

A TRUE HERO OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

H.E DANIEL TOROITICH ARAP MOI



AFRICA|ASIA|AMERICA|EUROPE

**PETER K. KEITANY
SAMUEL K. CHEPTOO.**

**Published and printed by:
Destiny Ink Publishers Ltd,**

Machakos, Kenya.

Email: destinyinkpublishers@gmail.com

Tel: +254756652525/ +254758966662

© Peter K. Keitany, Samuel K. Cheptoo 2024.

The moral rights of the author have been asserted.

First published 2024.

All rights Reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission of Destiny Ink Publishers Ltd.

Enquiries concerning reproduction may be sent to the publishing department, Destiny Ink Publishers Ltd, at the address above.

ISBN: 978-9914-9822-5-1

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Dedication..... iv

Acknowledgement.....v

Introduction.....viii

Chapter 1: Who was President Daniel Toroitich
Arap Moi 1

Chapter 2: The other side of President Moi ...58

References 104

DEDICATION.

This book is dedicated to the members of our beloved families, the Moi family, both the immediate and extended, political leaders and patriotic Kenyans who love this country and mean well for our country and want to see prosperity.

We further dedicate it to the youth who are taking over as the leaders of today and tomorrow.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Our acknowledgement goes to the heavenly Father who gives leaders to nations like Kenya along with the respective calling, grace and favor to lead and serve people.

We further acknowledge all those who were close to President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi (RIP) in different ways and were able to share very important and confidential information about him. Among the persons we interviewed include the following;

1. Cllr. Ambrose K. Kandie - Former Mayor Kabarnet Municipal Council.
2. Cllr. Joseph Kipngochoch - Former Chairman Baringo County Council & councilor for 30 years.
3. Cllr. Richard C. Chebon - Former Chairman Baringo County Council and pastor.
4. Mr. Pius Bolei Chepkwony Retired Civil Servant and Tugen Elder

5. Bishop Emeritus Zachariah Chirchir - Africa Inland Church Baringo Region & member of Tugen Council of Elders
6. Mr. Symon Yatich Kimengich Arap Namba - Baringo Elite & Opinion Leader
7. Mr. Erick Bett - Baringo Politician, Former Director Postal Corporation & KVDA and Business man.
8. Bishop Emeritus Daniel Chemon - Full Gospel Churches of Kenya, Baringo Region

NB: Majority of the above persons were very close to President Moi by virtue of their social, religious, cultural and political connections from the time he was a young man until his death.

We also thank Pastor Joseph Edira of AIC Kaprogonya who gave us company while visiting several people to seek for information.

Finally, many thanks go to Destiny Ink Publishers Ltd led by Amb. Eric Kyalo (Destiny pusher); I forever remain grateful for their

timely, transparent, honest and reliable work that has given this book the quality it brags of. Their work has touched lives and is inspiring many. Keep moving on.

INTRODUCTION

Motivation

The authors have written this book for the following reasons or motivation;

- a) To bring out the other side, the grey areas of the late Daniel T. Arap Moi, the second and longest serving president of Kenya, which many people don't know at the moment. He was also the second longest serving vice president in Kenya for 11 years; who served under very difficult circumstances but was very humble, something which saved him a lot.
- b) To know the hidden good side of Moi. Many knew him generally as a dictator who ruled with an iron fist, but our research has revealed otherwise. Moi was also a freedom fighter and second father of the nation from independence and hence cannot be ignored.
- c) To learn from Moi's great and inspirational leadership skills which puzzled many,

something which earned him the name *‘professor of politics and the giraffe who sees very far.’*

- d) It is wise to learn from our elder statesmen especially when we keep going through the same very slippery and tricky political landscape in the country since independence. It will be very stupid and silly if we cannot learn from our rich history. Political dynamics in Kenya has never been rosy throughout our history.
- e) We need to enrich our history by upgrading the existing information for the benefit of the current and future generations. The majority of the current people have no idea of such great leaders like Moi.
- f) The book is an audit of our style of leadership since independence to know where we are today and get free lessons, rectify our weaknesses and get a good way forward towards a prosperous nation as intended by the freedom fighters and fathers of the nation like the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. They did not

sacrifice and shed their blood so that we continue living in tribal and political divisions forever, while serving narrow, regional, sectarian, parochial or political interests. They did not sacrifice and shed their blood so that we continue shedding more blood and living permanently in problems of poverty, economy, disease and corruption.

- g) Currently, we are going through almost the same stormy scenario and cycle of demos, protests, social strife, economic hardships and instability of the 1990s which was very disastrous.
- h) Kenya must settle down, catch up quickly with a strategy towards national integration, patriotism, good governance, unity and move together towards a middle-income prosperous economy, which we have been talking about for many years without any real or tangible action. In fact, it is almost becoming a pipe dream.
- i) No one can afford to ignore Moi, who was a diplomat, generous, peacemaker, humorous,

focused on the Nyayo philosophy of love, peace and unity. He managed to stabilize Kenya when many countries in Africa and the Third World were sinking deep and falling away into massive destruction.

The late Daniel T. Arap Moi, was one of the greatest leaders Kenya and Africa have produced after independence straight from colonial rule. He was the longest serving president in Kenya's history having ruled for almost a quarter of a century (i.e.24 years). Moi was the third vice president for 11 years from 5th January, 1967 to 22nd August, 1978 while George Saitoti was the longest serving vice president for 13 years.

In short Moi was an icon, a legend, a visionary and servant leader full of wisdom, a teacher, a peacemaker, an author, a philosopher, trade unionist and a staunch Christian. He was a man with a complex blend of leadership style made up of several leadership styles.

The book provides a comprehensive coverage of Moi's life from when he was born in 1924 to 4th February, 2020 when he passed on. It covers his early life, marriage life and Christian life, and education life, life as a teacher, as a political leader, author, a peacemaker, his achievements, legacy and his leadership challenges.

He served faithfully with humility as vice President under the first president of independent Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, despite the extreme persecution by political mafia of the time (so called Kiambu Mafia). He was a leader with foresight and great passion. He was prophetic and saw and said many things which came to pass later. For instance, he even saw the retired President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2002 as president. Although Kenyans rejected him but he later became president for ten (10) years from the year 2013 to 2022. He also told the Kalenjin elders at his Kabarak home in 2002, who were very bitter after the 1997 and 1992 tribal clashes, and animosity that they had no choice but to work with the members of the

Kikuyu community for many years and until Jesus comes back because it was the plan and the will of God.

Many people generally knew Moi as a dictator who ruled with an iron fist but research has proved otherwise. There is need to know the other side of him, as a man full of wisdom, prudence, humanity and generosity. He loved the truth and was a man of integrity.

As a visionary leader he had seen the need of CBC in the 1980s but he lacked professional support from the Ministry of Education. He was the brain child of 844 education system which was very good but it lost track as replica of the current practical Competence Based curriculum (CBC) and backtracked to full pledged theoretical meaningless system training millions for white collar jobs which are not in existence.

He was spiritual and staunch Christian who forgave his perceived political enemies and brought them into his government. He was strict

in religious beliefs and never used the church to share insults like current leaders. He respected church and had set strict boundaries. When he was given an opportunity, he only greeted the congregation and gave word counsel from the Holy Bible.

He had passion for environmental conservation and personally led interventions in the 1980s since he had seen the threat of climate change effects. He was the founder of many of the basic key infrastructure in the country. He promoted talents and protected African culture and despised negative foreign influence.

Moi was a leader at the top of things all the time; well informed with a complex network of intelligence system which fed him with very detailed information about the country. He knew Kenya like the back of his hand. He had a mix of genuine and loyal professional and community advisors spread all over the country, and it was difficult to lie or mislead him. He had also several ways of verifying his information to

make it accurate. He was the most effective leader in listening to the ground. He spoke to the university students, youth, community elders, chief, KANU leaders and many delegations from communities to get feedback nationally.

Moi, in his book, *Kenya African Nationalism* (1986) shares practical lessons which he learnt from his 31 years of real political life (from 1955 to 1986), which Kenyans can revisit and embrace during this time of political turmoil. These include love for freedom, justice, equity and service to all is paramount, respect for the Kenya constitution, honest, integrity and rights of people, being open-minded, embracing change and the will of the people, being mindful of others welfare, love, peace and unity under the Nyayo philosophy.

Moi said under the first president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, he learned the values of patience, devotion, loyalty, dedication and selfless service.

We are where we were as a nation, where much has changed and there is still a big room for transformation towards ideal good governance. There are many lessons we can learn from Moi where we have failed miserably. It is wise, Godly and biblical to consult prominent elders and fathers of the nation like President Moi when things seem not to be working well.

The extreme problems associated with the 1980s-1990s like human rights violations, abductions, torture, economic hardships, budgetary constraints, conflicts and demos are still ongoing in this season. We are back to ethnic mobilization and entrenchment courtesy of political leaders and devolution. GDP has grown many times between 1990s and 2023 but positive impact is less due to upside down priorities.

Kenya has gone through almost similar social, political and economic challenges of the 1980-1990s. Now it is like we have gone full cycle,

going through unending crises, like rewinding to the factory settings, in some cases we maintain the status quo while for others we are moving from bad to worse.

The real animal and monster in the room is corruption which has multiplied and permeated to every section of society, where integrity is in acute shortage, everything is for grabs, mega corruption scandals like 1990s Golden berg magnitudes, land grabbing etc. The list is long.

Kenya is at 62 years and has gone back to one party arrangement which has mutated to the so-called tyranny of numbers, collapsing of the opposition since 2019 leading a mongrel system. It seems we have gone back to Egyptian slavery and heading to the political Siberia. This book warns us not to go back to our stupid past.

What can we borrow from Moi?

Political stability, Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity, constantly condemning tribalism and maintain regional peace etc.

It seems as Kenyans we are not yet out of the woods for, we still hear of demos, budgetary constraints, conflicts, dissatisfaction, human rights violations, torture, forced disappearances, economic woes, tribalism, ethnic mobilization, corruption, poverty, political parties without ideology but tribal based, extra judicial killings and abductions, democracy on trial etc. Students of political science will ask; **what system of government do we have in Kenya? Is it parliamentary, presidential or mix of both?** Kenya needs an urgent solution. Kenya needs peace, prosperity and harmony. The loud noises must come down. We must go back to active nation building. We must abandon the current pettiness.

The leadership style of Moi as analyzed is a rich combination of five

(5) key leadership styles; namely, autocratic style, democratic style, servant style, affiliative style and transformational style.

Leadership is the behavior to assist people align their collective direction and strategic plans to the organization's goals. It is an ability of a person to effectively lead, influence and guide employees in an organization. A leader is a person whose role is to guide, coach and inspire others towards an organization's shared goal.

