

**CENTER FOR  
STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CSIS)**

**STATESMEN'S FORUM  
KENYA: A WAY FORWARD**

**WELCOME:  
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PRESIDENT, CSIS**

**MODERATOR:  
JOEL D. BARKAN,  
SENIOR ASSOCIATE, CSIS**

**SPEAKER:  
THE HONORABLE RAILA ODINGA,  
PRIME MINISTER OF KENYA**

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JOHN HAMRE: Okay, ladies and gentlemen. Ladies and gentlemen, I'm sorry to interrupt. There's so much energy in the room and there's great excitement. We're delighted that you're all here and of course, it's because the Prime Minister is with us this morning. He arrived just yesterday, and – but I want you all to know he spent a couple hours this morning – I think he started in the gym at 5:00 and so he's ready. This is going to be a very good session. This is one really tough guy. So it's going to be a good session; we're looking forward to the discussion.

My name is John Hamre. I'm the president here at CSIS and we're just very pleased to welcome Prime Minister Odinga from Kenya. I first visited Kenya – gosh, I hate to say how long ago, but it was the week after Kenyatta died. And I remember being in Nairobi and there was just such an awesome silence throughout the country, throughout the city, that this titanic figure, this huge figure, had passed away. And obviously, the country was still in deep mourning.

Since that time, of course, there's been a great deal of turmoil and tragedy in Kenya. It's a bright, sparkling, marvelous country; I don't know how many of you have been to Kenya. It's just absolutely fabulous. But it's had great challenges and of course, this last winter, it was really tough, very tough. And this is a country that matters; it matters deeply in Africa, it matters deeply for the United States. It is a major partner for all that we want to be good and to succeed in Africa, and to have it have this kind of turmoil is a source of worry, a source of concern, and obviously now, a great sense of hope that we have a leader of this caliber who is now leading Kenya.

Prime Minister Odinga is a courageous man. Many of you who know his personal history know that he spent many years in prison. This was not uncommon in Africa, when great men had to temper their outlook on the future of their country from behind bars, and to look out through those bars to see a hope and a positive future for Kenya. And he's done that and I think he's now leading the country through a very difficult time. I was just joking and said, you know, we have a heck of a time in this country with interagency coordination. (Chuckles.) I think he's got a much more complicated problem, you know, as a by-product of this last compromise. And something, however, we care very deeply about and I know the depth of his character is going to carry the country through a very difficult time. So it's a fragile situation in Kenya, but it's a hopeful situation, and we're going to rest a lot of it on the talent that he brings to the office and of course, the very senior talented cabinet that he has with him.

So Prime Minister, we welcome you. We're delighted you're here. One last thing: I told him, you know, Washington and America's a very sophisticated country, but we're kind of a one-trick pony, you know. And there's only one issue on the table at a time in Washington, so if a prime minister doesn't come, we're not going to focus on Kenya. So I'm glad he's here. It's important that he's here. You're going to bring a needed attention in this town to a very important country, a country we hope is a strong partner for us.

I especially want to say thanks to Joel Barkin. Joel is going to be leading the Q&A period. But at this moment, let's turn to the star of the morning, to the prime minister. Prime Minister Odinga, we welcome you. Please, we invite you to the dais.

(Applause.)

PRIME MINISTER RAILA ODINGA: Thank you. Thank you so much, Mr. President, for those very, very kind words. He has said that he was in Nairobi at the time when President Kenyatta died, the time when Nairobi was referred to as the city in the sun, before it became Nairobi. (Laughter.) Well now, we really want to make it – take it back to the way it used to be.

Let me begin by just introducing a few of my colleagues who have been here this morning with me: Honorable Yusuf Haji, who is the minister for defense, Kenya – (applause) – Honorable Ali Mwakwere, who is the minister for transport – (applause) – Honorable Omingo Magara, assistant minister for trade – (applause) – Honorable George Thuo, one of the co-chief whips in parliament – (applause) – Honorable Jakoyo Madiwo, also a co-chief whip, parliament – (applause) – Ambassador Oginga Ogego – (applause) – and of course, we have Mike Ranneberger, who is the U.S. ambassador to Kenya – (applause).

I want to say that I am very pleased to have the opportunity to address this very distinguished audience here. I should like to begin by expressing, on behalf of the government and the people of Kenya, our most sincere appreciation for the import and necessity of role played by the United States of America in helping us to resolve the problems that we have all of this year. Our especial thanks go to the Secretary of State, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, Assistant Secretary of State Dr. Jendayi Frazer; Congressman Donald Payne who, as chairman of the House Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, led the congressmen and women and senators in championing the cause of democracy in Kenya; and Senator Feingold as well as the U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, Mike Ranneberger.

These distinguished Americans, together with other members of the international community, principally the United Kingdom, the European Union, the United Nations, and the African Union, and together with a mission team that was led by the former Secretary-General of the U.N. Dr. Kofi Annan, together with the retired President of the Republic of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa and Madam Graça Machel of South Africa, brokered a peace agreement in Kenya that led to the signing of the nation accord on February 28<sup>th</sup> this year, and the subsequent formation of the grand coalition government in April, this year; actually, to be precise, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April this year. Today is the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, so the grand coalition government in Kenya is exactly 60 days old today.

