictator; he was too consumed with power. Moi was a frightened president, and he was always on the defensive. What I like about Kibaki is the confidence he displays.

## 1988 fall out with Moi

After he was demoted from Vice President, Kibaki never changed or felt bad. If he did, he never showed it to us. I never saw any sign of worry. He was always exuding confidence.

### After he became President

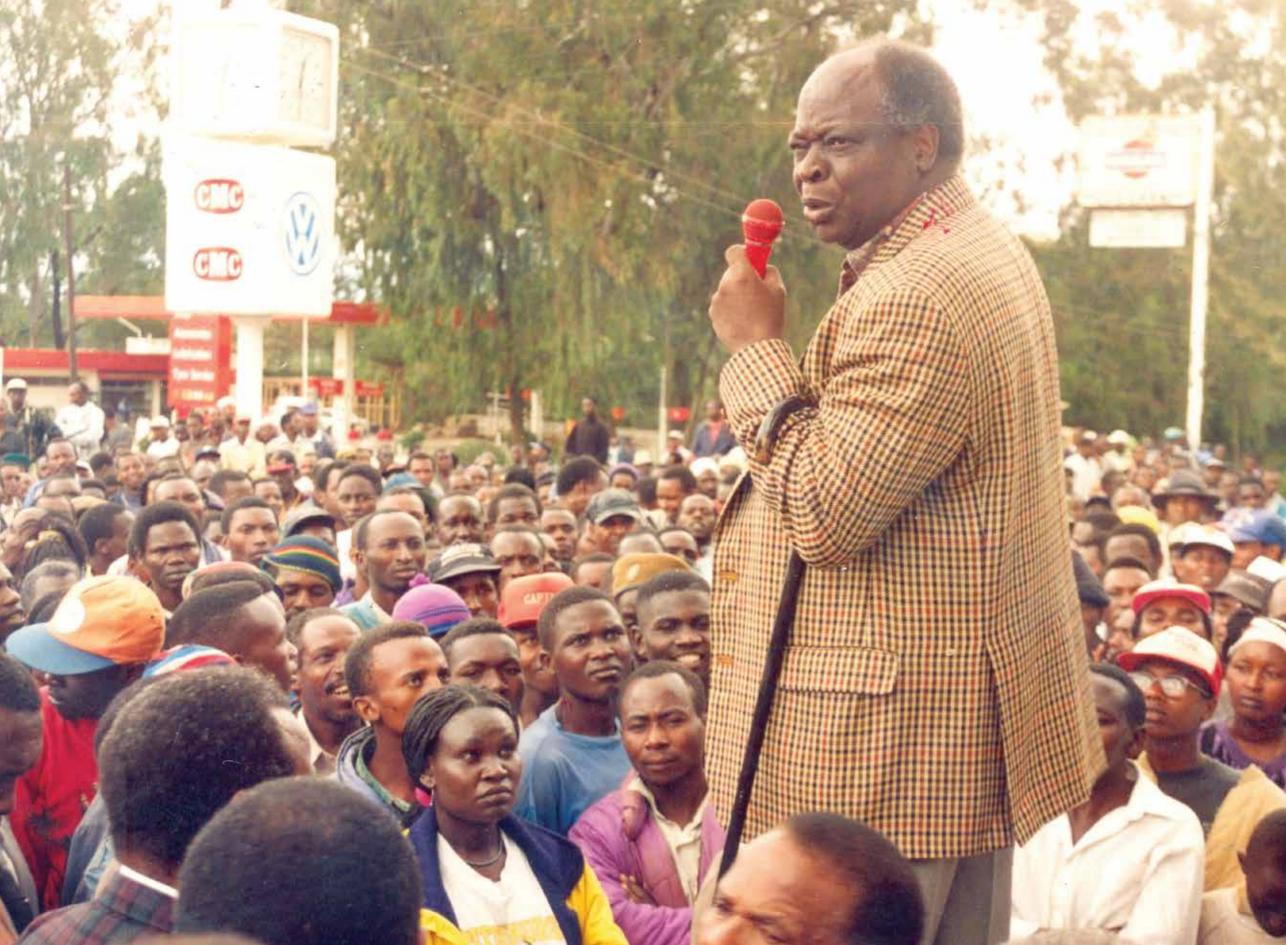
I have met Kibaki many times in private at State House. Actually more times than we used to meet previously. And because I don't like politics he likes when we sit discussing economic issues. Most times, he will start by reassuring me that the economy is doing well. I can't remember hearing him discuss personalities. I never talk individuals with him and he never asks. I think it is his character.



James Waibochi Chairman, Aberdare Safari Hotels







Kibaki the politician





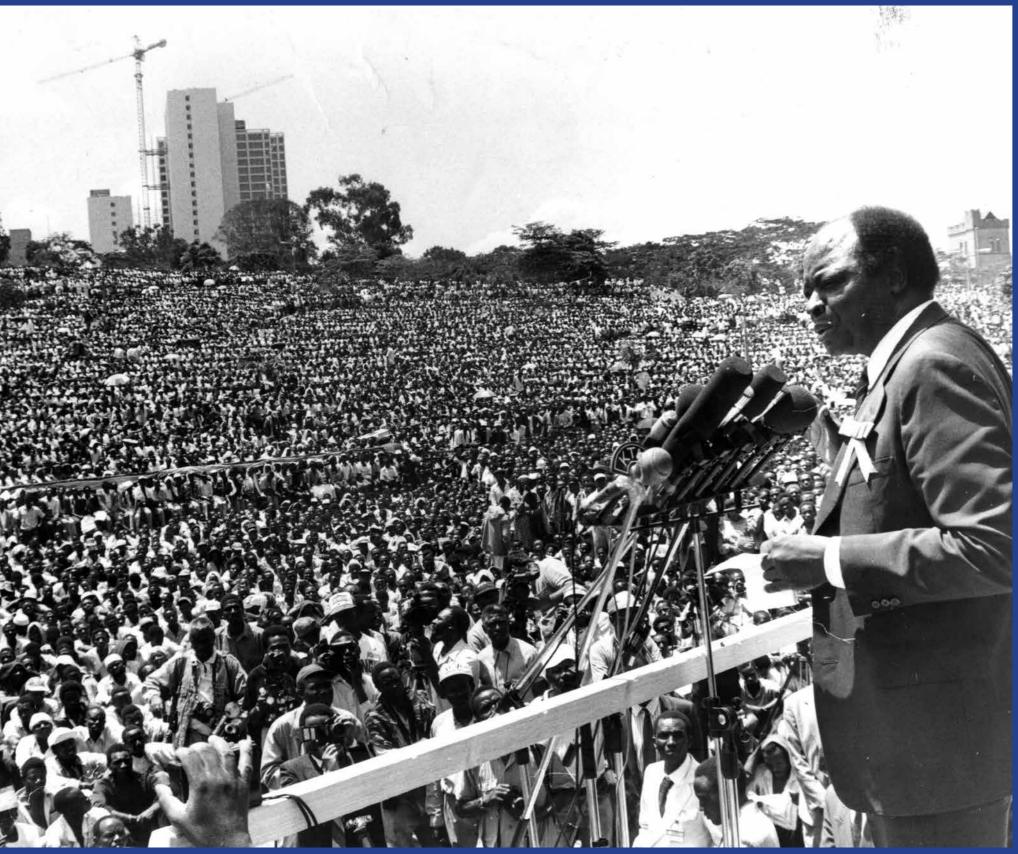
From early on, Kibaki was at home infront of a crowd, whether speaking alone or with other leaders