Not all people are leaders; if we put the wrong people in leadership positions we will regret and suffer a lot. Many people are followers and true leaders are few.

Good leaders have a calling to love and assist people while bad or ineffective leaders may be leaders who lose direction and focus along the way. Leaders must provide leadership because

any vacuum will mess up many things in organizations and nations.

We need to support leaders so that they can deliver on their mandate instead of unwarranted criticism. Our criticism should always be objective, wise, meaningful, sober and constructive.

CHAPTER 1: WHO WAS PRESIDENT DANIEL TOROITICH ARAP MOI?

This chapter deals with early life of Moi, personal life, his education, Moi the teacher, Moi in politics, Moi the freedom fighter, Moi as Vice President, Moi Presidency, Moi and global peace, his legacy, achievements, instrumental leadership, infrastructure development, regional trade and integration, challenges, life after leaving office, health, death and burial.

This book provides a comprehensive coverage of Moi's life from when he was born in 1924 to 4th February, 2020 when he passed on.

Early Life

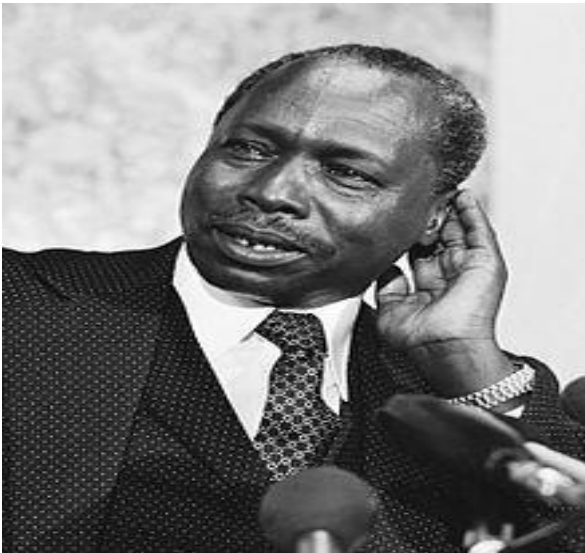
Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi was born on 2nd September, 1924 in Sacho, a rural village in Baringo County. He was born into the Tugen sub-group of the Kalenjin people in the Kenyan Rift Valley. He was elected to the

Kenyan Parliament in 1963. Since 1966 until his retirement in 2002 he served as the Baringo Central Member of Parliament (MP). He was elected unopposed for 25 years. This showed the great confidence people of Baringo had on him. He served as the second President of Kenya for 24 years from 1978 to 2002. However, in 1997 a teacher, the late Amos Kandie, commonly known as 'Kipkany Elat' opposed him as MP Baringo Central just to make a name and history.

Moi was the 5th child of Kabon, Chebii's senior wife. There is a belief that the name might have originated from his mother's name Kimoi since he was the last born or was raised by the mother, hence called Arap Kimoi which he shortened to be Moi.

He was named Toroitich, which means 'welcoming home the cattle' espousing how central cattle were in the life of his Tugen community. His home village was Kurieng'wo in Sacho location of Baringo District. He was named after his father Kimoi Arap Chebii, a Sot

clan herdsman that settled in the Tugen Hills. At the age of four, Moi's father died and his elder brother Tuitok played a guardian role. He married Lena Bomett in 1950 and blessed with 8 children.



Above: Moi, who rose from grass, grace to prominence and power

Education

Moi herded the family livestock just like other boys of his time. Moi's father died when he was only four years old and his upbringing was left to his mother, Kimoi Chebii, and his brother, Tuitoek. It was Tuitoek who took the young Toroitich Moi to school.

He was one of the herds boys from Sacho location recommended to join the new Africa Inland Mission (AIM) School at Kabartonjo in 1934 where he was trained by a Mr. Danzel who was a missionary from Australia, before it was shifted to Kapsabet intermediate school.

Initially, the Tugen people feared the church and school and a rumor went round that they ate children, hence they resisted. Moi plunged into school and Christianity as a risk taker and he later became the savior of the Tugen, Kalenjin community and Kenya at large. Bishop Zachariah Chirchir said ‘Moi was a leader and a

true Christian who received the pure, original and undiluted Word of God which he practiced’.

Others who joined Kabartonjo mission school were Mzee Stephano Kangwony, Councilor Elizabeth Chesire (Kokop Jemutai) and Moi’s sister Kokop Kandie among others. At that school, Moi was a prefect and football team captain. He took manual jobs in and out of school to meet his basic needs. He was raised under very difficult circumstances just like many children from ordinary families. That’s why Moi understood problems, empathized with many people and helped them where possible.

He one time told a delegation of students from Baringo in state house that he used to walk on foot for about 60 km from his Sacho home through Timboiywo, Kaptorokwo, Kituro, Kasore, Sogon, Talai to Kabartonjo in search for education. He appealed to the students to be God fearing and to sacrifice and work hard so as to succeed in their future lives.

He also walked on foot from Sacho through Kabarnet, Turkuo, Kiboino to Tambach Teachers College since those years there were no motor vehicles or roads. At one time a Kapsabet church blessed a missionary with two cows and Moi as a young man volunteered to drive the animals on foot from Kapsabet to Kapsowar mission station, a distance of about 120 km and back making 240 km. It was a journey of four (4) days.

Moi was a good role model to the Kalenjin community and to Kenyans because he was holistic in life, a well-balanced person who was educated, a teacher, knew cultural values and was trained early in missionary work in Kabartonjo. He was the best role model blend because he went beyond the normal basic educational, religious and cultural values and standards. Moi was the chairman of the Board of Governors (BOG) for Kabarnet high School and

Kapropita Girls (the best schools in Baringo) for 50 years.

Teaching

After completing his secondary education at Kapsabet High School, he attended Tambach Teachers Training College (TTTC) in the Keiyo District. He worked as a teacher from 1946 until 1955. He also taught at Kabarnet High School. He was promoted to the rank of P2 in 1949 after attending a brief course at Kagumo teacher's college and then he was transferred to the Government African School in Tambach. It is not clear if he ever graduated with a degree but he was offered several honorary degrees by universities for distinguished national and community service. He transformed lives of thousands of people in very many ways.

In 1950, he attended a course at the Jeans School, Kabete which later became the Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA) training career civil servants in professional

administration. His character was greatly influenced by Christianity which he had embraced at a tender age. He gave his life to Jesus early in life, something which helped in getting very important spiritual nurturing and mentorship.

He taught at Tambach until he was elected to the Legislative Council (LegCo) in 1955 as African representative for Rift Valley province. This was the time he began his political journey into national politics.

Marriage life

Moi was married to Lena Moi (Helena Bomett) from 1950. Lena's parents, the Paul Bomett family, were pioneer Christians in Eldama Ravine. They respected Moi, the young, tall, handsome and well-mannered orphan boy.

It was at the Bomett's family that Moi sought shelter during school holidays, unable to return home, 160 kilometres away, like the older

boys. He would also stay at the home of the Christian family of Isaiah Chesire, the father of KANU's nominated MP Zipporah Kittony, and former Eldoret North MP late Reuben Chesire.

In 1950, after leaving Kagumo Teacher's College (KTC), Moi, who had been dating Lena, married her in a church wedding officiated by missionary Erik Barnett, the son of Albert Barnett (after whom Kabarnet Town is named after) at the AIC mission in Eldama Ravine, after he paid two heifers, one ox, and four sheep to the Bomett family. Moi's long-time friend, Francis Cherogony, was the best man. With the marriage, Lena abandoned her career as a teacher and immersed herself in bringing up her family, settling down with Moi at Tambach Government School, where his first two children, Jennifer and Jonathan Kipkemboi, were born in 1952 and 1953 respectively.

Daniel Arap Moi had eight children: five sons and three daughters. Among the children are Gideon Moi, who had a political career of his

own in Kenya and Jonathan Toroitich (a former rally driver who died in 2019) and Philip Moi (a retired army officer). Hon. Gideon Moi has taken Mzee Moi's leadership mantle in Baringo and nationally as KANU chairman.

His older and only brother, William Tuitoek, died in 1995. He was a lifelong member of the Africa Inland Mission Church (AICM), following his enrollment at the church's school with fellow acquaintance, Sammy C. and Philip M. in 1934.

Moi was the founder and patron of major schools in Kenya which include Moi Educational Centre, Kabarak High School, Kabarak University and Sunshine Secondary Schools, and Sacho Primary and Secondary schools, among others.



Above: *Moi, the family man*

Politics

Nandi elders nominated two (2) persons consecutively to represent Rift Valley province in the Legislative Council but their terms were terminated due to incompetence. In 1955 Moi's name was presented by the Nandi elders after the colonial government asked for a committed Christian but Moi refused in the first instance since he loved to work as a teacher and hated politics. He later accepted the offer after

persistent persuasion by his Kabartonjo based missionary teacher Jean Paxtar and the then Baringo District Education Officer (DEO), late Moses Mudavadi, father to Hon. Musalia Mudavadi. He finally joined politics and was elected Member of the Legislative Council for Rift Valley and rose through the ranks.

In 1957 he was re-elected Member of the Legislative Council for Rift Valley and in the same year he was instrumental in forming the Kenyan Teachers Union (KTU). Moi was also a trade unionist who fought for the rights and welfare of workers in Kenya. In June, 1960 he took part in the Lancaster House constitutional conference in London. He was outspoken in demanding for Kenyatta's release from prison. As a politician, he demonstrated inexhaustible patience and tolerance which later helped shape his political career. He proved as a dedicated freedom fighter who used peaceful means to fight for Kenya's independence. He was a career politician for 47 years, from 1955 to 2002.



Above: President Kenyatta whispers something confidential to Moi, the humble and obedient Vice president.



Above: Hon. Gideon Moi, KANU Chairman, took Mzee's leadership mantle in Baringo

Formation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)

In 1960 Moi founded the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) together with the late Ronald Ngala to challenge the Kenya African National Union (KANU) led by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. KADU's stated aim was to defend the interests of the small minority tribes, such as the Kalenjin to which Moi belonged, against the dominance of the large Luo and Gĩkũyũ tribes that comprised the majority of KANU's membership. He was the key leader in Rift Valley fighting for the interests of the Kalenjin community and other minority tribes.

KADU pressed for a federal system of constitution known as Majimbo (or the current devolution), while KANU was in favor of centralism. The advantage lay with the numerically stronger KANU, and the British government was finally forced to remove all provisions of a federal nature from the

constitution. Later, KADU merged with KANU to form a giant national party - retaining the name KANU. Moi, as a visionary leader had seen the importance of devolution 64 years ago but was frustrated by selfish political leaders of the time who hated devolution. Imagine, if Kenya embraced devolution from 1963 this country would be a middle-income industrialized country by now.