(Applause.)

The soul-searching we went through on our journey to that point, the sacrifices and compromises that had to be made, and the need to address Kenya's sense of being wronged and the unresolved grievances all made for a delicate balancing act. We had to make many difficult,

perhaps unpopular decisions along the way. In this, we had the inestimable support of the civil society and the religious groups, and of sections of the media. Most of all, we had the patience and the hope of our fellow countrymen and women to sustain us. In the end, Kenyans cried from the heart only for their beloved country to be saved.

Following this peace agreement, a grand coalition government was formed, as I've said. And this is a government that has pursued an equal power-sharing between two political parties; that is the Orange Democratic Movement, which I represent, and the Party of National Unity, which is led by President Kibaki. The Orange Democratic Movement, or the ODM, is the largest parliamentary party, while the Party of National Unity is itself an alliance of several other, smaller parties. A constitutional amendment, an act of parliament subsequently entrenched the constitution, created the post of the prime minister in the executive structure. The role of the prime minister is the coordination and supervision of the functions of government, including those of ministries. So in other words, the prime minister has got executive powers.

With the formation of this new government, Kenya entered a period of national transition and a coalition whose primary purpose is to establish a constitutional land, legal, economic, and institutional reforms of such depth that Kenyans and the world will never again have to watch in horror as the nation finds itself nearly destroyed by the kind of chaos which we experienced earlier this year. No doubt you wondered, along with much of the rest of the world, how Kenya, long known as an oasis of peace and stability in a region plagued by a history of conflict, could in a matter of weeks launch into an abyss of turbulence and mayhem normally as suited with failed states. It made Kenya realize that they actually lived a lie, that Kenya was an unstable nation. It used to be said that we are an island of peace in a sea of turmoil, and they would side other countries; they'd look at Rwanda, look at Uganda, look at Somalia, look at Ethiopia, and so on and so forth. But they did not know that what you are seeing was just a façade, and that below it Kenya was no different from these other states.

But for those of us who are constantly looking beneath that façade, popular dissent foiled by long-held land budgets that have never been addressed, by revolt against perpetual poverty against regional development disparities, and huge inequalities that characterize Kenyan society, leaving more than half of the population without adequate shelter, education, health care, social services, and employment opportunities, was always simmering, only requiring a trigger of sufficient magnitude to bring the people's latent anger bubbling to the surface.

Spontaneous protests broke out immediately. The presidential election results were announced via the nation's television screens. The people's eyes had been glued on television screens for three consecutive days. As the results had been announced, then all of a sudden live broadcast was banned and therefore, no more announcements were being made on the screens. But people there waited until the electoral commission announced what were supposed to be purported results.

The response the announcement engendered eventually grew into something more besides, an expression of the people's deeply felt anger, but all historical injustices. More than 1,500 people died in the ensuing violence, many of them felled by police bullets, and over 350,000 people fled their homes. In an orgy of pent-up emotion, disparate need, hunger, and

exhaustion, neighbor turned upon neighbor. People who had lived peacefully for decades and who, today, in the process of rehabilitation, are learning how to be peaceful neighbors once again.

But the disputed presidential result was, in fact, only the final act in a long drama surrounding the election. Central in this drama was the role of the body that governed elections, the electoral commission of Kenya or, as its known, ECK. One of the proposals in a constitution of Kenya amendment bill that never saw the light of the day, last year, before the elections, addressed the fundamental issues regarding the formation of the electoral commission of Kenya; issues that, had they been addressed earlier, would have averted the kind of disaster that struck Kenya following last year's elections. Key electoral areas that urgently require reform are the mode of appointment of the electoral commissioners, the independence of the electoral commission, and the source of the commission's funding. Lack of recognition in these vital areas led to a situation where the ECK, as it was composed last year, was not independent and was not, therefore, constitutionally capable of being impartial. This reform is a crucial component of the overhaul that is required across Kenya's entire legislation.

And at the heart of this is a vein of need that runs through the country's constitutional framework, in the addressing of the balance of power, between the executive and all other arms of government, including the judicial; the overwhelming need of a restructuring of institutions of government in order to ensure transparency and accountability in the public life, and result in good governance. A slew of amendments over the four decades since independence has left us with a patched constitution that invests in the excessive power in determining the nation's life. Over the years, there have been several amendments to the independent constitution which has removed power from the periphery to the center, so that the institution of the presidency has come to emasculate all other institutions of governance. That is why one of the first promises of the grand coalition government of Kenya is a new constitution by April of next year.

In the meantime, the travesty that recently blighted our nation must be addressed, and part of a nation accord involves the establishment of several commissions of inquiry into what went wrong. One of these commissions is called the Kriegler commission, Kriegler that is led by Justice Kriegler from South Africa. He's investigating specifically the conduct of the electoral commission of Kenya, with particular regard to the disputed presidential elections. Besides seeing representations from the party's concerns, the Kriegler commission is currently taking soundings across the country, from Kenyans of all walks of life. A second commission is called the Justice Waki (ph) commission, is investigating the post-election violence, and a third commission, yet to be operationalized, will be the commission on truth, justice, and reconciliation.