# Many praise Kibaki but opposed him all along

Now that President Kibaki has left his legacy, its imperative that we elect a leader who will propel this country to great heights like he did. Due to his gentlemanly mien and ability to shun tribalism, Kibaki has contributed to economic growth and brought hope to the poor and unprivileged, courtesy of FPE. Bouts of admiration are renting the air for the man. Kudos Mr President!

MAWEUTITUS, Nairobi

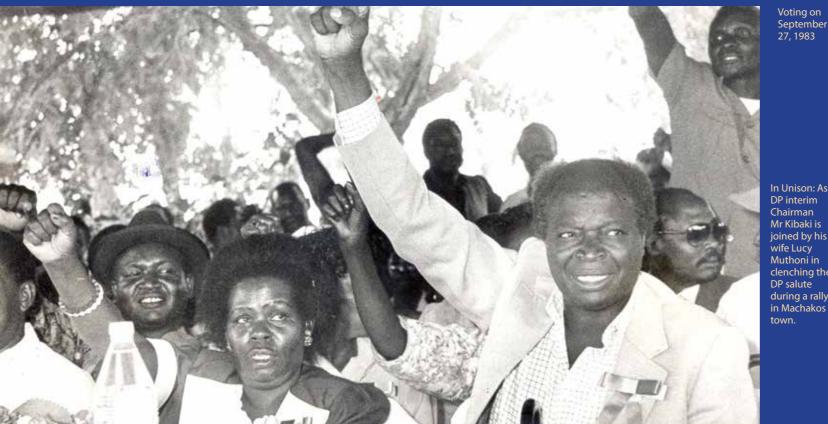






1994: Speaking in one Voice: Mr. Wamalwa (center), Mr Kibaki (left) and FORD-K Secretary General Dr. Munyua Waiyaki during the Press conference.





**DP** interim Chairman Mr Kibaki is joined by his wife Lucy clenching the **DP** salute during a rally in Machakos

Voting on

September

# **Kibaki the politician**

he Kenyatta Succession evoked lots of political emotions in the country from the late sixties when Kenyatta fell sick. The first salvo was a determined move to bar former President Moi from ascending the presidency upon Kenyatta's death or incapacitation.

The Change-the-Constitution movement of 1977 was started with the aim of removing a clause that gave the vice-president a chance to assume the presidency automatically for 90 days after the President's death.

As the group, which brought together senior politicians, among them, Dr Njoroge Mungai, James Gichuru, Jackson Angaine, Paul Ngei and nominated MPs Kihika Kimain and Njenga Karume, among others, started a series of campaigns, President Kibaki sided with the Constitutionalist who favoured a Moi take-over, and did not attend the rallies.

Soon 98 members of parliament signed a declaration that condemned the proposed changes. By siding with the Moi-Njonjo group, Kibaki's stature as a nationalist rose. Kibaki was one of the targets of the Change-the-Constitution group, and one of its members had pointed that the presidency should never cross River Chania: meaning it should remain within Kiambu.

In 1977, Kibaki had told a meeting in Nyahururu that it was inevitable that Kenya was governed by a non-Kikuyu. With the Kanu elections on the way, Kibaki decided to vie for the Chairman's position against Defence minister James Gichuru from Kiambu district.

Kibaki's group had its line up too. It included: Moi (for Vice-President), Robert Matano (Secretary General), Nathan Munoko (Organising Secretary) and Justus ole Tipis (Treasurer). But these elections were called off in April 1977.

Four months later, Kenyatta died and the Constitution gave Moi a chance to take over. While some were disappointed that Moi had picked Kibaki as Vice-President, opening a new chapter into his political career.



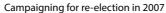


Kenya's President Mwai Kibaki - Elections 2007 - Microsoft Internet Explorer

# Kibaki the politician



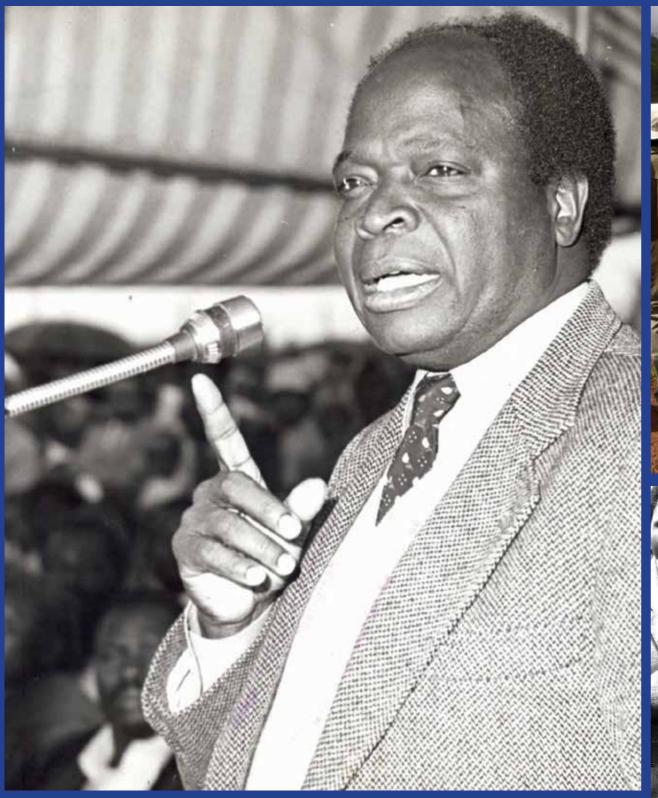








President Mwai Kibaki is cheered by elated PNU supporters when he stood to address them at the Narok.