Above: One of the oldest KANU offices in Kabarnet, Baringo, where Moi used to hold party meetings. It was built in the 1930s.

Freedom Struggle

Moi was sympathetic to the African struggle for independence though not in a militaristic manner. He assisted various freedom fighters at his home in the Rift Valley. He also developed strong links with Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. As a diplomat, Christian and a peaceful man he preferred a non-violent means of struggle for freedom.

The colonial authorities warned Moi against associating with Mzee Kenyatta but he ignored those warnings and visited Kenyatta in Lodwar prison. On Kenya's independence in 1963 and Kenyatta's accession first to the post of Prime Minister then to President, the two men worked very closely together. Moi was a freedom fighter.

Vice President

After Kenya gained independence on 12th December, 1963 Mzee Kenyatta convinced Moi that KADU and KANU should be merged to complete the process of decolonization. Kenya, therefore, became a de facto single-party state. Kenyatta secured the support of the Kalenjin community by first appointing Moi to be the Minister for Home Affairs in 1964, and then to Vice President in 1967.

Moi was the third vice president for 11 years from 5th January, 1967 to 22nd August, 1978, while the late Prof. George Saitoti was longest serving vice president for 13 years (June, 1989-August, 2002). The late Joseph Murumbi was Vice President from May-November, 1966 while Mwai Kibaki was Vice President 1978 to 2002. Other Vice presidents were Jeramogi Odinga (1964-1966), Josephat Karanja (1988-1989), Kijana Wamalwa (January-August 2003), Musalia Mudavadi (November, 2002-January, 2003), Moody Awori (September, 2003-

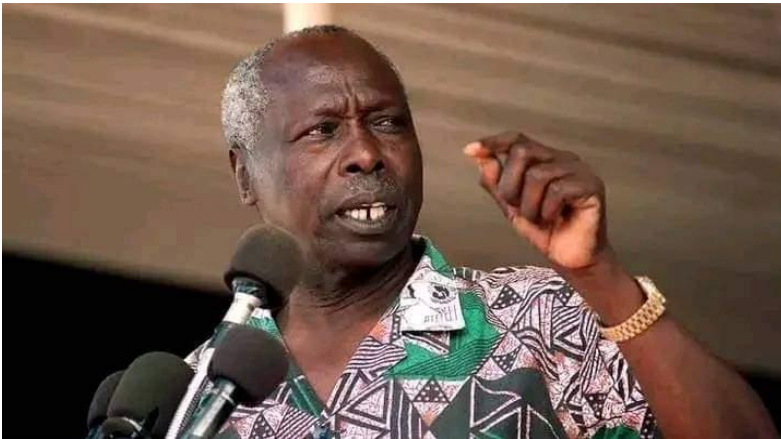
January, 2008) and Kalonzo Musyoka (January, 2008-April, 2013).

As a member of what was considered a minority tribe at the time, Moi was also an acceptable compromise for the major tribes. Moi was elected to the Kenyan Parliament in 1963, from Baringo Central. Since 1966, until his retirement in 2002, he served as the Baringo Central MP.

As Mzee Kenyatta's age advanced, Moi faced opposition from the Kikuyu elite known as the Kiambu Mafia, who would have preferred one of their own to be eligible to be next in line after the exit of the first President. This resulted in an infamous attempt to change the constitution to prevent the Vice President automatically from assuming power in the event of the President's death. It was reported that during the time Moi was frustrated and harassed by very junior government officers but remained patient and persevered through. He never revealed to the media what he went through until he took over

power. He was referred to by his critics as “the passing cloud” but he ruled for 24 years.

The existence of this succession scheme may have led to dangerous political instability if Kenyatta died, given his advanced age and perennial illnesses. However, Kenyatta withstood the political pressure and safeguarded Moi's position. It was by God's grace that Moi survived the immense opposition, frustrations and persecutions. In his presidency it was also reported that there were several attempts on his life, but God stood with Moi during his many ups and downs.



Above: Moi, the wise and humble Vice president

Moi's Presidency

Moi became president in 1978 following the death of President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. Prior to 1978, he served as the third Vice President of Kenya for 11 years from 1967 to 1978. He was the second longest serving vice president. Prof. George Saitoti (RIP) served as the longest vice president for 13 years.

He quickly consolidated power and banned formation of opposition parties. He also carried favor with the military, which proved loyal to him in suppressing a coup attempt in 1982. His continuation of Kenyatta's pro-Western policies ensured significant sums of development aid during the Cold War period (1947–1991), and under Moi's stewardship Kenya continued on its path as one of the most prosperous African nations.

In the early 1990s, however, Western countries began to demand political and economic

reforms, leading Moi to legalize opposition parties in 1991. The following year he won the country's first multiparty elections in 1992 amid claims of electoral fraud. Riots and demonstrations marred the 1997 elections, and hundreds of Kenyans were killed.

Easily elected to his fifth term as president, Moi promised to end government corruption and implement democratic and economic reforms. In an effort to combat corruption, in 1999 he appointed Dr. Richard Leakey, the popular and respected anthropologist, as the head of the civil service and Secretary to the Cabinet, a position Leakey relinquished in 2001.

Soon after ascending to the presidency on 14th October 1978, Moi pledged to maintain the stability that Kenya had enjoyed since independence. He sought to assure apprehensive citizens, investors and diplomats that he would follow the footsteps (Nyayo) of Mzee Kenyatta. It became clear after some time that Moi had his

own ideas on how the country should be run. Whereas Kenyatta practiced a hands-off style of leadership, delegating authority to his appointees, Moi preferred hands-on management. He famously said, "Those who want to lead the country must wait their turn ... I am the President and every minister must sing like a parrot to whatever I say." Moi was popularly known to Kenyans as "**Nyayo**", a Swahili word for "footsteps", as he often said he was following in the footsteps of the first President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. He also earned the sobriquet "Professor of Politics" due to his sharpness in navigating successfully the tricky political Kenyan landscape.



Above: Moi, the powerful president under the old constitution. He enjoyed absolute power.

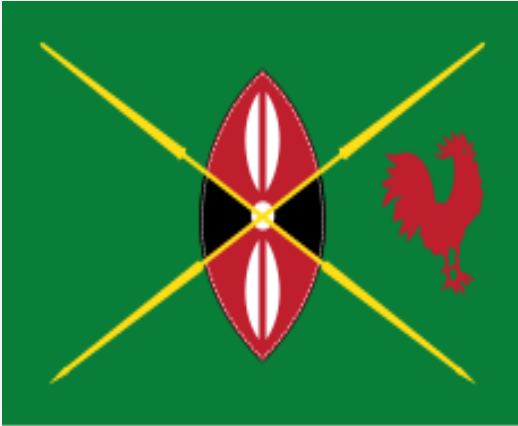
Moi's presidency was a contradiction of sorts: on one hand he craved the awe which Jomo Kenyatta had received from the public. On the other hand, he wanted to be different from Kenyatta, by being more in touch with the average man in the village. When he assumed the reign of government, Moi started traveling in a Volkswagen Kombi, raising eyebrows.

The Kombi was the only vehicle which could grapple with the country's difficult terrain - dusty roads, hairpin bends, precarious cliffs, unbeaten tracks. One time, while on his way from Kisumu to Nakuru, Moi expressed the wish to use a short-cut from Sondu through Sigowet to Kericho town. His aides condemned the route as impassable. "Are there people living in the area where this road passes?" he asked and declared he had to tackle the road, passable or otherwise (Njiru, 1997).

Although he was a president, Moi lived a simple life and loved to be very accessible to the common man, frequently travelling by road and stopping in almost all places to greet the people and listen to their needs. As a leader he has displayed a high level of wisdom, forgiveness and was a good listener. He was a humble and God fearing servant leader who listened keenly to advice from his advisors, common men and changed his mind many times to adjust to the need of the time. Mr. Symon Yatich Arap Namba, a university student leader, was among the people who testified about Moi's humility, generosity and that he never forgot a promise. He said one time he visited him in state house and Moi stood to greet him although he was the head of state. 'When he stood to greet me I lost words and forgot what I had come for', Namba. He honored all his guests, young or small and supported them to make their lives better.

He was flexible and accommodative, something which helped him keep Kenya together for 24

years. They say a leader who does not change is mind is a fool and candidate of failure. This is a wise counsel which our current leaders must borrow from Moi so that they can go far. Revenge and un-forgiveness can burn a country.



Above: Moi's Presidential Standard flag with the cockerel (jogoo) which was the sign of the ruling party KANU. It used to fly in all his official functions.

International Scene

Organization of African Unity (OAU)

Moi was the president of Organization of African Unity (OAU) from 1981 to 1983 which had a membership of all presidents of African countries. Moi said he learnt the following African challenges while he was president of OAU;

- Colonization by foreign powers
- Imperialism
- Insufficient education systems (selective)
- Ideological revolution (communism and Fascism)
- Perennial political instability
- Tribalism and ethnic divisions
- Invasion by foreign ideologies
- Militarism (unrest & coups)
- Guerilla warfare and secessionist movements
- Apartheid rule in South Africa (it's now free)
- Neo-colonialism



Above: President Moi with U.S. President George W. Bush in New York in 2001

Regional Trade and Integration

Moi took over power a year after the collapse of the original East African Community (EAC). Tanzania had also closed its borders with Kenya.

Eager to develop the regional market, Moi reached out to President Julius Nyerere and Uganda's new President Godfrey Binaisa in January, 1980. It was the first time in ten (10) years that the presidents of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania met.

Relations between the three states had been strained for long leading to border closures and restrictions on airspace. Uganda and Tanzania had also gone to war with Nyerere leading to the overthrowing Uganda's President Idi Amin.

More talks followed later on and Moi was instrumental in the subsequent signing of the Agreement for the establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission (PTC) for East African Cooperation on 3th November, 1993. Full East African Cooperation efforts began on 14th March, 1996 when the Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission was launched at the headquarters of the EAC in Arusha, Tanzania.

At a later Summit in Arusha on 29th April, 1997 the process of upgrading the Agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation into a Treaty started. The East African passport was officially launched on 1st April, 1999 and in

July, 1999 the new East African Community (EAC) was born. President Moi suggested that the countries of the region form a political federation and suggested in this regard the creation of a regional assembly with limited powers. This is dream which was later achieved with the establishment East African Legislative Assembly.

President Moi was also a champion of increased intra-Africa trade, calling for infrastructure links to support continental commerce.

He was also instrumental in the creation of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the formation of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).