Another important piece of legislation, that is a bill dealing with money laundering, is about to be brought before parliament. Terrorism and human rights violations are all matters of grave importance. The Kenyan government has instituted an investigation into allegations of torture in the Mount Elgon region, and the report is to be delivered shortly. In Nairobi, we are about to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the bombing of the U.S. embassy in our capital city as a somber event that throws into sharp relief the continuing need for international cooperation in this field.

And, as you know, there are very many Kenyans who lost their lives in that incident. On the side of the economy, we have just this month launched the Vision 2030 blueprint, a blueprint of our nation's development that is anchored on three pillars and which has taken us exactly a month since the swearing in of that other government to come up with a blueprint because we had a coalition of three major parties which have their own manifestos. There was a need to set up a taskforce to harmonize these three manifestos into one. But, last week, on Tuesday, we launched the blueprint and the Vision 2030. And on Thursday, the first budget was read by the minister for finance.

This blueprint rests on three pillars: the economic, social, and political reform. And it's designed to facilitate Kenya's journey, the second-world status, within the next 22 years. Medium-term strategic plans for the coming five years are being coordinated by my office. We aim to have an informal consultative group within the nation of partners in the next two months and are planning a series of investor conference, the first to take place in Nairobi in September and others later in both the U.S. and also in Europe.

The office of the prime minister is crucial in laying the groundwork for a better Kenya. The office itself is a new institution and therefore requires capacity creation to ensure its effective functioning. We are grateful to have received a pledge from his Excellency, the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, of 500,000 U.S. dollars in order to develop the capacity of the office to be able to coordinate and serve with functions of the government including dealing with issues such as corruption, inefficiency, justice, et cetera.

But, to do this, of course, the costs will be much higher. We already find ourselves with a bloated cabinet that must be funded. And people have actually criticized this cabinet. Many have criticized, but it was an unavoidable result of the particular multiparty that makes up President Kibaki's Party of National Unity. Because of its size, it was decided that the cabinet would function more efficiently if business were conducted primarily in committees. Five of these committees have been formed, namely, one on infrastructure, finance and administration, social services, and productive sector and security. And, of those five committees, the president shares one on security and I chair the other four, the remaining four committees.

The electoral and social crisis we experienced has badly damaged our economy. And our growth rate might sadly not reach early expectations. It is projected that as a result of the post-election crisis, the GDP growth will drop this year to 4.5 percent, from 7 percent of last year. The situation is made worse by the rapidly rising cost of oil and the world food crisis. The crisis and resulting insecurity and the disbursement of hundreds of thousands of Kenyans meant many crops were not planted in time nor have the rains been kind to us this year.

The result – we face a very difficult 12 months ahead. While trying to ensure the safety and food security of our people, we also have to deliver the promised institutional and constitutional reform. The coalition government, in itself, is a new concept. It is for the first time that on the African continent we have a grand coalition government. So this is a pioneering experiment. It will demand many decisions along the way that arise simply from the newness of its own structure. It will require a supreme effort of coordination to ensure transparency and accountability where none existed before. In the midst of this, we must address urgent economic

problems, taking steps to limit inflation, to attract foreign investment, and to get our foreign exchange annals such as tourism back on track.

It is a daunting agenda, but I'm optimistic of our success. The people of Kenya have demonstrated their determination to pursue what is right for this country through democratic means and through holding their leaders to account. The people of America have done it over and over again. We hope to take inspiration from the experiences of our international partners. In doing so, President Kibaki and I are aware that we cannot do everything overnight. It is the nature of people to look for flaws and rifts and disagreements and the extreme politicization of our media and of our people in Kenya means that the contentious issues are bound to arise in a coalition such as ours, embracing, as it does, so very many different shades of opinion that must be harmonized by patience and compromise, sometimes assume unwarranted magnitude.

It is vital for us and our development partners to understand that President Kibaki and I are equally and similarly determined that, together, as a partnership, we shall lead our nation forward to the place where we all want to be. My appeal to you today is that you remain strong partners of my country in our hour of its greatest need. Americans on both sides of your political divide have proved invaluable friends to Kenya and we hope whoever you elect as president later this year will maintain a strong focus on Africa and on Kenya, in particular.

Kenya and the U.S. have enjoyed a powerful relationship dating back to many years. As the prime minister of Kenya, I am determined to ensure that this relationship continues and is strengthened through shared democratic and social values and through the development of a vibrant partnership, all facilitated by the hand of friendship and cooperation extended on both sides. We remember with fond nostalgia the days when hundreds and thousands of Kenyans came to the United States for studies in a program that was called "airlift," which was spearheaded by the late President John F. Kennedy and the late Thomas Joseph Mboya of Kenya.

So the USA has enjoyed a historical relationship with Kenya, assisting Kenya to obtain its independence from colonialism and, since then, we've enjoyed cordial relationship in economic and social, cultural, and even security fields. We'd like to see these relations strengthened and expanded. And as this new grand coalition government – as I've said, this is an experiment; this is a first on the African continent. No country in Africa has had a coalition government. Africa is moving from a phase of single-party, no-party military rules to democratic government. You will see the success in other fields, the reversions in other places, but, generally, we are moving forward; as some would say, two steps forward, one step backwards. We are advancing. So I believe that what we have achieved in Kenya can be used as a model to be followed in other African countries that are in transition.