1988: Kanu membership registration drive in Nyeri



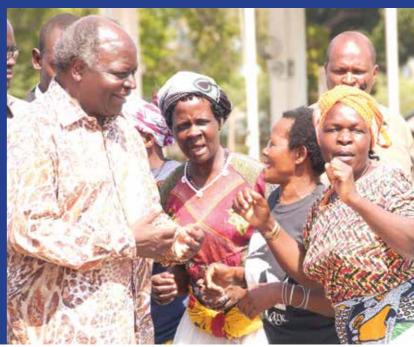






President
Mwai Kibaki
is received
by an elated
PNU crowd
at Githurai
while on a tour
of Kasarani,
Nairobi and
below meeting
voters





Mwai Kibaki | 211 50 Years of national service



Honors and Awards





TOP: Kibaki as
he receives
a honourary
doctorate
degree from the
University of
Nairobi and below,
while accepting
a doctorate
degree from
Jomo Kenyatta
University of
Science and
Technology





# **Honors and Awards**



President Kibaki is congratulated by President Museveni after receiving a honourary Doctorate degree from his alma mater, Makerere University.





President Kibaki after he was awarded a doctorate degree from Kenyatta University



Kibaki joins Raila Odinga and Kofi Annan after they received honourary doctorate degrees recognizing their efforts in restoring peace

# Laurels

n 19th December 2012, President Mwai Kibaki made his farewell speach to Kenya's Parliament. On the same evening, Parliament hosted a farewell dinner to one of the world's longest serving member of a democratically elected Parliament. It was indeed an emotional farewell for a man who had been a member of Parliament for 50 years.

### HOUSE SPEAKER KENNETH MARENDE

He is a steadfast and astute politician who has served Kenya's Parliament and the Nation with diligence and honour in a multiplicity of capacities. Throughout his nearly 5 decades of service as a Member of Parliament, His Excellency Hon Mwai Kibaki has distinguished himself through exceptionally outstanding performance in the legislature and to the Republic of Kenya.

Apart from serving as the 3rd President of Kenya his illustrious career has seen him serve in the positions of the Vice President, Minister for Commerce and Industry, Minister for Finance and Economic Planning, Minister for Home Affairs and National Heritage, Minister for Health, Leader of the Official Opposition, Leader of Government Business, and Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee.

His Excellency Mwai Kibaki joined elective politics in 1963 as the Member of Parliament for Donholm Constituency, now Makadara Constituency, where he was re-elected once in 1969 before shifting base to Othaya Constituency in Nyeri. His Excellency Hon Kibaki has been a dedicated

Member of Parliament and had an extremely good record of attendance both as a minister and when member of the opposition. Those who served with the President fondly recall his wit, charisma and humour in parliament. As Leader of the Opposition in the 7th Parliament, President Kibaki displayed vibrancy and commitment to ensuring that the Government was kept in check.

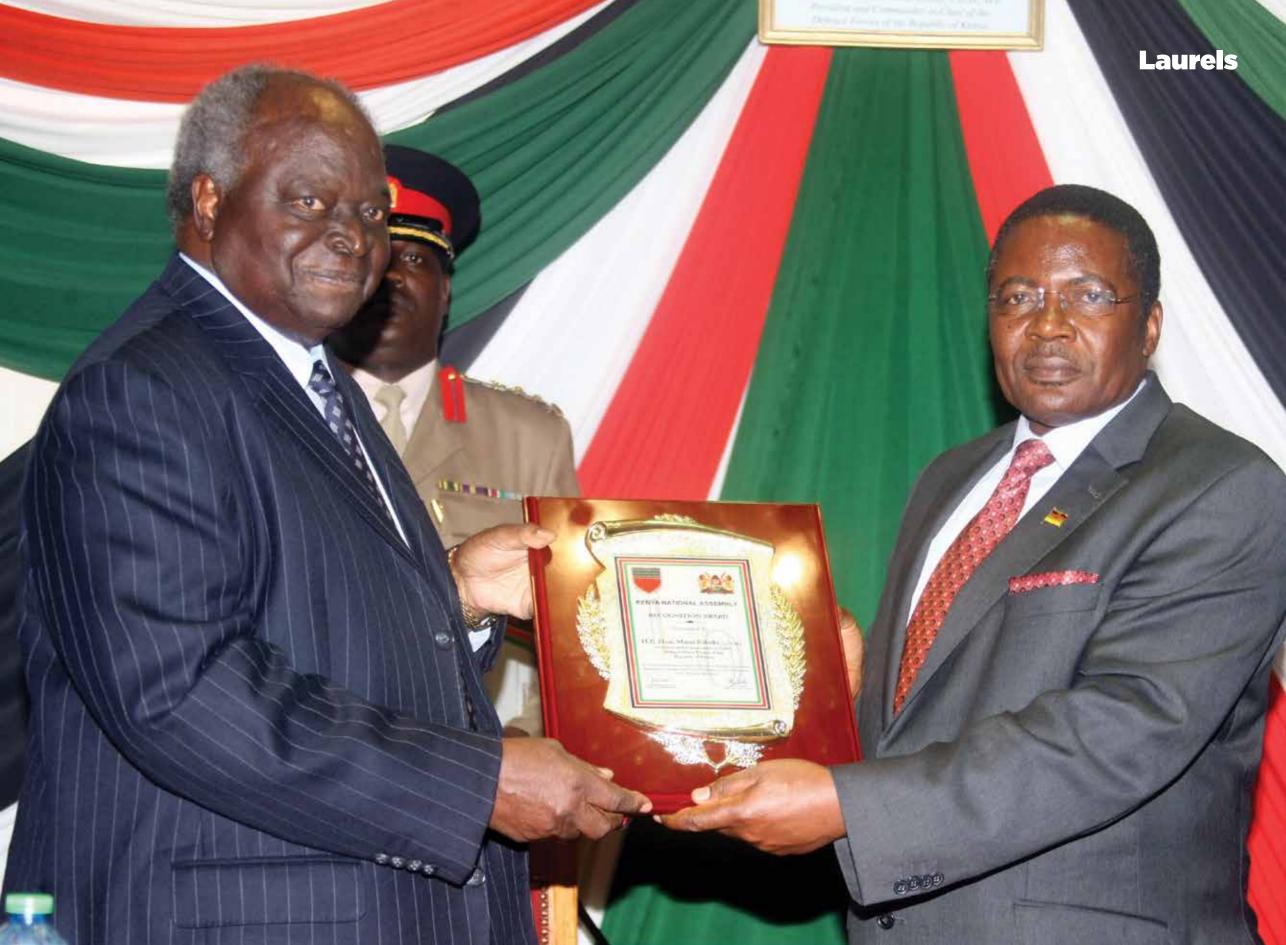
He brought new meaning and impetuous to the office of Leader of Official Opposition with his brilliant and issue oriented debate both in and outside Parliament thus underling the importance of a loyal opposition. The President exceptional oratorical skills enabled him to disarm his debating opponents in a witty, diplomatic and at times cunning manner. Despite spending much time debating, however, Hon Kibaki was always against petty contributions in the House. To this end he is on record during debate in the House in the month of July 1970 asserting thus and I quote: "I do not believe in general slogans because slogans go up in smoke and die". His leadership of the official opposition marked one of the high points of constructive debate in the history of Kenya's Parliament.