Contribution to Global Peace

Moi served two consecutive terms as Chair of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) from 1981 to 1983 becoming the longest serving African Head of State. He took a tough position against the apartheid regime in South Africa,

condemning its transgressions against the citizens of South Africa and other southern Africa countries.

In December, 1981, after apartheid forces invaded Lesotho, Moi said “the Pretoria racist regime continues to invade with impunity the neighboring states in southern Africa under the pretext that these states are harboring opponents of apartheid. It is our firm believe that the racist Pretoria regime will never respect the international law of morality. Therefore, the international community must institute punitive actions against it.” Moi hated all forms of imperialism (including neo-colonialism) with passion and frequently condemned strongly during his entire 24 years of presidency.

Moi’s Pan African role in peace-keeping started in 1979 when he allowed Kenyan soldiers to join the Commonwealth Monitoring Force in Zimbabwe (CMFZ) until 1980.

This was to ensure smooth transition to independence. In June, 1981 after Moi was

elected the chairman of the OAU at a summit in Nairobi, he was involved in securing peace in Chad as the crisis pitting President Goukouni Wedeye and rebel leader Hissen Habre took a dangerous twist.

Kenya participated in the Chad missions between 1981 and 1982 and more than 20 other operations in Africa, Asia and Europe. Kenya was involved in UN observer missions in Mozambique, Angola, and Liberia among others. Moi loved peace and stability, and worked hard to support many peace building efforts and missions in Africa and other countries in the world.

But it was the Sudan and Somalia peace efforts that were most notable. In Sudan, Moi managed to chair the talks that finally led to the referendum that ended the war in Southern Sudan and resulted in the creation of a new Nation - South Sudan. In Somalia, he started the

long and tortuous discussion that culminated in setting up of the current government.

He deployed Kenyan troops as part of a number of peace keeping forces both within the African Continent and beyond, namely Chad, Uganda, Namibia, Mozambique, Morocco, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo in Africa and in Iran/Iraq, Kuwait, Yugoslavia, Liberia, Morocco, Angola, Serbia/Croatia, and East Timor outside Africa.

He was also involved in helping to mediate a number of conflict situations in several other African countries, including in Uganda, Congo, Chad, Mozambique, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Burundi.

He served as Chairman of Preferential Trade Area (PTA) from 1989 to 1990, COMESA (Common Market for East and Southern Africa) from 1999 to 2000. He also provided leadership for several other regional agencies. Moi visited many countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and

America to sign partnership agreements touching on the development of the country. On 28th June, 1988 he visited Germany to sign a partnership twinning agreement between the town of Hurth and Kabarnet Municipality which is active until today. He took councilors to Germany in 1993 for a benchmark tour in Hurth. This long term relationship immensely benefitted the Kabarnet and Baringo community for 36 years.

Legacy and Achievements

President Moi was among few world leaders who ran his country on what is popularly referred to as Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity. Such leadership aimed to bridge the serious tribal differences and is an African phenomenon that has deep roots in culture and tradition. Upon his accession to presidency of Kenya he began using the Swahili expression "Nyayo," ("in footsteps,") that later came to mean "peace, love, and unity" in continuation of Kenyatta's slogan of "harambee".

The message was communicated at all rallies around the country and in government offices. He urged all the people of Kenya to set aside their longstanding rivalries and live as one. Kenya's second and longest serving President will be remembered for how he promoted national unity and ensuring the country avoided the pitfalls of internal conflicts in the midst of a region that was affected by turmoil.

He managed to unite Kenya's 42 tribes for the 24 years despite the serious, explosive tribal conflicts and strife over political, regional and communal interests. He ensured Kenya was united and enjoyed peace all the time.

He also made great efforts to spread his philosophy of love on the African continent. During his term as chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), he preached peace, love, and unity to warring and divided nations

like Chad, Libya, Ethiopia, and Uganda. His effort gained respect in Africa and he made it clear that Kenya did not get involved in such squabbles. He often used Kenya as an example of people living peace and harmony despite the tricky tribal and communal diversity.

Development Programs

During his 24 years in office, Kenya's second President oversaw many milestones that laid the foundation for the country's continued growth. Some of the notable achievements include:

Expansion of Health Services

One of President Moi's pet projects in the 1980s was the expansion of health services, with the massive construction of Nyayo Wards in most district hospitals. While health financing and expenditure became one of the challenges, Moi managed to call for harambees to aid in the

construction of these facilities to supplement Government contribution. He pulled huge financial resources from leaders, business community, friends and communities to support the development agenda which touched on all sectors of the economy.

The building of Moi Referral Hospital in Eldoret also helped to ease pressure on Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH) which was the sole referral hospital in Kenya.

It served referrals from hospitals in the western Kenya region from Kapenguria, Kitale, Nandi Hills, Kapsowar, Lodwar, Kapsabet, Tambach, and Memorial Hospital, and as the provincial facility for the neighboring districts of Kakamega, Trans-Nzoia, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Turkana and Nandi district. It also later served the neighboring countries of Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan among others.

In many hospitals some new laboratories and radiology units were constructed among other amenities. In later years, these initiatives faced major challenges as the economy experienced challenges and the health care sector got underfunded. The World Bank (WB) and the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) also forced President Moi to abandon subsidizing Kenya's health sector and introduced the practice of cost-sharing in public hospitals.

Free School Milk Program and Increased School Enrolment

This was one of the major educational policies enacted by President Moi's government in 1979 besides the introduction of the 8-4-4 education system. Kenya was the first African country to launch such a project and nearly four (4) million pupils in primary schools benefited annually from the program which ran until 1998.

The school project led to an increase in school attendance into millions, especially in remote areas, although it consumed some 20 per cent of the education budget. Also, it led to an increase in milk output as it increased the demand for milk countrywide. This boosted the market for dairy farmers and improved on their income and economic empowerment. During the time many

families could not afford milk for their children due to poverty levels and this program became a game changer in promoting the health of children.

During the 1979/ 80 financial year, the Government had set aside Kshs.169 million for the project and the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC) and members saw a new boom. During the 1987/ 88 financial year, the Government set aside Kshs.600 million for the project, but this gradually dropped so drastically that at the dawn of multiparty politics that the project only received Kshs.20 million during the 1998/99 financial year. It was a good social project but became very expensive over the years, less priority and was later dropped. But even today we still have school feeding program in different forms in the arid (ASAL) areas for the same reasons.



Above: *Free primary school milk program*

Expansion of University Education

When President Moi came into office in 1978, there was only one fully fledged public university in Kenya - the University of Nairobi with Kenyatta University College (now Kenyatta University as a constituent college. Upon coming into office, President Moi embarked on extensive expansion of Kenya's university education sector.

On 1st October, 1984, Kenya opened its second university in Eldoret, named Moi University and admitted its first class of students for a forestry course transferred from the University of Nairobi. The University established new constituent colleges that included Egerton Agricultural College (now Egerton University).

In August 1985, Kenyatta University College was elevated into a university after parliament passed the Kenyatta University Act thus becoming Kenya's third fully-fledged public University. A mid-level Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), which had been established in early 1978, also became a constituent College of Kenyatta University in September, 1988 before becoming a full-fledged university on 7th December, 1994.

Other universities established by President Moi's Administration included Maseno University (formerly Siriba Teachers College),

and Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology which was previously known as Western College of Arts and Applied Sciences. As the university education sector boomed, President Moi also paved the way for the establishment of private universities such as Daystar University, Methodist University and Moi's own Kabarak University, joining USIU which was established in 1970s. Today, Kenya has more than 60 universities and various public university colleges. Moi loved education and laid a very firm foundation for the same which higher education sits on to date.

Growth of the Tourism Industry

Kenya's tourism industry had exhibited steady growth in most years since independence and by the late 1980s it had become the country's principal source of foreign exchange. A large number of tourists came from Germany and Britain and were attracted mainly to the coastal

beaches and the game reserves and national parks. But tourism also faced negative coverage due to security problems in the 1990s.

President Moi implemented several measures that are credited for making Kenya's tourism sector a thriving industry that today accounts for 21 per cent of total foreign exchange earnings and 12 per cent of GDP. One of the President Moi's contributions in the tourism sector was the establishment of the Kenya Tourist Board (KTB) in 1997 to promote and market Kenya as a tourist destination locally and internationally. This made Kenya one of the best tourist destinations in Africa.

Other steps undertaken by Moi included the establishing of the Kenya Tourist Police Unit (KTPU) and launching marketing campaigns in key tourist origin markets abroad. Other measures included the stemming of poaching in the parks and the establishment of

Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) in 1990 to conserve and manage Kenya's wildlife.

The agency today manages about eight per cent of the total landmass of the country, which contains 22 national parks, 28 national reserves and five national sanctuaries. KWS also manages four marine national parks and six marine national reserves at the Coast. KWS also supports counties to manage the national game reserves like Maasai Mara, Samburu national reserve, Lake Bogoria national reserve, Rimoi national reserve, Isiolo national reserve, Lake Kapnorok national reserve among others.

Aviation Industry

Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA)

The opening of the new Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA), on 8th December, 1978 was one of the early milestones of President Moi's presidency. The new £30

million (Kshs3.6 billion) circular complex was going to attract international airlines. Initially known as Nairobi Airport, it had been on the drawing board since 1972 and was to cater for an increasing number of visitors who were stretching the facilities at Embakasi and Wilson airports. Described as the greatest asset for Kenya's tourism industry, the airport opened with a parking capacity for 10 Boeing 747s or 13 Boeing 707s and was to cater for 30 airlines. A unit set aside for domestic services was also constructed to ease the pressure at Wilson Airport. In his speech, Moi stressed the importance of the aviation industry to Kenya in promoting the development of tourism, agriculture, commerce and industry. It was a strategic facility and national asset which no one could think those years of leasing it out or privatizing.

Moi International Airport

The building of Moi International Airport (MIA) in Eldoret from 1995 to 1997 was a major milestone in the opening up of the great Rift Valley and Western Kenya region. It was also to open up Turkana and South Sudan. Built to help tap and unlock the region's agricultural and economic potential, the airport was equipped with modern aviation facilities including computerized air traffic control and radar systems. The airport can handle in excess of 1.2 million tons of cargo annually.

Other Success Stories

President Moi's government is credited for many other initiatives including the expansion of electricity production, green energy, notable projects in this sector included the Turkwel Gorge Dam which was constructed at a cost of

Ksh.8 billion which boosted electricity supply to the national grid.

The President is also credited for the formation of the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) in 1995, marking a significant radical development in the collection of taxes and duties. This paved way for improved revenue collection in Kenya.

The list is long and we may not exhaust in this book. During our interview Bishop Daniel Chemon told us ‘to write about Moi exhaustively you will need to write a 2 km long book’. He also said ‘it is stupid for us not to learn from our rich history’.