What we are seeing in Zimbabwe is not very pleasing. And I have spoken about this openly before and I've been censored, but I have no regret in repudiating again here. Zimbabwe is an eyesore, an embarrassment to the African continent, an example of how not to do it in Africa. And it is sad that many African heads of state are quiet when the disaster is looming in Zimbabwe.

(Applause.)

There is no point in letting Mugabe proceed with a repeat of an election when nobody knows how many votes were cast in the last elections. How many registered voters do you have in Zimbabwe? How many votes did Mugabe get? How many votes did Tsvangirai get? We are only being told 48 percent against 43 percent – of what? (Laughter.)

You cannot organize yourself to face an election when you don't know how you fared in the last one. How many voters did I get in this region? Where am I weak so that I can strengthen myself? It is a complete sham and a farce to Africa. We are determined to show that, in Africa, a country can rise from crisis like Kenya and move toward prosperity. Thank you very much for listening to me.

(Applause.)

MR. BARKAN: Well, we have just heard a vintage Rila, if I may say so, by calling him as he's called in Kenya. I find myself a little awkward to refer to him as Mr. Prime Minister, now having known him for a number of years. Your address – we have, fortunately, quite a bit of time for questioning. I would only insist that you ask a question, not make a speech. And I will try to be ruthless in that regard.

I'd like to begin, taking the prerogative of the chair, of asking the first question. To pick up on a point that the prime minister covered with some of us at breakfast, and we asked him about the dynamics of his working relationship with President Kibaki, and, particularly, his assessment of the way forward on this very crucial issue of the new constitution that he mentions several times in his presentation, because there are a number of thorny issues there, devolution, which he's also been very clear in his own remarks on the campaign trail, executive power, et cetera. So perhaps, Mr. Prime Minister, you could begin with that and then we'll field from the audience for – we have about 40 minutes so this ought to be a good and lively discussion.

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: Thanks so much, Joel. This issue of a constitution has been with us for a long time in Kenya, in fact, over 15 years ago, since Kenyans started working on the constitution. And some of you may remember that it ended up with a referendum that rejected the draft constitution. That was because there was some contentious issues where we – there were no agreement.

But I have attended a meeting of experts on constitutions, some of the most qualified international constitutional lawyers, and within their circle it is believed that Kenya's constitution-making has been the most consultative that has ever been because nowhere else in the world have they put up – did you set up the kind of elaborate structure that we've set up in Kenya, going up to the villages to collect the views of the people? And these views were collated and their draft constitution was prepared by the constitutional review commission. Then they were published. Views were invited. People commented. Then the draft was, again, improved.

Third, a structure was created at the village to again now collect people's views. And then the constituency and then at the districts people again commented on that draft. Thereafter, another draft was prepared, again published. Again, views were invited and of the which – then



a final draft prepared, which was then submitted to the constitutional conference, what's called the Bomas conference, which went on for months. Then a new draft was prepared.

So this is what the final draft which was agreed on was not acceptable to a few in the executive. The one that was altered is what is called the Kilifi draft, which eventually was rejected in the referendum. Now, what are the contentious issues? The executive, the structure of the executive, which is meant to devolve power to another institution of the office of the prime minister; then the other one is the devolution, the structure of devolution; and the other one was land; and the other one was the issue of religion.

Now, the executive – because there are those who wanted the centralized system of government – there's been the question of presidential versus parliamentary system of government. There are those who believe that in a society so divided by ethnic rivalries, presidential elections enhance ethnicity because, when people go for elections, each community sees a candidate for their community as their flag-bearer in the presidential elections. We saw it in 2002; we've seen it again in this 2007.

So that there's a need to move towards a parliamentary system where the competition among political parties, rather than among individuals, won. Then, because these people argued that two centers of power cannot exist and therefore you need to centralize power in the institution of the presidency, because those miss the point, because it is the authoritarian, imperial, presidential system that has let Africa down, that we're moving away from. So there's need to devolve power.

Fortunately, this crisis helped us resolve that issue because, now, we already have acceded two centers of power. We have an executive president, an executive prime minister. These are amendments which were brought about by the crisis. And they say that, usually, best constitutions are written at the times of crisis. (Chuckles.)

Now, on the issue of land reform, several documents have been prepared and it's a matter of putting them together to then come up with a final document that will be acceptable. With regard to religion, there really was not a problem, just a few religious leaders who were thinking that maybe the Muslims had more attention in the constitution because we have the provision of Khadhis courts, which is the only contingent issue which is being opposed by some Christian leaders.

But the Khadhis court has been in the constitution since independence and it does not hurt a fly. So that's only really big issue. What we have agreed, therefore, Joel, is that we are going to go through the route of experts as opposed to the constituent assembly. A team of experts is going to be appointed. We have made provision for three experts from outside the country, together with the local experts, to look at this contingent issues and to try to develop a consensus. Once a consensus develops, then we will take this to parliament. And if we get the numbers in parliament and it's approved, then it will be taken to referendum. That way, we believe that we can be able to deliver a new constitution within one year. Thank you.