As a minister, Hon Kibaki always espoused the principle of collective responsibility. In one famous debate he is quoted as saying thus and I quote: "How can we have a country where I am minister for Finance and I come here to say what Government should do?"

There are many ministers here who say that. His Excellency extended his exemplary leadership qualities to his position as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee during the 8th Parliament; a position in which he served with distinction. His mastery of public finance and his explanation of matters economics in basic commonly understood language will always be a hallmark of this graduate of Makerere University and the London School of Economics. As a result of his impeccable parliamentary and public service record, President Kibaki is greatly admired by parliamentary counterparts and is regarded as an individual with unique and exceptional leadership qualities to be emulated.

It is little wonder that President Kibaki's leadership potential was recognized as early as 1974 when the Time magazine ranked him among the top 100 individuals with the potential to lead the world in the 21st Century, a prediction that has come to pass in the fullness of time. President Kibaki has indeed proven this time and again by being re-elected to represent Othaya Constituency 7 times; in 1979, 1983, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2002 and finally 2007.

By holding the outstanding record of the longest serving Minister for Finance in Kenya and by serving as the President of Kenya for 2 consecutive terms, a respectable and dependable man who has maintained his calm demeanor despite the tumultuous nature of Kenya's politics. President Kibaki has ardently dedicated most of his life in the service of Parliament and the people of Kenya. The 10th Parliament acknowledges His Excellency the President for his continuous guidance and support to Members as they undertook their legislative and other national duties. As he retires from public service, President Kibaki leaves an indelible mark on the Parliament of Kenya.



#### JUDY KIBAKI

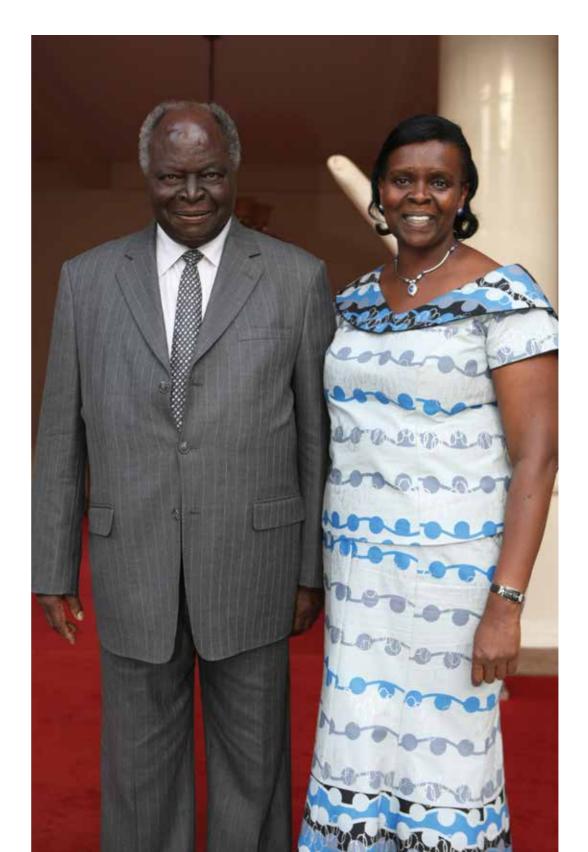
My father's career has been very long. For those of you who don't know, His Excellency married my mother in 1961, then they had me in 1962 and then in 1963 he became a Member of Parliament. So his career as a Parliamentarian has really been all my life, 50 years.

So today we as a family, we thank the Almighty God for enabling him to give the best of himself to Kenya and Kenyans for over 50 years; thank you Dad. I would like to also thank all those who have worked with him for those 50 years and for all of you who have helped to make his work possible.

My father's Parliamentary colleagues have praised him for his democratic ideals. They should also know that his democratic ideals extend to the household.

As a family we are very proud of him and the work he has done for Kenya and what we have seen is that Kenyans are standing tall and amongst the best nations of the world.

As a family, we are looking forward to your retirement and we have our selfish reasons. We and your grandchildren and friends would like to spend more time with you. You know people don't realize that being in public life it requires sacrifice and in your case you have had to sacrifice most of your private life so we would like to say in summary that we are praying that God grants you many more years and may He continue to bless you abundantly.



#### HON. BETH MUGO

Like Uncle George Muhoho, I served under you and chose to stick with you when my cousin Uhuru Kenyatta stood for presidency in 2002. And I remained in the Democratic Party which I am a founding member. I did that because I had no doubt that President Kibaki would lead this country to greater heights like the Times magazine once said 'watch that star rise'. We have seen that star rise to greater heights and with that star Kenya has taken off and we have risen with you. We thank him and praise God. May God bless you and your family in your retirement and give you all joy and good health.



# Elect leaders who can build on Kibaki gains

December 30 marked ten years of Kibaki's reign. The supplement detailing Kibaki's life and political career was informative.

During his era as head of state, Kenya has experienced unprecedented growth in almost every sector — education, roads, communication, energy and democracy.

It is also under Kibaki that the country adopted a constitution that has heralded reforms in key institutions.

At a personal level, the President has demonstrated humility, patience and tolerance. As we welcome 2013, the onus is on the electorate to elect leaders who have the credentials to build on the gains achieved so far.

ALEX KIMONDO, Nyero

#### HON. EKWEE ETHURO

On behalf of the Back Bench, in particular, and the chairs of Committees of Parliament, I would like to thank President Kibaki for creating an enabling environment for us as a House to be able to transact the business in which we came to do as people's representatives.