Leadership Challenges

President Moi was an imperfect human being with some weaknesses and during his term (1980s-1990s) he was accused of dictatorship, rigging of elections, human rights violations, abductions, torture, forced disappearances, favoring his community in employment,

interfering in the management of the AIC church through proxies, encouraging laziness by giving handouts/harambee donations and economic recession among others. It is fair to point out that some of the claims may have been true or false and Moi may have known them or not.

Analysts say that after the 1982 aborted coup Moi felt insecure, became more cautious on security arrangements, relied strictly on intelligence reports and tightened security enforcement.

The late Prof. Wangari Maathai accused Moi of wrong policies on environment and discussed Moi's actions during the 1980s and early 1990s, systematically attempting to dismantle the Greenbelt Movement after Maathai voiced displeasure at the government's attempts to build an office tower in Uhuru Park. The Greenbelt Movement was a great champion of environmental conservation in Kenya during the time.

According to Prof. Maathai, Moi's actions included removing the Greenbelt Movement from government office space and attempting to cut off funding from international donors by limiting funding through government sanctioned bodies. Maathai also was against Moi's tactics during the beginning of the multiparty movement in the 1990s, Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) whereby she felt Moi was blocking democracy in Kenya.

Maathai claimed she received communication during that time that an assassination list had been drawn up, and noted the mysterious deaths of Bishop Alexander Muge and Robert Ouko. The Release Political Prisoners party (RPPP) was also formed in the early 1990s to secure the release of political prisoners of the Moi regime and to protest state-sanctioned torture at Nyayo house and random imprisonment.

The police dispersed the protestors and many of the mothers of the political prisoners from

Freedom Corner in Uhuru Park on 3th March, 1992. After a year-long vigil and hunger strike by many of the mothers of the political prisoners in the Anglican All Saints Cathedral near Uhuru Park, the government released 51 prisoners en masse in early 1993. The government began to open a window of freedom and democracy gradually which later led to multiparty democracy.

Transfer of Power

President Moi's tenure ended on 30th December, 2002, which also marked the end of KANU's 39-year uninterrupted rule when he handed over to the late President Mwai Kibaki. He handed over power peacefully to President Kibaki, who was his longest serving Vice President, and who was then leading the opposition side.

Moi broke a record by handing over power peacefully contrary to many African leaders who either ruled until they died in office or were overthrown by force. It was reported that some KANU loyalists were against the handing over

and wanted him to remain in power by force but Moi rejected their selfish attempts since he knew as a wise man that the consequences would have been terribly bloodshed and deaths in the country but he remained composed.

Although the handing over at Uhuru Park was not very smooth due to protests, impatience and insults by some opposition supporters, but he persevered throughout the process. Some people even threw some soil on him during the handing over ceremony.

As he handed over power, Moi made a great statement as a national statesman that, *“I will be leaving to be an ordinary citizen. But those who will assume leadership of this country I appeal to you not to bring Kenya to shame. Do not anchor your politics on hate. If there is anyone who insulted me, I forgive him. If I said something that hurt you, forgive me.”* This declaration released healing across the political divide in the country and ensured stability and national unity.

President Moi loved forgiveness as a devoted, practical Christian and has practiced this virtue since when he was a child; in school and as a politician. This enabled him to minimize political enemies in his entire life. He was good in conflict resolution and showed the way in the country and ensured there was national harmony all the time despite the many complex conflicts. He was very smart in emotional intelligence. He acted as a real father of the nation.

Despite having being one of the longest serving Presidents in Africa, after leaving office, the former President avoided getting entangled in politics. In 2007, President Kibaki appointed his predecessor special peace envoy to Sudan, describing President Moi as an elder statesman with vast experience and knowledge of African affairs.

During his retirement Moi respected and honored the government of the day and did not criticize unfairly. He settled in his Kabarak

home, lived in peace with all people and provided wise counsel as an elder statesman to many political leaders during his retirement until he passed on.



Above: Retired President Moi

Health

Moi has had good health for many years. He was on radio and television news almost daily for the 24 years for he never rested or took a leave. He travelled for long journeys, both on the road and

internationally by air, from the time he was Vice president to represent President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta who didn't like international travels. He landed in airports and went directly to meetings since he had no fatigues or jet lags. He never got sick or admitted in hospital during his entire presidency.

However, in October, 2019, retired president Moi was hospitalized under critical condition at The Nairobi Hospital due to complications of pleural effusion. He was discharged in November, 2019 only to be hospitalized again days later for knee surgery. He developed respiratory complications and underwent a tracheotomy. A month later, he suffered from gastrointestinal hemorrhage which led to multiple organ failure, and was placed on life-support.

Death and Funeral

Moi died at The Nairobi Hospital in the early morning of 4th February, 2020 at the age of 95;

however, during Moi's memorial service on 9th February, 2020 at his Kabarnet Gardens home in Nairobi, his son, Raymond Moi, told congregants that he was actually 105 years old at the time of his death. This age of 105 is more realistic considering what Moi was able to do during his early life. His age mates agree with the 105 years. Indeed, 95 years was an understatement.

A state funeral service was conducted at Nyayo National Stadium on 11th February, 2020. He was buried at his Kabarak home, Nakuru County on 12th February, 2020, complete with military honors which included a 19-gun salute followed by a missing man formation flyby. His grave is next to his former wife Lena Bomett.

He was given a hero's farewell on February 11, which was declared a national holiday, at a State Funeral held at Nyayo National Stadium.

Moi's body was lain at parliament buildings for public view for three days, from 8th February to

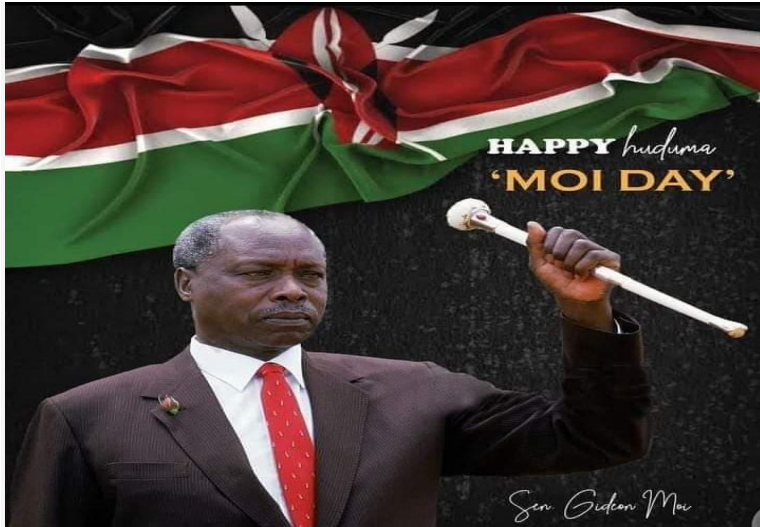
10th February, 2020 where thousands of Kenyans flocked to get a last glimpse of the man described as an ‘an icon, a legend and a philosopher’ in his official funeral booklet.

His funeral, led by President Uhuru Kenyatta, was attended by more than 30,000 people including current and former Heads of State from East Africa and other parts of the continent.

Public Holiday

In Kenya Moi day is a public holiday now called Mazingira (Environment) Day celebrated every year on 10th October to remember Moi for his passion and great work he initiated in regard to environmental conservation. Some of the activities include climate change interventions like planting trees, conservation, cleaning of towns etc. It is also a time to take care of the welfare of the needy people in the society by donating food and other things to the poor, orphans, elderly, children’s’ homes etc. so as to remember the love and concern he had

demonstrated for humanity during his rule. Indeed, Moi's legacy will remain in the memory of Kenyan minds for many years to come since he has left a permanent mark in their lives and country's history.



Above: Moi, a leader with a rich legacy

Due to his amazing legacy his name today appears in many key national infrastructures e.g. Moi University, Moi International Airport, several Moi High Schools 1993 and ever since among others

Moi's Signature and Writing

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Daniel arap Moi". The signature is written in a fluid, connected style with a prominent loop at the end.

Moi had a very unique signature and very good hand writing. He wrote and signed documents using green color ink all the time during his rule.

CHAPTER 2:

THE OTHER SIDE OF PRESIDENT DANIEL TOROITICH ARAP MOI

This chapter deals with Moi as man of wisdom, generous, humorous, visionary leader, devoted Christian, environmentalist, development-oriented, an author, talent management, education, love for African culture, businessman, Moi's advisors & intelligence network, Nyayoism, youth programs, leadership, one party system, Kenyan problems, alcoholism & drug abuse, Moi's health, African nationalism pitfalls, imperialism, government and politics in Africa and bad governance in the third world.

Man of Wisdom

Moi was a man full of wisdom and very sharp with a good memory. He could not forget anything important for he remembered almost all leaders in every region in the country and called them by name in public. He had a permanent photographic memory of people all the time. He

rewarded most of his friends, teachers, politicians, missionaries he worked with and their relatives from childhood when he was president and tracked them to the third generation. He valued their advice and information, trusted, respected and followed.

Some of the outstanding names include former AIC Bishop Ezekiel Birech, AIC Bishop Silas Yego, Rev. Jonnes Kaleli, Dr. Titus Kivunzi, Mzee Stephano Chepkonga Kangwony of Ossen who was a trained local missionary, Councilor Joseph Kimngochoch Tulel, former Kabarnet Mayor Philemon Chelagat, Councilor Elizabeth Chesire, and Councilor Joel Bultut among others.

He asked close people about their families and supported their physical, emotional and financial needs. He even visited their homes to eat with them and relate with their families.

Moi had a human face and didn't want anyone to suffer for any reason, for people sacked from

employment in his government he even supported their basic needs after their sacking. Most people who suffered in Moi's government for various reasons may not necessarily have been with his knowledge.

Mzee Moi honored all promises including the one for the late Stephano C. Kangwony who had requested him to construct a permanent church building for AIC Ossen. Mzee Stephano C. Kangwony donated and blessed Moi with the first leadership club (rungu) and told him to use it everywhere he goes and to always hold with his right hand.

In 1994 Dr. Kiptui (Moi's doctor) introduced Mr. Eric Bett to Moi. Mr. Bett took care of Stephano C. Kangwony (one of Moi's great friends) when he was sick and welcomed Moi when he visited Kangwony at Ossen home when he was the vice president. Moi greeted Bett with great respect and humility when he knew him as a man with a big heart and their relationship

grew stronger and they walked together harmoniously in a journey of 26 years until Moi passed on in 2020.