MR. BARKAN: Let's start over here. Would you please identify yourself and stand up? There's a microphone there. Please speak louder.

Q: Okay, I'll try. Abderrahim Foukara from Al Jazeera. Prime Minister, as you said in your opening remarks, the continent of Africa continues to be riddled with hot spots and conflicts. Two of those hot spots I'd like to ask you about: Somalia and Sudan. What is your assessment of the way the Bush administration has handled those two conflicts? And what have been the implications of that policy for your country, Kenya? And do you think a Barack Obama administration would make any difference whatsoever to United States foreign policy towards Africa? I bet you expected that question anyway. Thank you, sir.

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: Somalia and Sudan, of course, are some of the hotspots on the African continent. And as you know, Somalia is just next door to Kenya, both of them. We share a common border. And the instability in Somalia, of course, contributes very greatly to instability in Kenya. And therefore, we'd like to see stability return back to Somalia.

I really don't want to blame the Bush administration in both Somalia and in Sudan, because I believe strongly that these are African problems. And Africans themselves must take responsibility first, then begin to blame foreign countries. (Applause.) As an African, I feel ashamed and pained when we begin to pass the buck other foreign powers – how has Britain handled this, France handled this, America handled this? Why?

What it is it that the AU could not do that they required the Bush administration to come and do in Somalia? I think this is basically a failure. And if you fail yourself, then you should not blame yourself when foreigners come and do things which you are supposed to do even if they bungle it. So I think that AU need to take a leading role and then this role should be complemented by other friends of Africa, in my view.

As to whether an Obama administration will be different than Bush, I don't want to speculate. As you know, there is a professor of Kenya called Professor Ali Mazrui (ph) who posed a question, which country, the U.S. or Kenya, will have a first Luo president. (Laughter.) I answer that question by saying that Kenya has already beaten the U.S. Kenya has a Luo president who has not been sworn in. (Laughter, applause.) Thank you.

MR. BARKAN: Okay, in front.

Q: Mr. Prime Minister, Honorable Prime Minister, ministers, ambassadors, and ladies and gentlemen, good morning. I'm so happy for CSIS talk – my name is Rosemary Seguro (ph). I am the president of – (inaudible) – club, ambassadors, which at work is on crime violence.

MR. BARKAN: Please ask your question.

Q: And Seguro's International Group – Mr. Prime Minister, I'm so happy I'm speaking as a Kenyan woman and mother. The violence in Kenya was so bad. My nephew was killed. Michael Seguro was among those who were killed. I'm asking a question. What will happen to

those who were killed? Are they going to be compensated by the government or what is going to happen?

And the other thing, Mr. Prime Minister, me as a concerned Kenyan, I also want to thank our Ambassador Okeko (ph). He really worked so hard, talked so hard in this country day and night, advocating and talking about peace in Kenya. So Kenyans here in the leadership of Ambassador Okeko really were very concerned. So I want you as the prime minister from today, I have written you in my letter. Go and involve me as a Kenyan woman and other Kenyans who live in the USA to be part of the Kenyan constitution and building Kenya development. Thank you so much and more I have written in my letter. God bless you and God bless Kenya.

(Scattered applause.)

MR. BARKAN: Okay, the prime minister, I think, has asked that we take two or three questions together. Hopefully, they'll be on related subjects like the one just asked, the IDPs, et cetera. Over here?

Q: Thank you. And thank you, Prime Minister. I have a two-part question. The first part is about PEPFAR and U.S. Global AIDS Initiatives. The second part is about 2013. Oh, I'm sorry, my name is Paul Davis. I work for Health GAP here in the United States.

So Kenya – first part is Kenya with its own resources and commitment and some support from the United States AIDS program has made a lot of progress toward starting to get control over HIV and AIDS. The U.S. Global AIDS Initiative needs to be renewed this year and has been passed by the U.S. House of Representatives by a large bipartisan majority. Likewise, there is a near-certain supermajority in the U.S. Senate. However, a tiny handful of senators led by one Senator Tom Coburn from Oklahoma are holding up passage of the bill. What would the impact be if the U.S. support for the fight against AIDS, TB, and malaria was withdrawn? What is your message to U.S. senators about renewal of the PEPFAR program?

The second part of my question was late last year, in developing a set of recommendations for U.S. Congress about renewing the AIDS program, we were able to – we partnered with a really amazing organization called Roots Kenya. They have tens of thousands of members all across the country and in every district, working with local chiefs on community development issues.

MR. BARKAN: Would you please get to the question?

Q: Yeah, thank you. I was fortunate enough to meet with our members in Kindube (ph), Kakumega (ph), Korgochu (ph), et cetera, and as part of a the vision 2013 initiative on community development, will your office engage in a dialogue at the community level with organizations like Roots Kenya, Grassroots Woman, who are working with chiefs at the local level on community development? Thank you.