Of his 49 years, I can boast 15 of close association with him, particularly the last 10. The first five I was playing in a different team, but the last ten, I was part of his team. There are days we could hardly speak in

that House. We had to look who is around us: we were not free. But today, we can go to that House ask all the questions we want to ask. They know the wrath they face from the backbench.

As parliamentarians we appreciate Kibaki's legacy. One of them as members of Amani Forum, we are committed to a region free of conflict. Two, as a presidency that gave us the CDF, we can stand here and be proud that we made a contribution, not just through normal legislation, representation and oversight, but also in terms of service to the community and the

people who brought us to Parliament.

I can assure you that in spite of all the slogans and doctrines about separation of powers, the role that CDF has played in terms of making the representative role of MPs more effective and tangible to the electorate cannot be gainsaid.

I, therefore, want to appreciate one of the MDGs – the eight goals of the Millennium Development Goals – one of them that your Government has achieved elaborately, we are proud to say we made a serious contribution as CDF in terms of free primary

education

We wish President Kibaki well, we want this to continue because in Africa we don't know how to appreciate each other. We don't know how to appreciate one of our members. Parliament has appreciated Kibaki's role of 49 years in Parliament. And we want to believe as the institution that started this, all other institutions where you have worked for will be able to give this example to Africa; that we can do a transition in a most peaceful, pleasant manner.

#### HON, MOODY AWORI

First of all I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving you long life, good health and courage which you have used to guide this nation.

Your Excellency the President I don't think you remember this but, many of the current members of Parliament today were not born when Kibaki was in Mangu High School.

Kibaki was a tiny boy when I was leaving the school. I remember him as a very quiet boy. Although those of us who were mature enough tried to bully him, he was not afraid of that and most of us knew that one day this boy will be a hero.

Many years passed and we met again when he came from Makerere, to administer the political party which was there then, to develop it and be its executive officer. There was a lot of tension at that time, racial segregation was still being practiced but he continued with his work and wrote the KANU Constitution and continued on. Kibaki helped us and made our country gain independence in the right way.

That year of 1963 I used to reside in Kaloleni. When we gained Independence I cast my first vote in favour of Kibaki. Also in 1969 at Donholm I voted in favour of him. Many will remember Kibaki for giving us true freedom. Many will remember before he assumed the leadership of this country, there were days when before you walked or sat, before you could talk anything or give your opinion you would first check who is next to you, listening to what you would say that could put your life at risk.

All that is now over and people are free to talk and give their opinion. Most people are saying Kibaki's legacy will be clean environment or road infrastructure. All that is true. However to me his most precious legacy is giving wananchi or the Kenyan people ultimate freedom.

I would like to thank Kibaki because for almost twenty five years, every time we completed elections when I listened to the radio I would learn I had been appointed an assistant minister. Other five years would pass and I would again be appointed Assistant minister. It continued that way, assistant minister.

What is this?

I remember very well when we campaigned in 2002 we went everywhere. Kibaki was slim then, still a young man the hair was still dark. He honoured me and made me the chairman of the NARC Summit.

Hence I used to pride myself saying I am the boss. When it was time for nomination I told myself I would get direct nomination but he objected that saying: "If you are truly the Summit chairperson and you know very well I stand for democracy, first go to Funyula. Compete with others there and then come back."

This is the kind of leadership we want, that you stand to be counted for what you believe in. Kibaki has led this nation for ten years in a very right way. Our economy has developed, our education is at its best and the health sector is improving.

When he retires, ours is to pray the Almighty God to give him good health and long life. I believe the President will be ready to offer advice to those who would want to lead this nation. May God bless you. Thank you for the service which you have given to this country of ours.



HIGHLIGHTS | Statistics show the economy grew by 4.7 per cent in the

# Prospects good as coun from near recession to

Inflation now 3.25 pc down from 19 pc in January and is projected to drop even further

BY JOHN NJIRU Injiru@ke.nationmedia.com

omorrow marks the close of a year that has ended in an economic recovery from a near recession in the first and second quarters.

The first-quarter gross domestic product (GDP) declined in the face of high inflation and interest rates to post 3.5 per cent growth compared with 5.1 per cent recorded in the same period last year.

period last year.
According to the latest results from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), the economy expanded by 4.7 per cent in the third quarter of 2012 compared to 4.0 per cent growth for the same quarter of 2011.

Inflation now stands at 3.25 per cent and is projected to drop even further from a peak of 19 per cent when the country woke up to 2012.

#### External factors

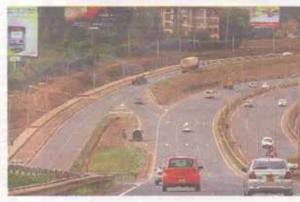
The local business world was subjected to both external and domestic factors that made the sector both exciting and interesting.

Globally, the London Olympics provided platform for the country to redeem itself as a tourist attraction.

Locally, the National Hospital Insurance Fund saga aroused a public furore that led to management resignations.

The Capital Markets Authority banned seven former board members of Ill-fated CMC Motors from holding posts in any local listed or licensed company, while the Communications Commission of Kenya switched off fake phones and plans to switch off all unregistered SIM cards.

Other events shaped the country's overall economic growth, namely:



#### Infrastructure development

In March, President Kibaki invited South Sudan's Salva Kiir Mayardit and Ethiopia's Prime Minister Meles Zenawi to the launch of the Sh15 trillion Lapsset (Lamu Port-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor) project billed as one of the biggest transport projects in Africa

The project will include construction a 1,710km railway line, a 880km high linking Lamu to Ethiopia and South and a 2,240km oil pipeline connecti fields in South Sudan to refineries to built at the projected Lamu Port.

The project, with a tentative completion date of 2015, is also to include t

#### Energy

Towards the end of March, prospectors from Tullow found what is believed to be oil in commercial quantities in Turkana in northem Kenya.

After the discovery was announced, President Kibaki told Kenyans:

"This morning I have been informed by the minister for Energy that our country has made a major breakthrough in oil exploration. This weekend, Tullow Oil, which has been prospecting for oil in block 10 BB in Turkana County, discovered oil in Ngamia-1 well, at a depth of between 846 and 1,041 metres."

Other foreign oil firms that have bought exploration rights in Kenya in the recent past include Africa Oil, Apache Oil and Ophir.

Another big event in the energy sector was the beginning of construction of Kerya's first green energy generation plant, the Sh82.5 billion 280MW Olkaria geothermal project.