That was the secret of his leadership. He was very careful what he speaks in private public and made sure it was relevant, not to hurt anyone. He used to ask before he speaks ‘*malat kot anan mamalat?*’ (Is the house safe or not? He also referred to the use of ‘*ngelem*’ (talking indirect while using words of wisdom) in his meetings.

Generosity

Moi was generous and gave a lot personally to support the needy in society in form of money, payment of medical bills, food donations, payment of school fees, loan repayments, empowerment of women and youth, money donations etc. from when he was a member of parliament to Vice president, president and even after his retirement. Moi was human, cared about people, helped many people, even bought cars for pastors, met many church needs and

constructed many church buildings from scratch single handedly to completion and also equipped them. He even sacrificed a lot to support people using his personal income something which is very rare with politicians.

He pushed for allocation of land and plots to many landless people in Kenya. He also empowered thousands of youths through employment opportunities countrywide. He personally also empowered and touched lives of many people in business ventures and talents.

Moi assisted the author (Peter Keitany) to secure employment as a journalist with the Kenya Times Newspaper in 1994, which was owned by the then powerful ruling party KANU. This upgraded his connection and relations with people who later mattered in his life. The author has acknowledged Moi in his book ‘Journalism: The power of the pen’ (2024) along with the Business man Peter Kipyekwei, Deputy Mayor Samuel Cheptoo, late Hosea Kiplagat and Wilson Kibet.

Moi welcomed thousands of people at his Kabarak home, state house Nairobi and Kabarnet (Baringo), fed them, listened to their problems and provided solutions. He used to say ‘a leader must feed the people’. He gave to people money using his left hand to teach them that they will only prosper from their own sweat and not from any donations from anybody.

He was a people-oriented leader who valued and helped them so much. He considered his wealth as from God and used it to assist others because he had the capacity to do so from his heart. There were many billionaires during his time who could not assist anyone because they had the ability but were not generous. Even today we have many millionaires who cannot help anyone but they are greedy and keep accumulating their wealth.

Moi loved to meet people, ate with them and listened to their problems, made roadside declarations followed by swift action by his Personal Assistants (personal and official).

There was no room for false promises from him. He never forgot promises even those made to students like payment of school fees, pocket money or air tickets etc.

However, there were some instances where his handlers conned and lied to people on the promises. It can be pointed out that not all of the Moi's point men were good, since some of them were involved in gossip, corrupt practices like land grabbing using the president's name. But whenever he knew about corrupt elements in his system, he fired them on the spot without mercy.

Education

Moi loved education and helped establish much of the basic initial and major infrastructure in Kenya. He initiated many educational facilities in Kenya and used affirmative action to ensure that children from poor families and pastoral communities (85%) accessed quality education.

He was the brain child of the 8-4-4 education system which was very good as replica of the current practical Competence Based curriculum (CBC), but it lost track and backtracked to full pledged theoretical system. As a visionary leader he had seen the need of CBC in the 1980s but he lacked professional support from the Ministry of Education. Those who didn't click Moi's vision fell short and we lost almost 40 years of valuable time and let down the country by going through an irrelevant and meaningless education system which produced millions of graduates annually for white collar jobs which were non-existent.

Just imagine if we had embraced the CBC program in the 1980s, this country would be a manufacturing nation i.e. middle-income economy. Now we have the option of chasing those we were almost at the same level at independence like Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Korea among others. Indeed, where there is no vision people suffer or perish.

Moi was the founder of many of the basic key infrastructure in the country including institutions, airports, universities, central banks, tarmac roads among others.

Christianity

Moi was spiritual, committed and a staunch Christian. He was baptized, Daniel, in 1936 at number 15 by AIC. In 1938, he went to African Inland Mission (AIM) School at Kapsabet then on to the Government African School still in Kapsabet. He practiced the most difficult Christian virtue of forgiveness. He forgave his perceived political enemies like former Vice President Jeramogi Odinga and his son former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, and brought them into his government and worked with them very well.

He was strict in religious beliefs and fellowshipped in the Africa Inland Church (AIC). He was not seen wearing religious clothing of other religious groups like what other

leaders do today. He was against even the tossing of wine at home or even abroad. He hated hypocrisy or double speak in matters faith. He did not speak politics in church meetings but just greeted congregations and read a verse. He always insisted to greet congregants outside the place of worship because he was very discipline on spiritual matters.

In 1999 AIC Kabarnet town church, which Moi normally attended when he came to Baringo, split into two and a new church in the name of Kabarnet Worship Center came into being led by Bishop Julius Chepsat. Some religious leaders asked Moi to close down the new church at Rehabilitation center but instead he told them '*sitaki kupinga kazi ya mungu na kujuta*' (I don't want to oppose God's work and suffer the consequences). He was God fearing, a true worshipper and did not want to entangle himself with complex religious issues.

Moi did not mix things for he was a truthful man, very principled and his no was no and his yes was yes. He was not a yes and no man. He ensured everyone knew his social and political stands all the time.

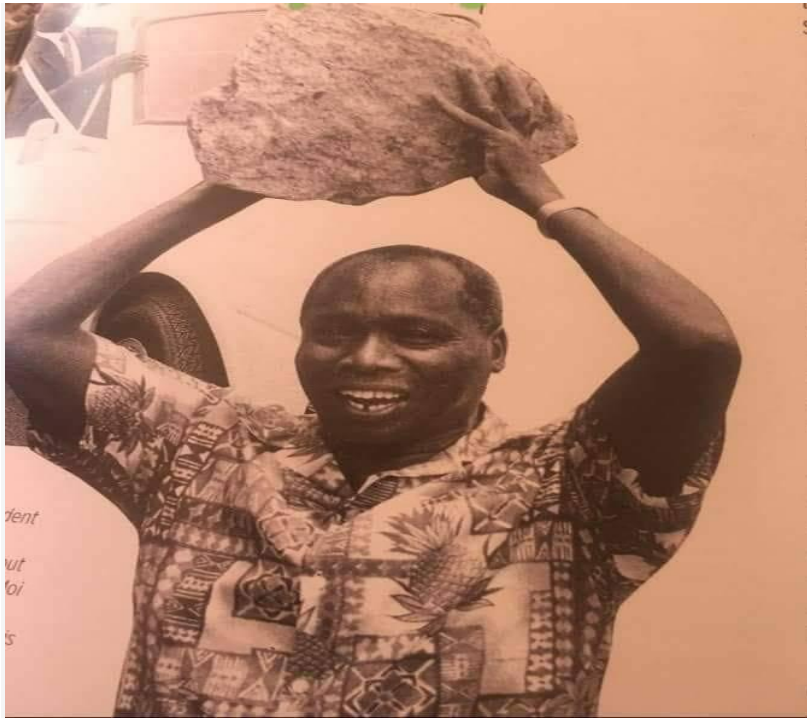
One time in AIC Bartolimo he dropped a cheque of Ksh. 1 million from Kabarak Farm Ltd.as his 10% which he said was his sweat from his business. He was against giving to church as 10% donations from other people for he was not sure if the sources were credible. He advised people not to give dirty money to God and never to mix their sweat with dirty money because it can collapse their businesses. He also advised that no one should use dirty money to educate their children because it may bring a curse to them. He had ten (10) cheques books from different banks but whenever he wanted to bless the work of God he used KCB Kabarak Farm Ltd.

Environmental conservation

Moi had passion for environmental conservation and was involved personally in the rehabilitation of degraded rangelands like in Chemeron gabions, Baringo. It is clear that in the 1980s he had seen the threat of climate change effects. He personally ordered the stoppage of farming in steep slopes during his visits in the country, arresting of persons cutting trees in catchments for prosecution.

During his regime the enforcement of the law on river catchments was real. Today we have really lowered the guard to the lowest level ever where issues environmental enforcement is no one's business. Today the greatest threat facing humanity is the effects of climate change. But it is sad that globally the future is bleak because currently we cut more trees annually than we plant in the planet earth. It is either we seriously implement the climate change actions or we perish.

This is the reason why Mazingira (Environment) Day is a public holiday celebrated in Kenya every year on 10th October to remember Moi for his passion and great work for environmental conservation.



Above: Moi, leading the public in conservation of degraded lands by building gabions with boulders

Talent management

Moi loved talents and promoted cultural, patriotic and church songs, sports, enjoyed them and funded. He interacted many times with high school and university students in schools and state house so as to know and promote their talents. He was the man of the people. He never sat in office but was through his 24 years on the road to meet Kenyans of different cadres to inspire and support them in their diverse areas of calling and talent. He assisted thousands of youth to secure employment in the security forces and other sectors.

Humorous

Moi was humorous, joyous, hilarious, and comical, laughed a lot and even shed tears of joy during private or public functions. He was very interesting and also made many people laugh a lot at his public or private meetings. He loved more to crack serious jokes when he was in closed door meetings with his Chumo age mates

including Joel Bultut, Philemon Chelagat and Ezekiel Bargetuny among others.



Above: Moi's Monument in Kabarnet town, Baringo

African culture

Moi insisted on protecting African culture and despised foreign influence as harmful to the population. He pushed the narrative that African culture was the best and no one should accept

negative influence saying our future will be at stake if we over-borrow foreign ideas. During the marriage engagement for his children Moi left his presidency, remained ordinary and keep quiet during the ceremonies as required of a Kalenjin parent for he honored the Tugen values. He didn't want to interfere at all.

Leader

Moi was a leader with foresight and passion. The former Vice President of Kenya Jeramogi Oginga referred to him as a giraffe who saw very far. He was visionary and saw what worked and what could not work. He abandoned section 2A on one-party-state after defending it with strong KANU support for years. He saw in advance that it was not possible to walk that route and abandoned it early.

He advised members of the Kalenjin community to live together in peace and harmony with members of the Kikuyu and other communities in Rift valley as good neighbors given by God

because they had inter-married and were on business together since independence. He often said ‘you cannot choose your neighbor’. Later, this became a disastrous reality after people ignored the wise counsel and the country plunged into bitter ethnic clashes in 1992, 1997 and 2007.

Moi was careful on the persons he appointed to work as state house staff like controllers, for he preferred them to come from outside the Tugen ethnic community to minimize on internal parochial conflicts.

The club (rundu) Moi carried everywhere at home and abroad, waving to greet people, was sign of African leadership. Some people believed the club which he never left at any time, had the leadership magic, authority and anointing from God which protected Moi for the 24 years. President Kenyatta used the whisk while President Kaunda of Zambia used the handkerchief.



Above: Moi, the humorous leader

Businessman

Moi was referred as a businessman and farmer number one who kept all types of livestock, engaged in cash crops like tea and coffee, floriculture among others. He engaged in large business interests in almost all sectors of the economy including hotel industry, transport,

banking, education sectors among others, and he employed thousands of people. Through his massive investment he transformed the lives of thousands of people.

