

Country: Kenya

Years: 1963-1977

Leader: Jomo Kenyatta

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kenyatta's party as African National Union of Kenya (KANU). Manzano (2017: 93) identifies Kenyatta and KANU as leftist, writing "Another example is the dictatorial regime established in Kenya by the African National Union of Kenya under the leadership of Kenyatta and Arab Moi. The party was formed in 1960 and embraced the principles of African socialism." Nyong'o (1989) writes that Kenyatta espoused "a laissez-faire ideology which called on the people, in spite of their social differences and positions in society, to pull together for purposes of nation-building. Kenyatta, in actual fact, openly acknowledged the inevitability of social stratification in building a capitalist society, and explained them in terms of individuals not being able to use the opportunities put before them to their best advantage. In the 1960s, when the economy was expanding and the property frontier was widely open, [his ideology] did not need to justify itself: individuals who rose from rags to riches were plenty." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Kenyatta as Right. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kenyatta as Prime Minister from 1 June 1963 to 12 Dec 1964, and as President 12 Dec 1964 to 22 Aug 1978, and his party affiliation as KANU. World Statesmen identifies KANU as "conservative, Kenyan nationalist, formerly democratic socialist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Kenya African National Union (KANU) as 7.5. Maxon and Ofcansky (2014) write "Kenyatta... worked to establish... a mixed economy with room for foreign investment and the safeguarding of property rights... His support for a capitalist mixed economy, no free land, and a strongly pro-Western foreign policy did not endear him to KANU's radicals" and "Loyalty to the president [Kenyatta] marked Moi's tenure as vice president... he loyally advocated and defended the policies of the Kenyatta era, from pro-Western foreign policy and the rejection of socialism". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020a) identifies Kenyatta's ideology as rightist, writing "Kenyatta early on rejected socialist calls for the nationalization of property and instead preached a doctrine of personal and entrepreneurial effort, symbolized by his slogan "Harambee," or "Pulling together." Besides relying heavily on a free-market economy, he encouraged foreign investment from Western and other countries." Encyclopedia Britannica (2020b) also identifies Kenyatta's ideology as rightist, writing "Ideological differences led to disagreements with Vice President Odinga, whom Kenyatta had appointed to satisfy the powerful Luo. Odinga

believed that, by adopting a pro-Western, essentially capitalist economic policy, the government was neglecting the interests of poorer people. He broke with KANU to form a new opposition party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU)". Encyclopedia Britannica (2012) identifies KANU's ideology as leftist, writing "KANU after independence. Led by Jomo Kenyatta, the party officially advocated a strong central government in a socialist society." Ahluwalia (1996) writes "Once Odinga became too powerful, Kenyatta stepped in to openly oppose the left within KANU... As the split between the radicals and conservatives evolved, a group of officials at the district level... wished to move towards the Tanzanian model with extensive nationalisation and state participation in the economy. This group provided the necessary constituency for the parliamentary radicals. Their position was enhanced and articulated with the opening of the Lumumba Institute, which publicized their views. However, with Kenyatta's intervention, the institute was taken over by the conservative group." N'Diaye (2002) writes "Although "African Socialism" was the Kenyatta regime's official ideology (1964-1978), Kenya rapidly became a staunch ally of the West and followed unbridled state-centered capitalist strategies." Angelo (2020) writes "Picking up on the *en vogue* concept of "*ujamaa*"... popularized by Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, Kenyatta barely clarified the distinction, asserting "we have our own concept of *Ujamaa*, springing from our own culture here." This was vague enough a formulation for Kenyatta to publicly hint at his antisocialist feelings. Nevertheless, at a time when African socialism was defined through its neocolonial antithesis, liberal capitalism, Kenyatta could not politically afford not to take a position on this issue. Confronted with the accusation that his "African socialism" meant nothing at all, Kenyatta replied: "The essential of our African socialism can be defined as inspiration. We are seeking to inspire dedication, not in pursuit of ideology or in search for power, but for the welfare of humanity." Wepman (1985) identifies Kenyatta's ideology as leftist, writing "In September 1946... Jomo Kenyatta sailed for Mombasa... He was now... the apostle of Blue-Book revolution based on socialist non-violent principles", "1945... on October 13 of that year the congress was opened... Kenyatta did not express militant anti-European views at the Congress. He said he recognized the value of European energy in Kenya and hoped that, after independence, Europeans would stay and become integrated under some form of socialism", and "Kenyatta, at that time a voluntarily exiled left-wing politician". Cox (1966) identifies KANU's ideology as leftist, writing "K.A.D.U had shown few differences from K.A.N.U, both being socialist". In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.63) in 1974.