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: Well, Rosemary, yeah, thank you so much for your sense of patriotism as a Kenyan. Yes, many Kenyans lost their lives, as I said. Over 1,500 people lost

their lives. Some of these were as a result of interethnic fights and attacks; some of them as a result of the security officers using excessive force, using live bullets. So this is an issue that is under debate right now in our country. I cannot tell you that there will be any kind of compensation just yet, as you have heard about the question of amnesty that is being discussed. Now, the matter has even been discussed in the Cabinet.

It has been agreed that those who committed – who first participated in demonstrations, because there were quite a number of people who were just protesting and were eventually arrested by the police. And because they have been confined for a long time, longer than the period required by law, the police then came up with some trumped-up charges like robbery, violence to keep them in custody that they should be released. But the people who committed crime against humanity like murder, arson, and rape should be subjected to fair trial. So this is how this matter is being dealt with. But then, we will also say that the security officers who also used excessive force, to shoot to kill, should also be brought to justice.

Mr. Davis, yes, A, I want to say that we are very grateful to the U.S. government for their assistance that it has given the Kenyan government, particularly in the fight against HIV/AIDS. It has produced very tangible results, as you have seen that the new infections are actually declined very substantially, as a result of this very successful campaign. We would like to see this program continued and also expanded. And therefore, whoever is campaigning for scaling it down or for canceling it is actually doing a great disservice to the people of Kenya. Thank you.

(Applause.)

Q: My name is Robert Griven (sp). Prime Minister, thank you very much for your remarks. I'm delighted to know that politicians in Kenya are making peace with each other and looking ahead. But I wanted to ask you about the social fabric of the country. You mentioned justice and some land-reform issues. But how do you go about reestablishing the social fabric in a country that was so ripped by violence, and now where people are separated, in order to find systems where people can live together in harmony?

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: Well, yes, you know that Kenya is not the only country that has gone through this kind of experience, fortunately. Therefore, we have several examples to learn from. You know, South Africa went through some of the most trying moments, serious social turmoil, just the period before the end of apartheid. It took them quite some time, but they went around it in a very systematic way.

You remember the Archbishop Desmond Tutu's commission, the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation. And that's the reason why we actively are trying to follow that route that what you have been through was not just an accident, as I said; it is as a result of acts of omission and commission over a long period of time since independence. That's why we are talking about historical injustices that have been committed against certain people.

So we need to produce a process that will enable people to own up and forgive each other so that the society can move on. Otherwise, we'll have this pent-up anger, which you just carry on and carry on and you're not able to resolve this social conflict within the society. We have

several groups and teams that are working with these communities, you know, conducting counseling and trying to reconcile these societies so that people appreciate each other, agree to work together, to live together.

You see, for the first time, Kenyans have now begun to even understand and respect each other. Because of having gone through this crisis, they know the value of each other. The landlords know that without tenants, there is no business. The bar owners also know that without their customers, there is no business. Those transporters who we call the – (inaudible) – operators equally know that it is the passengers who make them have business. So the interconnectivity within the society has come so much in focus, and therefore people are discussing. And I think the debate that is going on in our country is very, very useful for laying a firm foundation for a united country.

(Applause.)

MR. BARKAN: David Throup – and I should warn you, he's an old Fundy (ph) who traverses particularly Central Province.

Q: Thank you very much. David Throup of CSIS and George Washington University. Congratulations, Mr. Prime Minister, on your appointment. And I have a request and then a question. Six weeks ago, I was asked by the Kriegler Commission to submit a report to them about the general election, which I did two weeks ago. And I authorized the commission to release it to interested parties last week.

So far, the office of the president and the PNU have contacted me and said that they are happy to facilitate meetings in Kenya when I arrive, which will be in the latter part of July. And I would like to request you, on behalf of the ODM, to facilitate equal arrangements. It's not fair simply to talk to one side of the problem, rather than both sides. And clearly, someone who has worked primarily in Kikuyuland has a better knowledge of the Kikuyu and contacts there than any ODM. But I would be most appreciative if you could arrange for me to meet people in the ODM and particularly in the contested constituency results.

My question is about the problem of the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley. There is a kind of political mythology, which has developed over the course of the last 15 years since the first call for Majimboism. The problem is what do you do? How are you going to reconcile the fact that many of these Kikuyu have actually lived in the Rift Valley for about truly a century, that by 1920, one in four Kikuyu lived outside of Central Province in the Rift Valley? And particularly the issue of forest squatters, the violence in Molo, the Mau Escapment, the Burnt Forest, that historically in the 1920s, '30s, '40s, the vast majority of people who were Kikuyu? How are you going to address the problem that the Kalenjin see this as their land and part of their historic community, whereas in fact the Kikuyu residents have actually been there for 80 or 90 or 100 years and they simply cannot be uprooted from those areas?

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: On the first one, yes, I'll be more than happy to facilitate a meeting with ODM leadership. By the way, David is also a friend. He has written very extensively on Kenya and is usually very fast with his reports and books. (Laughter.)

Sometimes we don't share the point of view, but all the same, I do respect him as an intellectual. So our people will be too happy to give you their side of the story so that something much more objective comes out. We told Justice Kriegler that it is terribly important for Kenyans to get to know the truth, if only for the purposes of avoiding recurrence of what we went through in these last elections.