He believed in work and encouraged people to work in their farms, use their hands to create wealth in diverse ways since it was African and Godly. He used to tell people when donating money to them that ‘‘you can never be rich from my money but you will be rich if you use your mind and hands’’.

Prudence in Work

Moi was very keen on even the minor details in development projects and he monitored them personally from the design level through to completion specifically on buildings e.g. schools, hospitals, water projects, roads etc. He was very particular about colors, roofs, walls, corridors, floors and finishing. That’s why most projects implemented during his time were uniform and of similar standards. Moreover,

because of continuous follow up by the president engineers maintained high standards to avoid shoddy work.

In politics he had interest even in the elections of councilors at the lowest local political level i.e. the equivalent of Members of County Assembly (MCAs) currently. He even campaigned for them openly.

Advisors & Intelligence network

President Moi had a mix of professional, security, party and community advisors, who were more genuine with unquestionable loyalty. He had both open and secret advisors who were designed to check on each other. Moi engaged very many advisors and build a very strong network of intelligence, some from government, others were politicians, from ruling party KANU, professionals, elders and community across tribes. He was accessible by road, met many people and interacted with them freely.

He was a very active listener to the ground, listening to the lowest levels of society. He listened to everybody he came across indiscriminately in the street, on the road or in meetings. He spoke to university students, the youth, community elders, chiefs, KANU officials and general public. Before regional meetings Moi got briefing by leaders and many delegations from communities to get feedback nationally. He was a unique leader who was very social and opened all the available channels of communication to hear and learn from all cadre of people in society.

He had way of verifying and cross checking credible information, although in some cases the powerful and cunning persons knew how to beat the system. He even sent state cars to pick many people of interest with key information for verification like the case of the late Mzee Mariko Kipchilis of Kaptumo in Talai location, Baringo central. He used to call Mzee Kipchilis via a public telephone booth stationed at Kaptumo

trading centre since cellphones or landlines were rare those years.

He never forgot his old time friends and age mates like Mzee Mariko and always looked for them to know how they were fairing and to have fun and hear stories from them.



Above: Similar telephone booth Moi used to call Mzee Mariko and other leaders.

He was fair and prudent and did thorough research on anything. One time a provincial administrator, a Mr. Olando, was suspended and transferred for eating a millet ugali preserved for Moi, but he later investigated the case and found him innocent. He was reinstated to his job and promoted. He loved the truth and was a man of integrity.

Some of the Moi elderly advisors, most of whom are deceased (RIP), were Mzee Tengecha from Kericho, Kariuki Chotara of Nakuru, Ezekiel Bargetuny of Uasin Gishu, Mayor Philemon Chelagat and Joel Bultut of Baringo, Peter Ejore of Turkana, Mzee Lenges of Samburu, Mulu Mutisya of Ukambani, Mzee Sagini of Kisii, Odongo Omamo from Kisumu, Moses Mudavadi from Western Kenya, Maina Wanjigi of Nairobi, Mzee Ole Tiptip and William Ntimama from Maasai community.

Alcoholism and drug abuse

Moi's government fought fiercely alcoholism and drug abuse with massive prosecution and closure of many bars in the country. He fought both illicit brew and bars near schools, residential areas and in many towns. This drastically reduced drunkenness lifestyle in the communities in Kenya and made family lives better. Today Kenya is facing a time bomb due to massive alcoholism and drug addiction which has made many youth unproductive both economically and biologically. If urgent action is not taken Kenya will become a drinking and drug nation.

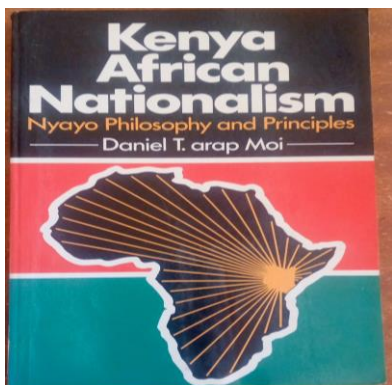
Author

President Moi was an author who wrote a book, Kenya African Nationalism (1986), which is dedicated to the children and the youth of Kenya who he referred as 'our future and our hope'.

The book outlined the following as practical lessons which he learnt from his 31 years of active political life (from 1955 to 1986). It can

be useful if Kenyans can revisit during this time of political turmoil;

- The love for freedom, justice, equity and service to all is paramount.
- Steadfastness and respect for the Kenya constitution is vital.
- Need for honesty, integrity and rights of people.
- Being open-minded, embracing change and flexible without rigidity.
- The will of the people is paramount.
- Being mindful of others welfare is key.
- Good to nurture love, peace and unity under the Nyayo philosophy.
- Leadership must be managed and conserved for sustainability.
- Knowing and embracing the values of patience, devotion, loyalty, dedication and selfless service under the first president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.



Above: *The book authored by Moi in 1986*

Imperialism

Moi said in the above book, imperialism was like an endemic disease, taking various forms, changing its symptoms, while retaining its cyclic virulent and quiescent phases. He said there was political, economic, cultural and intellectual imperialism.

He added that independent African and Asian states largely depended on the West for economic, cultural and intellectual support. Moi pointed out that there was need for complete emancipation from all forms of foreign domination and subjugation. This is an old cry

which has never come to fruition. Moi pointed out that the challenges government officials face at a high level are infectious carriers of the imperialism disease (economic, cultural and intellectual subservience).

He said there was need to restore the dignity and the respect of the African by progressive decolonization of the African economy, culture and intellectualism. The situation is almost the same or worse even today.

Kenyan problems

The problems Moi was accused of were dictatorship, human rights violations, torture in Nyayo chambers, economic hardships, budgetary constraints, tribal conflicts among others.

In recent years Kenya has gone through almost similar social, political and economic challenges of the 1980-1990s; now it has gone full cycle, going through unending crises is like rewinding

to factory settings. In some instances, status quo is maintained, others are bad or worse.

But the real elephant or monster in the room is corruption which has multiplied and permeated to every sector of society. Integrity is in acute shortage; we are back to mega corruption like golden berg etc.

We are also back to ethnic mobilization and entrenchment courtesy of political leaders and devolution. Although the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has grown many times between 1990s and 2023 but the positive impact is less due to upside down priorities.

Kenya at 32 years, has gone back to one party arrangement which has mutated to the so called tyranny of numbers, collapsing of the opposition since 2019 when the government became like a mongrel.

We cannot go back to the stupid past, the Egyptian slavery or political Siberia. We need to

borrow a leaf from Moi in matters stability, peace, love and unity, condemning tribalism and maintain regional peace.

We are not out of the woods yet as Kenyans for we still hear of demos, dissatisfaction, economic woes, tribalism, ethnic mobilization, corruption, poverty, parties without ideology but tribal based, extra judicial killings talk, enforced disappearances, abductions etc. Kenya must come to the right track and do much better.

Leadership analysis

Moi was a leader made through a long process of preparation to maturity through a very humble background and he rose from grass to grace and favor through a complex process grounded on rich African culture, colonialism, education, Christian living, experience, nurturing and mentoring.

The leadership style of Moi as analyzed is a combination of five (5) key leadership styles; namely, autocratic style, democratic style,

servant style, affiliative style and transformational style which have the following features;

- Having foresight and empathy.
- Growing and supporting people.
- Emphasis on feedback mechanisms.
- More focus on people.
- Encourages people participation.
- It has a strategic focus and vision.
- Encourages feasible risk taking.
- It encourages dedication, hard work, boldness and resilience.
- Promotes talent management.
- Leadership by example is encouraged.
- Recognizes and rewards good performance.
- Active listening is important.
- It is not very keen on technical expertise.
- Decision making may not be very efficient.
- The leader makes all major decisions and directives.

NB: The bundle of the above leadership style was good but not very effective and had the merits and demerits, hence there is a need to blend more to get something better.

The most popular and effective leadership style currently in operation globally is transformational leadership which leaders must embrace so as to bring real impact in this generation and in the next.

Nyayoism

Moi in his book, *Kenya African Nationalism* (1986), expounds in detail the popular Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity as indicated below;

- The cornerstone was on nationalism and motivation of people by common ideals, goals and final destiny.
- It encouraged the possession of and exercise of instruments of autonomy and sovereignty.
- Nation building was a continuous process of consolidation of the elements of which

integrates the people into a common wholeness.

- A complex process of continual upgrading and achieving sense of commitment to a common goal by a people, realization that they share cause for togetherness, joint action and mutual improvement and are duty bound to protect one another's interests and to consolidate a mutual solidarity for achieving common goals.

Nyayoism was an evolution of a philosophy, a way of life with the following sources;

- African socialism based on collective responsibility and being mindful of the welfare of others. It was against selfishness.
- It was about unity in action, cooperation existence and sharing, something Moi liked and followed with great passion as a nationalist.
- Christian and biblical teaching on love; loving people and God and living in unity, and in

peace with all people. This formed the core foundation of the philosophy.

- Political life governed by love, peace, justice, equity, comradeship and parity of treatment. These were the key principles to consolidate the nation.

Principles of Nyayoism

The following were the key principles of Nyayoism;

- Integrity and national integration.
- Mobility of purpose and satisfaction of achievement.
- Patriotism and nationalism.
- Paramountcy of love.
- Unity and peace for sustainable development.
- Action and popular reaction in nationalism.
- Integrity and moral probity.
- Faith in leadership.
- Dignity and competence
- Pragmatism and patience.
- Statesmanship and excellence.

- Harambee spirit (supporting others and caring for welfare)

Nyayo leadership

In leadership the Nyayo philosophy focused on the following;

- Peoples' will was a priceless asset.
- Management of leadership, role, consolidation and integration.
- Good working relationship between the politician and civil servants.
- National solidarity.
- Social cultural-integration.
- Irresistible force.
- Management of environment, conservation and diseases.
- Good governance.
- Reconstruction and application of cultural strategies.
- Absence of disenchantment and disillusionment of the masses.

- Absence of leadership sharp divisions and wrangles.

The Youth in nation building

Moi stated in his book that “I love children and the youth and want them to have a worthwhile country and environment in the future”. He says youth are the greatest resource, wealth par-excellence and the future of the nation.

During Moi’s time 30% of the budget was spent on education which mainly catered for the youth who were leaders of tomorrow. In 2023/204 FY 27.4 percent was allocated to education sector Ksh. 628. Billion.

The National Youth Service (NYS) was introduced in 1984 as a pre-university practical training special program which was meant to attain the following;

- To improve intellectual upgrading of insight and outlook.