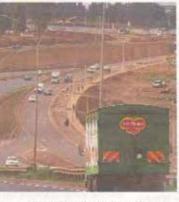


# Bills boost econor

hiatus after President Kibaki rebuff down their attempts to award ther selves billions as a send-off packa; The National Transport and Safety thority Act 2012 created a buzz in transport industry, forcing communi

2012 this month following a three-

# try leaps recovery



construction of three resort cities at Lamu, Isiolo and near Lake Turkana, the construction of airports in the resort cities and the setting up of associated infrastructure such as a 1,100Mw power line and a 185km water supply line.

Last month, President Kibaki launched the Sh400 million Syokimau rail service and Sh31 billion Nairobi-Thika superhighway.



walk for a week

The Prevention of Terrorist Act 2012 was enacted, and it is hoped it will reduce the number of travel advisories made by foreign countries which have resulted in a decline in tourism.

This year alone will go down in history as the busiest legislative calendar with over 90 bills passed.

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 34** 

#### VICE PRESIDENT KALONZO MUSYOKA

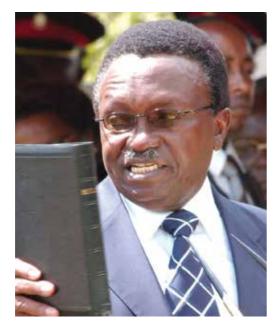
One of the things that we continue to admire is President Kibaki's tolerance over and above those virtues about democracy.

But I recall with those remarks really coming to the end of my small presentation, January the 9th, 2005. That was a very important day in the region because President Kibaki stood there at Nyayo Stadium and witnessed the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement which actually led to the world's newest republic, the republic of Southern Sudan.

Am quite sure, President Kibaki, the Sudanese wherever they are, the Northern and Southern Sudanese do feel as much as we feel as Kenyans the very important contribution that you have made not just in Kenya but in the region. We also remember as Commander in Chief of our Armed forces trying to straighten Somalia in very significant manner. This is part of your legacy.



**Mwai Kibaki** ars of national service





#### HON. DAVID MWIRARIA

... We met first in Makerere in 1963 when His Excellency was teaching economics and I was a part time tutor studying post graduate mathematics.

I later met his Excellency when I came back after the collapse of the East African community to the Kenya Government. I was fortunate to be made his Permanent Secretary when he was Vice president and Minister for Home Affairs for two and a half years.

I went through nine ministers and President Kibaki was easily the best. So when His Excellency resigned from Kanu, on Christmas Day in 1991, I was curious to know what he wanted to do and it's then that DP was born and I was one of the founder members of the Democratic Party.

On the 29th of February 1992, DP, which was just being formed, had its first meeting in Meru

and I was working as a World Bank consultant here in Nairobi doing work for KWS (Kenya Wildlife Service), it was then WCMD. I went to the meeting and I didn't realize that the then secretary general John Keen would force me to talk. I didn't know what to say and I stood there and told the Meru people you have never heard me in politics. I have three live memberships from Kanu but today I have come here to support a new party called Democratic Party, and I am here because I admire the leader. Then I said to the Meru's "waswahili husema fuata nyuki ule asali. Huyu ndio nyuki wenu" and I came back to Nairobi.

The next day, the 1st of March, Dr. Leakey who was then the boss, came to me at about five O'clock to tell me that I could no longer continue serving as a consultant and that is how I ended up in politics. I want as a Kenyan to thank Kibaki on behalf of my colleagues for having been a true democrat.

Having worked for 8 years to popularise DP in Meru I thought I will get the DP nomination for North Imenti without opposition. But he told me 'No', this is politics and we are a democratic party. You must fight the nomination. So really this is a remark I am making genuinely: Kibaki is a true democrat and this is something, a legacy he will leave with many Kenyans.

The other point I want to make, which I have said already, His Excellency the President was an excellent minister. I used to write memos for him, he would read them promptly, comment on them and give me reasons where he disagreed with me. So as he leaves I feel that Kenya is losing a very very important leader who was always fair, understanding, very focused and appreciated good work.

And more importantly, I want to congratulate him and thank him for having had a vision of what he wanted to do with Kenya after he became

President. I will never forget the day, he announced free primary education and I remember Saitoti and I going to State House to say half of the year is gone, money is spent, it was spent in fact during the elections, what do we do about it? He looked me straight into the eye and told me: "David I have made you the minister for finance. Go and look for the money." Let me also say that I was very fortunate to have had the opportunity to work for Kibaki and I thank him for it. He was what people may call an ownist executive, an executive who shares credits with those you have worked for him, in fact I am sure all the politicians in this house particularly the ministers and assistant ministers will agree with me that once you are given a job you are left to do it and you are not pushed around.

Let me conclude by saying that to me and to many Kenyans, he will be remembered for his love for this country. I don't know whether I will be giving out a secret if I said that I remember when this grand coalition was being negotiated I used to keep very close to the PNU negotiators. The day before His Excellency signed the grand coalition agreement, the stand of the PNU workers was completely opposite of what His Excellency did and I am sure Your Excellency did that for the love for the country because he wanted to see peace and prosperity and to make sure that there was no continued infighting which was almost developing into a civil war in this country.

I could go on and on and have other anecdotes but let me conclude by saying that; "A man has three names, the name he inherits, the name his parents give him and the name he makes for himself." You have made a great name for yourself which will live long after your departure from State House and all I can do now is to wish you the very best in your retirement and to pray that you will be blessed with very peaceful life."

#### HON, JAMES ORENGO

I am very excited to seize this opportunity and say a word or two. I think normally if you want to look at what you have really done, don't look at the heights, look at the depths you have come from. One of the things when I want to evaluate what Kenya has undergone in the last ten years is to look at where we were over a decade ago.

Sometimes when you make comparisons of the situation in the country today in relation to other countries which are making similar steps, I realise we really do not appreciate what has happened in the last ten years.

Sometimes when I travel around to go to Lamu to find an airport being built, at the same time there is an airport being built in Malindi, there is another airport being built in Kisumu, there are airstrips and airports being expanded, the railway networks there is something being done and when you look at the Government buildings the way they are and contrast with the way they were ten years ago, it tells you the situation is very different.

President Kibaki demonstrated that Kenya had great shock absorbers because we were undergoing a period which may be described as almost a dark age, if I may put it that way. But suddenly Kenya has risen. I was very happy during Jamhuri Day when Kibaki said something which I thought was simply said but very deep: that if you have eyes and have appreciated what has been done you can say thank you but if you don't see it hiyo ni shauri yako.