As regards the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley, yes, it is true that a number of those people were settled there in the '20s; some in the '30s; and that they've been there for generations. As a matter of fact, there are quite a number of those ADPs in Central Province who don't know where their parents came from. They go there and they don't know where to go to. Some of them don't know whether their parents came from Kiambu, from Rana (sp), or from Nyeri for that matter. Of course, those were the settlements in the colonial period.

Then came the settlements after independence. In my view, I think that the way in which these settlements were done is itself the cause of the problem that we are having, that first I don't think that it just – the best way to carry out settlements that you took fairly productive agricultural land and parceled it out into small, small units – three acres, five acres. And when this generation then gets children, your five acres again is now subdivided into one acre, and then eventually to half an acre and so on and so forth. So we have clearly just a rural slum in that area.

And what should have happened was that you should have isolated particular areas for residential purposes, and then left the farm itself as a large estate – what happened in Europe during the industrial revolution period – so that somebody knows that in the bigger farm, he owns five acres, 10 acres, or whatever. But the farm is farmed collectively so that it is known that if you have this yield per acre, then this fellow will know that out of my five acres, I'll get so many bags. That way you can be able to provide proper services. You can provide water. You can do sanitation. And you can bring electricity and so on.

But more importantly, you'll have a Kikuyu living next to a Kalenjin, to a Masai, to a Luo, to a Kissi (sp) and so on. So it would not be easier to identify this settlement the way they are. And things right now, it is very easy to identify – that is a Kikuyu home; won't burn it; there is a Kalenjin home, don't burn it, because when you are flying over that area, it is very interesting. You find a home completely destroyed, next to it another home, which is standing intact. So I think that is our better way of dealing with this issue of land in the area because the Kalenjins also feel that they were deprived of their pieces of land when the settlement was taking place in the Rift Valley during that time when they call it the White Highlands.

So I think that these are issues that need to be now dealt with when we're dealing with the comprehensive land reform. How do we make this land available to these people as a people, and how – but how do we deal with the Kalenjins themselves in that area. So I think this is what we must discuss and actually dispose of as a country.

Now, but I want you to now that this is not just confined to the Kikuyus alone. During this conflict there are very many Luos who are just away from Central Province, Limuru, in Tigoni (ph), in Reru (ph), in Vika (ph) – quite a number of them were actually killed – also even

in Naivasha. You remember the burned home – 19 people were burned alive in a house. They were all Luos.

Now, you have these IDPs, who again sent back to Yanza (ph). Their great-grandparents are the ones who went to Central Province. Like in my place in Bondo Village, there were five IDPs. They were sent away from Central Province. As they were going back, they're saying our home is Bondo in Saya. But when they reached Bondo – because once upon a time, Bondo was part of the Saya (ph) District. Since then, Bondo is now a district – (unintelligible) – district. When they arrived in Bondo, they said where is your home? They said, Bondo and Saya. But see this is Bondo. They didn't know where to go to.

Now, they are hanging there in Bondo. People are laughing at them. There has been told that, look, if Barack Obama could come from Chicago and – (unintelligible) – how about you – (unintelligible, laughter.) You can't be serious. (Laughter.) Well, the fact that the guy never intended to go back to Bondo is realistic; that is how it is. So this problem is not just confined to one community. In general, it's a national problem. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. BARKAN: Okay – (inaudible) – over here in the back.

Q: (Inaudible) – News. Earlier, Mr. Honorable Prime Minister, you talked about being censored whenever you talked about Zimbabwe. I was wondering if you could speak more to that and what role can you play, you as a leader and all of the other Africa leaders come June 29<sup>th</sup> when President Mugabe loses the election and takes cue from the other African leaders who have done it in the past. Thank you.

MR. BARKAN: A nicely concise question. (Laughter.) Paul Wolfowitz.

Q: Paul Wolfowitz, American Enterprise Institute, formerly World Bank. Mr. Prime Minister, you talked about the need to reverse the tendency of bringing all power and influence from the periphery to the center. My impression is there is something called the Constituency Development Fund, which was enacted a few years ago for the purpose of doing that, and I wondered what your view is of that measure, and whether it's working or whether it could be made to work better.

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: Yes. Thanks so much, Paul. Sure. It's called the CD, the Constituency Development Fund, which was introduced in the last parliament. And at this time right now, it's about 2.5 percent of the total development budget. And it has been very successful in development resources to the grassroots. What we are saying is that it is the first phase of the devolution and it has proved to be very, very successful. And that is the reason – also the reason why people now believe that devolution will be an answer to deal with issues of regional disparities and inequalities in development in the country.

So we are going to be discussing this devolution, the units of devolution, and it's been agreed that the constituency should be the starting point and maybe you come with another unit

bigger than the constituency, which combined several constituencies that will become a region as another unit. And you create a proper capacity to utilize those funds more transparently, as it were. But I agree with that definitely the CDF has been a very good success in the country.