- Sharing national viewpoints on responsibilities.
- Giving the youth the sense of national belonging.
- Demonstrating the essence and constructive values of peace for all.
- Unity of purpose.
- Effectiveness of love as a constructive force.
- Committed citizenship.
- Loyalty to the state.
- Custodianship of national heritage.
- Nation building.
- Security and peaceful progress.
- To lay the foundations of the youth as responsible leaders of tomorrow.
- To enlarge the vision, commitment and prospective service of the youth.

Role of the youth in development

The following were the identified roles of the youth in development;

- Education and training should enable them to appreciate institutional relationships and functions in the nation for development of peace, love and unity in relation to government and people.
- Effective administration to the realization of modernization of the people-centered policies.
- To differentiate realism from Utopia and to appreciate the economic problems, national philosophy and ethos, and social cultural realities to avoid disillusionment by expecting all the impossible things beyond their means.
- Become part of the effective organic entity (the nation) as consumers and production manpower.

Challenges of one-party state (system)

Critics of Moi's rule pointed out the following as the challenges of one-party state;

- Lacked an open extra-partisan opposition.

- Promoted squabbles as it accommodates a few top party positions.
- Leaders become less articulate and committed to the vibrant survival of the party.
- Leads to psychological instability among nationals when dissident groups spring up guerilla and other subversive forces raising false hopes and can destroy national security and progress.
- The system was socially immoral as it permits few people to monopolize the political property of self- determination and ignoring the non-party members.
- Silenced the opposition and opened ways for revolutions.
- Corruption and nepotism thrive.
- False sense of stability.
- Too slow in social-economic progress.
- It was a road to dictatorship.
- Membership of the ruling party is small compared to the population.

- Leaders lack incentive to care about the wellbeing of citizens, but follow their selfish interests.

NB: The position was defended by top KANU leaders but Moi agreed to repeal section 2A in 1992 due to pressure from outside and inside the country paving way for multiparty democracy. Wise people like Moi changed his mind many times so as to adjust to the need of the time.

Advantages of one party state (system)

The following have been observed as the advantages of the one party state;

- Quick decision making process.
- Rock solid stability is ensured in some cases.
- Consistency is assured in certain cases.
- Great resource management machine is possible.
- Brings everyone together on board.
- There are no politicians in the daily operations of governing, hence ensures smooth running.

- People are properly elevated within the system based on experience and achievement.
- Operational sides are manned by smart technocrats and not merely loyalists.

NB: However, in many instances the disadvantages of the one party state by far outweigh the advantages.

Bad governance in the third world

The World Bank in its book, *Voices of the Poor* (2002), samples the economic hardships, bad governance and poverty are real unresolved explosive issues in third world countries like Kenya with the following features;

- Empty pockets, joblessness, missing or poor basic services.
- Empty stomachs and precarious jobs.
- Downward slide, poor governance, crime, conflicts and domestic violence.
- Poverty, hunger, poor health, crime, violence and police harassment.

- Loss upon loss due to war, physical and emotional suffering, destruction of middle class, collapse of industries and displacement.
- Perils of poverty and hunger.
- Unemployment, job losses and work place abuses. Fear at home and streets, poverty and substance abuse.
- Turbulent world, scarce livelihoods, extreme weather conditions & environmental change and drug trade.

Bruce Berman Etal in their book, *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa*, 2004 say that ethnic chauvinism is the product of political factions in Africa defining it as “a process of ourselves and is predated political tribalism”.

NB: Concerted efforts must be made to save Kenya and Africa from bad governance through good social, economic and political policies.

African nationalism pitfalls.

Felix Kiruthu in his book, *African Nationalism Pitfalls* (2001), lists the following as the hidden traps of African nationalism, which seems unresolved until today;

- Neocolonialism i.e. oppressive economic and political policies.
- Exploitation of Africa by Africans and foreigners.
- Lack of structures for good governance, hence promotion of endemic corruption.
- Lack of national political parties e.g. tribal and regional parties or political parties formed every five years in Kenya without ideology only to capture power.
- Narrow ethnic, regional and sectarian interests overshadowed the great national interests.
- Divide and rule policy, planting seeds of mistrust which was practiced by Europeans and later African leaders drove a sharp wedge between communities e.g. in Congo, Rwanda, Nigeria, Kenya among others.

- Policies of capitalism and socialism sharply divided prominent political leaders (President Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga) at independence; leading to political assassinations of Tom Mboya, Minister for Finance and Josiah Mwangi Kariuki (JM), Member of Parliament for Aberdare, and political turmoil. Weak leadership dwells on assassinations to eliminate perceived political enemies.

NB: Any push for radical transformation must be managed very well to ensure it becomes useful and not harmful to any nation. No one should throw their country to the dogs no matter the situations or anger. We cannot throw away the baby along with the dirty bath water.

Government and politics in Africa

In his book, *Government and Politics in Africa*, William Tordoff (1993) says from mid 1970s to 1990s there was a second wave of ideological direction in Africa with a retreat from socialism

and capitalism for development. There was increased external dependence on the West with the emphasis on implementing International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) economic recovery programs, replicated throughout the Third World countries in Africa, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Algeria, Mozambique, Tanzania, Cuba, and North Korea among others.

The structural adjustment programs (SAPs) weakened many economies and leadership instead for they were linked to too much controls, neo-colonization, dominance, oppression and loss of sovereignty.

The changes dictated political and economic systems for African states to adopt strategies against their sovereignty. They ignored the prior colonial neglect and exploitation by the global South and post-colonial trade imbalances which have saddled the underdeveloped states with a heavy burden on debt services and continued

exploitation of African economies by foreign companies for centuries.

In the name of political and economic freedom Western governments denied African states, Kenya included, the freedom to choose the political and economic systems which they feel suitable to their countries and people, and they also force the pace of political reforms in Africa.

Another criteria for grants was economic democracy, promoting more privatization and killing of the public sector instead of improving it. They strengthen their private sectors and kill the ones in the Third World so as to entrench more dependency syndrome.



Above: US President George W. Bush welcomes President Daniel Arap Moi and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia to the Oval Office in 2002.

REFERENCES

The following are the references in relation to the writing of this book;

- Presidential Library and Museum State House
- Presidential.library@president.go.ke
- Andrew Morton, Michael O'Mara, 1998
- Biography & Autobiography
- National Museums of Kenya
- Sports and Heritage
- Kenya National Archives
- Kenya Year Book
- Daniel T. Arap Moi, Kenya African Nationalism, 1986
- Felix Kiruthu, African Nationalism Pitfalls, 2001
- William Tordoff, Government and Politics in Africa, 1993
- Observations & Interviews.
- Interviews with Former Advisors
- Wikipedia.org
- John Kamau, "The First Lady Kenya never had". Archived November, 2013.

- East, Roger; Thomas, Richard J. (3 June 2014). Profiles of People in Power: The World's Government Leaders.
- "Profile of Daniel arap Moi". State House. Archived from the original on 5 July 2014. R
- Carver, Richard (1 January 1994). "Kenya Since the Elections". Refworld. WRITENET.
- Atwood, J. Brian (2 September 1992). "Kenya's Rigged Election". csmonitor.com. The Christian Science Monitor.
- Ajulu, Rok (June 1998). "Kenya's Democracy Experiment: The 1997 Elections". Review of African Political Economy.
- Arne Tostensen, Bård-Anders Andreassen and Kjetil Tronvoll (February 1998). "Kenya's hobbled democracy revisited: the 1997 general elections in retrospect and prospect". Human Rights Reports (2). Norwegian Institute of Human Rights.
- Gabrielle Lynch (4 February 2020). "How Daniel arap Moi became Kenya's "big man" president". Quartz Africa.
- "Obituary: Daniel arap Moi, former Kenyan president". BBC News. 4 February 2020.

- David M. Anderson (July 2005). "'Yours in Struggle for Majimbo'. Nationalism and the Party Politics of Decolonization in Kenya.
- Hon. Wanyiri Kihoro (2007), Politics and Paliamentarians in Kenya 1944–2007 Center for Multiparty Democracy.
- Ephalina A. Maina; Wycliffe A. Oboka; Julius Makong'o. History and Government. East African Publishers. p. 174. ISBN 9789966253330.
- Simiyu Wandibba (1996). Masinde Muliro: A Biography. East African Publishers.
- The Weekly Review. Stellascope Limited. 1988.
- David Throup; Charles Hornsby (1998). Multi-party Politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta & Moi States & the Triumph of the System in the 1992 Election. James Currey Publishers.
- Joseph Ndunda (7 September, 2016). "No hanging since 1987: Is death penalty still relevant?". The Star.
- Stephen Mburu (12 March, 2000). "Govt reaction was very harsh".
- News From Africa, March 2003: Stunning revelations.
- David Throup; Charles Hornsby (1998). Multi-party Politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta & Moi States

& the Triumph of the System in the 1992 Election. James Currey Publishers.

- Michael Cowen; Liisa Laakso (2002). Multi-party Elections in Africa. James Currey Publishers.
- "Kenya". Amnesty International Report, 2000.
- "UN Special Rapporteur". Misc. reports concerning abuse of human rights in Kenya. Archived from the original on 22th June, 2011.
- Steven Greenhouse (27 November 1991). "Aid Donors Insist on Kenya Reforms". New York Times.
- John Githongo (25 October 2000). "Corruption: Are We Innocent?". Kenya Museum Society.
- Kenya: Corruption Scandal Archived 15 August 2007 at the Wayback Machine William Karanja, World Press Review correspondent
- Wangari Maathai (2006). Unbowed: a memoir. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), 4 October 2006.
- The looting of Kenya, 31 January 2008 at the Wayback Machine.
- Marc Lacey (13 October 2002). "Kenya's Leader to Step Down but Not Out". New York Times.

- The Standard, 1 August 2004: Humble in life, great in death.
- "All about the condition former President Moi is being treated for in ICU". Mphaso. 29 October 2019.
- "How former President Daniel Arap Moi fought for life". The East African. 5 February 2020.
- "Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi, Who Ruled Kenya for Decades, Dies at 96". The New York Times.
- Olewe, Dickens (4 February 2020). "Kenya's former President Daniel arap Moi dies aged 95". BBC News Online. Archived from the original on 4 February 2020. Retrieved 11 February 2020.
- "Moi to be buried at Kabarak home in Nakuru, family says » Capital News". 2020
- Moi sent off with 19-gun salute — VIDEO, archived from the original on 12 February 2020.
- Babu Tendu (4 February 2020). "Famous places named after former president Daniel Moi". The Standard.
- "Kenya's former President Daniel arap Moi dies aged 95". Nation News Online. 1 June 2023.
- Wikimedia Commons
- Moi Africa Institute
- Presentation to the National Summit on Africa, Washington, DC (USA) – February, 2000
- African Connections documentary.