Because sometimes there are people who cannot appreciate even when alot has been done.

H.E Moody Awori has talked about what the situation was like and the civil rights. For somebody who went through that experience, you have really opened up democratic space and also offered leadership where only substance matters.

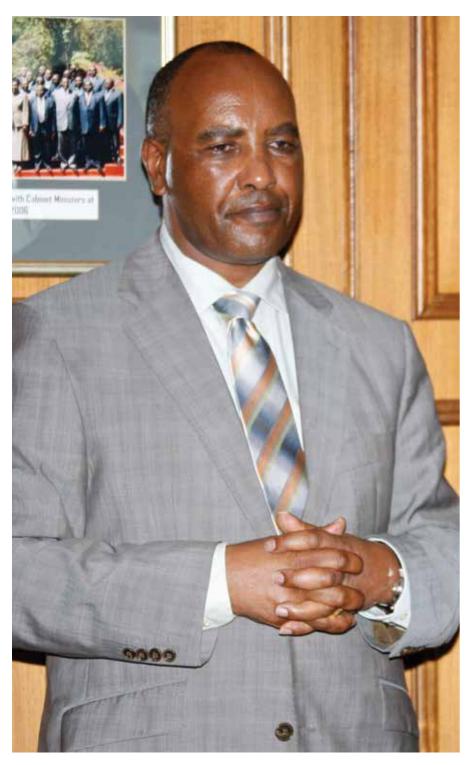
Sometimes when I am talking to him I talk very carefully because at times I think when I walk away you will say *bure tuu* because you have no time for *fitina*, or small talk or little talk. I also try to be extremely careful and factual. In my experience as a minister, I don't think there is a day when I have a received a phone call to do anything in my ministry like what used to happen. So if there is a mess in the Ministry of Lands, I think it is my failure because you have given me the latitude to do what is right for the country.

One of the things I enjoyed in Parliament is when there was a debate in that house, a healthy debate, and you would say very complicated things in a very simple way. Some of us learnt our lessons about debating in the House from you.

It will go down in the annals of history that you were one of the greatest parliamentarians that Kenya ever produced.

But having said all that, please continue to advise this country. We have seen times when all the time you would hear about World Bank, IMF, or at times you want to build a little road but the EEC is saying this... But at least in the last ten years, we can say that Kenya is on the road truly to economic freedom, based on democracy and social justice. And I think that is a very great legacy that Kibaki has left to us. I end my story there but please give us time in your retirement to come to you and talk to you and mentor us as we continue to serve this country.





#### FRANCIS KIMEMIA

I worked in the Civil Service during President Moi's and President Kibaki's government and have very positive things to say about President Kibaki style of leadership.

#### My Impression

First, President Kibaki is a very cultured person; and a very skilled diplomat. I know people have always taken his quiet demeanor and humble personality to mean a non-action person. But, I think as he closes his tenure it is very clear now Kenyans realize that action speaks louder than words. This has had an impact on the entire public service and politics for people have realized the essence of working hard; rather than talking.

#### **Performance Contracting**

Kibaki will be remembered for instilling a working culture within the Public Service via the performance contracting system. For the first time, the public servants' mandate shifted from being bosses to people's servants. During Kibaki's leadership, people no longer came to government offices to hang coats and to go to loiter around town or to moonlight but they come to offices to work. And for doing that, they were paid well. The salaries were increased to almost 200 per cent from what was paid before 2002 and what is paid now is close to 300 to 400 per cent increments that have made the public service very attractive even to

professionals outside the public sector - and that is a major achievement.

#### Kibaki the democrat

President Kibaki is a true democrat and as I said he is a very decisive person. He has shown that you can be democratic but be very decisive too. President Kibaki consults a lot, and he gives very clear instructions. He is very keen to see issues that impact on the lives of people and that is something that we when we go to brief him we make sure that whatever we tell him has a bearing on improving the people's lives and quality of life of the nation, the institutions, and the profession that you come from. That is what really cheers up the President.

# On leadership and creation of Institutions

President Kibaki has been able to create institutions that will outlive him, and outlive ourselves as human beings as civil servants. I think this is a major achievement. He will be remembered for strengthening institutions which are professional and accountable; institutions that have dignity, integrity and honour. We will always remember his call for transparency and accountability which are very dear to his heart.

We can learn something from his leadership style. Studies that have been done on leadership indicate that you do not have to be very authoritative or arrogant to be a successful leader. In fact, most of

the best-profiled leaders are very humble people who work with people. They lead with the people and create systems that outlive the leaders when they exit from the scene. I believe that is what President Kibaki has done.

#### Why I like his guidance

What you measure in a leader is the capacity to inspire- that when you meet this leader does he inspire you or does he make you to perspire? Kibaki is a person who will inspire you; will influence your thinking; and will guide you. He will never shout at you, he will never castigate you. He will correct you and give you the reason why you should do it the way he thinks.

For those who come to brief the President when they are not prepared, they have to go back to offices humbled. If you are meeting Kibaki to brief him, you have to be very thorough. He will critique even the numbers you have added and will add them himself. He will either take up a pen or a calculator and add up the figures and if they are not adding up, he will definitely tell you to go back and work out your report again.

That way, he has introduced a culture of excellence to whichever person you are preparing the report to— it has to be the spirit of excellence. One has to be meticulous, efficient and above all professional and competent.

#### On Transition

We have received a lot of guidance from the President on what he expects on the transition. He is very clear that he wants a smooth transition. He is very clear that he wants this Constitution to succeed even after he exits the Presidency. The constitution itself did create the Transition Clauses and the capacity to transit to the new form of government after the General Elections. It is for us professionals to lay the framework one- on how the county governments will start working after the General Elections. All the Acts of parliament that are mandatory have been passed. And the President had to wait until late to make sure that these bills go through and the following morning he appends signature to transform them into law before deadlines caught up with us. So its not an issue of guess work on the swearing in of the new President.