Years: 1978-2001

Leader: Daniel Toroitich arap Moi

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Moi's affiliation as African National Union of Kenya (KANU). Manzano (2017: 93) identifies arap Moi and KANU as leftist, writing "Another example is the dictatorial regime established in Kenya by the African National Union of Kenya under the leadership of Kenyatta and Arab Moi. The party was formed in 1960 and embraced the principles of African socialism." CIA (2011) corroborates, stating "the desire of Moi to involve the government in virtually all aspects of the economy by means of inefficient public corporations... in agriculture, government-imposed producer prices and restrictions on distribution." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies arap Moi as Right. World Statesmen (2020) identifies arap Moi's party affiliation as KANU. World Statesmen identifies KANU as "conservative, Kenyan nationalist, formerly democratic socialist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Kenya African National Union (KANU) as 7.5. Maxon and Ofcansky (2014) write "Loyalty to the president [Kenyatta] marked Moi's tenure as vice president... he loyally advocated and defended the policies of the Kenyatta era, from pro-Western foreign policy and the rejection of socialism". Encyclopedia Britannica (2012) identifies KANU's ideology as leftist, writing "KANU after independence. Led by Jomo Kenyatta, the party officially advocated a strong central government in a socialist society." Cox (1966) identifies KANU's ideology as leftist, writing "K.A.D.U had shown few differences from K.A.N.U, both being socialist". In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.63) in 1974 and "Center-right" (1.369) in 1979, 1983, and 1988 and "Center-right" (1.646) in 1992 and 1997. Brown (2001) writes "if the mass demonstrations had continued unabated in 1997, Moi might have been overthrown like Marcos... However, in Kenya's case, memories of Somalia and Rwanda lingered. The fear of the African mob and the sense that anything could happen (wide- spread violence, loss of life, damage to property, socialism) frightened Kenyan political elites and Western donors into ensuring that electoral procedures were followed, even if they were severely flawed." Ortiz de Zárate (2020) writes "Moi's Kenya followed the moderate, even conservative, and pro-Western path in the African geopolitical context, a trend all the more striking because all of East Africa, from Egypt to South Africa, was studded with governments that supported (or said protect) various revolutionary, socialist or anti-imperialist qualities. Significantly, on December 23, 1988 Kenya and Israel reestablished diplomatic relations broken by Kenyatta in 1973."

Years: 2002-2012

Leader: Emilio Mwai Kibaki

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kibaki's party as PNU, and earlier as DP. Elischer (2010) describes the DP's ideology as right, writing "the DP... are broadly programmatic and share a preference to right-wing policies... its slight bias toward the political Right can be explained by its core ethnic clientele. The DP represents the interests of the Kikuyu community, which is well established in Kenya's economic sector." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Kibaki as Left from 2002-7, and as Right from 2007-13. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that DP is rightist, "conservative", identifies PNU as rightist, "conservative", and describes NRC as a "social democratic" coalition headed by DP. The rightist International Democratic Union (2020) identifies the Democratic Party of Kenya as one of its members. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.925) in 2002 and 2007 and 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.278) in 2007.

Years: 2013-2020

Leader: Uhuru Kenyatta

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde (2019) identifies Kenyatta's party affiliation as Jubilee Alliance, and its ideology as right. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kenyatta's party affiliation as TNA before 2016 and JP after 2016 (outside of the leader dataset range). World Statesmen corroborates that TNA is right and that JP is also right, since it labels both as "center-right". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Jubilee (JP) as 7.3. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.329) in 2013. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as "Jubilee Party". DPI identifies JP's ideology as rightist.

References:

- Ahluwalia, D. P. S. (D. Pal S.). *Post-colonialism and the Politics of Kenya*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1996.
- Angelo, Anaïs. *Power and the Presidency in Kenya: The Jomo Kenyatta Years*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Anyang-Nyong'o, P. "STATE AND SOCIETY IN KENYA: THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE NATIONALIST COALITIONS AND THE RISE OF PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITARIANISM 1963–78." *African Affairs* 88, no. 351 (April 1, 1989).
- Brown, Stephen. 2001. "Authoritarian Leaders and Multiparty Elections in Africa: How Foreign Donors Help to Keep Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi in

- Power.” *Third World Quarterly* 22 (5): 725–39.
doi:10.1080/01436590120084575.
- Campbell, John. "Raila Odinga Sworn in as Kenya's "People's President".
Council on Foreign
Relations, January 30, 2018. Accessed January 8, 2019.
<https://www.cfr.org/blog/raila-odinga-sworn-kenyas-peoples-president>.
- Cox, Richard. *Kenyatta's Country*. New York: Praeger, 1966.
- "Kenya - the Key to Moi's Future: An Intelligence Assessment." Office of African
and Latin
American Analysis, Directorate of Operations. February 03, 2011. Accessed
January 8, 2019. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP84S00552R000200010002-6.pdf>.
- Elischer, Sebastian. "Measuring and Comparing Party Ideology in
Nonindustrialized Societies:
Taking Party Manifesto Research to Africa." *Democratization* 19, no. 4
(June 2010).
- Kwayera, Juma. "Ideology of the Odingas." *The Standard*. January 27, 2013.
Accessed January
8, 2019. <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000075951/ideology-of-the-odingas>.
- Manzano, Dulce. 2017. *Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology, and the Expansion of Education*. Cambridge.
- N'Diaye, Boubacar. "How Not to Institutionalize Civilian Control: Kenya's Coup Prevention Strategies, 1964-1997." *Armed Forces & Society* 28, no. 4 (July 2002): 619–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X0202800406>.
- Ominde, Simeon H., Ingham, Kenneth, and Ntarangwi, Mwenda. 2020b. "Kenya." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kenya/World-War-II-to-independence>.
- Ortiz de Zárate, Roberto, ed. "Daniel arap moi." CIDOB. Last modified February 4, 2020.
https://www.cidob.org/en/biografias_lideres_politicos_only_in_spanish/africa/kenya/daniel_arap_moi.
- Robert M. Maxon, and Thomas P. Ofcansky. 2014. *Historical Dictionary of Kenya*. Vol. Third edition. Historical Dictionaries of Africa. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
<http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=845947&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- Rowe, John A. 2020a. "Jomo Kenyatta." *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jomo-Kenyatta>.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2012. "Kenya African National Union." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kenya-African-National-Union>.

"Members | International Democrat Union," February 1, 2018. <https://www.idu.org/members/>.

Norris, Pippa. 2020. Global Party Survey dataset. <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/GlobalPartySurvey>

Perspective monde. 2019. *Kenya, dirigeants politiques*. <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=KEN&ani=1966&moi=1&anf=2019&mof=7>

Wepman, Dennis. *Jomo Kenyatta*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1985.

World Statesmen. 2020. Kenya. <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Kenya.html>