As regards Zimbabwe, I would say that my concern stems from my commitment to pan-Africanism, that I'm a pan-Africanist; that is – and I'm an Afro optimist as opposed to Afro pessimist; that is, those who believe in the ability of the African people to develop Africa. You may wish to know that five days ago following my comment in Cape Town, I was declared enemy number-one of Zimbabwe by Mr. Mugabe. (Laughter.) Thank god, I have no intention of going to Zimbabwe when Mugabe is still there.

I am saying that gone should be the days when African leaders used to misrule their people and the rest of Africa was quiet under the guise of what is called non-interference in the internal affairs of a civilian state. I think that AU should have been different from OAU because in OAU, most of the leaders were gagged; they could not speak because there was in the OAU chapter a provision that you should not interfere in the internal affairs of a civilian country.

But now AU should be different. You see, EU moved into Bosnia to deal with Milosevic. Now, here is a case where we are actually repeating the same thing that used to happen under OAU. In the OAU days, remember, Idi Amin could kill Ugandans the way he was killing and was still being elected as the chairman of the African Union – Organization of the African Unity. That was created by people like Jean-Bédél Bokassa, the emperor of Central African Republic or – (unintelligible, laughter) – the – (unintelligible) – Musa Banda (ph) of Malawi. There was one called Mazia Guema (ph) of Equatorial Guinea, who really – he threatened the population with extinction.

So I'm saying that we should be different now and African leadership should be able to stand up and say that what is happening in Zimbabwe is not acceptable – it's not acceptable by any other standards because Mugabe has publicly said that he can only hand over power to a member of his own party. So then why are we having a rerun of elections when the incumbent has already told the world that he will not hand over power? He has even threatened to use the army, the so-called (the war of deterrence ?) – is still there.

Now, how many – what percentage of the people of Zimbabwe were there when they were fighting against Ian Smith – more than 30 percent of the people don't know it. The fact that he participated in liberating the country does not give you a title for the country that you own it. (Applause.) If it's a question of fighting for liberation of a country, nobody has done it more than Madiba in South Africa. He was in prison for 28 years. He came out, elected as president, he served only one term of five years and let somebody else continue. Mugabe has been there since independence for 28 years. What he did not do in those 28 years, he will not do in the next five years.

Inflation is over 200,000 percent. They are now – they have introduced a \$500 million bill. A loaf of bread costs \$100 million. What kind of economy is that? And does the world want to allow Mugabe to continue for another five years? There are 4 million Zimbabweans living in South Africa. That is the cost of these xenophobic attacks against other people. So



even South African government needs to come out strongly. President Mbeki, he needs to come out strongly and speak against Mugabe, against impunity in Zimbabwe. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. BARKAN: Okay, regrettably, we have only about six minutes left. That means basically two questions that are short because the prime minister has been very generous and has given us detailed answers. The lady in the back with the white blouse.

Q: Hi, Mr. Prime Minister; Molly Davis, with the Department of State. You mentioned both police abuses and human rights abuses in your opening remarks, and I was wondering how you were going to address police reform and also prosecution of the human rights abuses, other than implementation of the Waki commission. Thank you.

MR. BARKIN: And over here? Yes.

Q: Christine Gthume (ph), with Academy for Educational Development.

MR. BARKIN: A little louder, please?

Q: Christine Gthume, with the Academy for Educational Development. My question is to what you had said earlier regarding the number of Kenyans who have come abroad to go for higher education. In regards to the theme of this discussion, how best do you think we should tap into the wellspring of really well-educated Africans, or Kenyans especially, who are out here in the diaspora, and how best that they can help you towards this vision 2030?

(Applause.)

MR. BARKIN: Good question.

(Off-mike cross talk.)

PRIME MIN. ODINGA: Yes, the lady there from State Department. I think the issue of human rights abuses I mentioned before, and I think that the best way to deal with it is through the two-tier – the justice and reconciliation commission will enable us to deal with it much more comprehensively, but in a non-adversarial manner. That would be my response to that issue.

As regards the diaspora, I have said in the past that our diaspora is a very important component of our society. The Kenyan diaspora, for example, contributes immensely to the Kenyan economy. The remittances back home to Kenya amounts to over \$1 billion U.S. dollars by the figures of last year. So this is a resource that we can better harness.

We also know that we have some of the most highly qualified Kenyans living out of here, some of them who are here through no choice of their own because the conditions back home was not attractive. We are trying to create attractive conditions that will enable us to get

some of them to come back to Kenya. So it is a two-pronged approach. There's one about their contribution to the Kenyan economy; we are actually encouraging them to invest more in Kenya.

And we are making it easier now for people to remit money back home and we are working with civil financial institutions to do that. We would like them to now make use of the Internet to make even more contributions to our country because as you know, the world has now become a global village, as it were. We are going through the constitutional reform to deal with the issue of global citizenship, which I know that's quite a number of Kenyans outside what they desire, but we are in the process of setting up a diaspora desk in the office of the prime minister – (applause) – to be able to coordinate these issues. Thank you.

MR. BARKIN: Well, I very much regret that we have to bring this to a close. On behalf of the audience, the many people who came and particularly CSIS, thank you very much, Raila Odinga, for coming back. This is the second time; we hope we'll see you again on your next visit. And thank you all.

(Applause.)

(END)