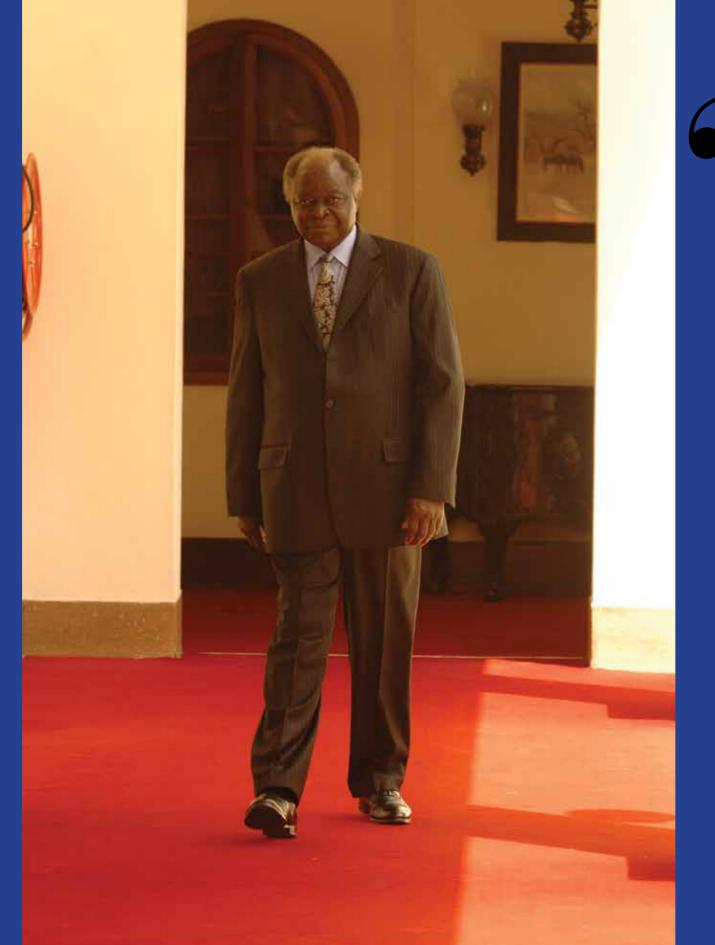
#### The main challenges

One of the remaining challenges in terms of modalities and logistics is the devolved governments because you have to offload the staff in the central government to go to the Counties and start working with the Governors. The remaining civil servants have to fit into the 22 ministries that may be defined by the incoming President between 14 and 22. We have come up with a framework of 14, 16 and 22. So its upon the incoming President he can choose whatever number he wants to make up because of

the kind of manifesto that he comes up with or the Agenda or platform upon which he is elected.

#### Kenya after Kibaki

The next President has to focus on revenue collection because he must deliver equal to or above what President Kibaki has delivered. Kenyans have the score card of the President. They know what he has done and they are going to demand that the next President performs the same way or above or better than President Kibaki. If you tell children in school to start paying fees and they have not been paying fees or you reduce the momentum of construction of roads, you can be sure there will be issues. If there are no drugs in hospitals, or people can't sleep because of insecurity there will be challenges. So the new Government has to take account of President Kibaki's scorecard and then try to move from there towards attaining better the remaining aspects of Vision 2030. This include the LAPSET, Konza city, and the standard gauge railway system among others. And then with the current freedom of press, the freedom of communication, and the freedom of association nobody will stop Kenyans from complaining or mentioning you either positively or negatively.



66 Don't be satisfied with small things. Think of the next city to build, the next road to construct, the next jobs to create, and the goods and services we shall export."

President Kibaki while launching Konza Technopolis City January 2013

#### Kenya today

Kenya is now a democratic country where citizens enjoy all fundamental rights and freedoms. Standards of life are fairly high today than at any other time in our national history. We have better health facilities and more health personnel than ever before. Our education institutions have tremendously increased and all our children can now access quality education. Many of our homes now have water and electricity or are close to a water or electricity connection. The movement of persons, goods and services is now more efficient and cost effective thanks to improved road, air, and rail infrastructure. Moreover, agricultural production has improved tremendously and there is greater food security.

#### The challenges

As a nation, we must strategize carefully on how to remain competitive regionally and globally. We must take seriously our agenda of transforming our country not into the regional business hub but also an economic powerhouse. We must take full advantage of our strategic location as the gateway to the wider East and Central Africa region. We must also continue to play a frontline role in ensuring regional peace and stability. Without peace and stability no meaningful development will take place. In the days ahead, therefore, we must take security issues seriously especially in the face of terrorist threats. Above all, we must ensure the peaceful co-existence of all communities in the country so that the events of 2007 will never happen again in the future of our country. This will call for responsible and enlightened leadership in the future.

#### Biggest change

The biggest change that took place in the country is the ushering in of a new constitutional

dispensation. The Constitution I promulgated in August 2010 is the boldest step the Kenyan people have taken towards changing their lives. This constitution, which Kenyans sought fruitlessly for more than two decades, effected fundamental changes in the way in which the country shall be governed. It introduces county Governments through which governance is taken closer to the grassroots and people take responsibility over their affairs; it entrenches a culture of integrity; strengthens our institutions; provides for strong checks and balances in the exercise of power; reforms the electoral and political processes among other key provisions.

#### Years ahead

More landmark changes will come with the implementation of the constitution and the achievement of Vision 2030. If everything works according to plan as spelt out in the Vision 2030 Medium Term Plans, Kenya should be barely recognized in the next 18 years. Once all flagship projects are implemented, Kenya will be a middle income economy and all Kenyans will be enjoying higher standards of life. Moreover, a fully implemented and mature devolved system of county Governments will unveil a new Kenya in which services are effectively and efficiently delivered in all parts of the country.

#### My excitement

I do not easily get very excited, but when I travel around the country and see peoples' lives transformed by good agriculture, good roads, running tap water, people putting to good use modern technology like mobile telephone money transfer, the internet: people doing in seconds what took us days and weeks, then that is exciting.

#### What makes me sad

Corruption; violence; irresponsible tribal talk; and unconstructive criticism make me very sad.

#### The journey ahead

To equip ourselves for the journey ahead, we must think smart and plan carefully. We must implement programmes as scheduled and we must also work very hard. Equally important, we must pay our taxes to raise resources to implement development projects. Tied to this, we must fight corruption with serious resolve so that available resources are invested for the common good rather than the indulgence of a few corrupt fellows. We must not forget that unity and sound leadership are a necessary condition for success. We must, therefore, carefully reflect on the leadership of this county as well as the management of our diversity as a nation.

#### Epilogue

The future is bright for Kenya. Let us get our politics right. We must stop being a nation that is on campaign mode from one election to another. I know Kenyans love politics but politics must not define all that we are. Kenyans are hardworking people, they love to fend for their families, they love to socialize but they get easily distracted by politics. Sometimes politics stops people from even seeing the opportunities right at their doorsteps. Kenya must remain as the most competitive country in our region. Our neighbours are also moving so we must move







# MWA Kibaki

**50 YEARS OF NATIONAL SERVICE**