

The Struggle for Political and Constitutional Reforms in the Post-Independence Kenya: The Nairobi Asians in a Perspective.

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Abstract

This paper examines the contributions of Asians from Nairobi in the struggle for political and constitutional reforms in Kenya in the post-independence period. The paper is anchored on a liberal democratic theoretical perspective. Liberal democracy as advanced by John Locke, argues that the natural law guarantees every individual right to life, liberty and protection of private property. Thus this paper uses this approach to show that Asians have been engaging in political participation in Nairobi as a way of championing for protection of their natural rights and that of the other Kenyans. The key objectives of the paper are to: examine the repression of reform-minded Asians from Nairobi, describe the biographical briefs of Asian luminaries from Nairobi, examine the role played by Asian-led civil societies domiciled in Nairobi city in agitation for political and constitutional reforms in post-independence Kenya, examine the contributions of Nairobi Asian luminaries in agitation for electoral reforms in Kenya, and discuss Asian submissions to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) in 2002 and the Committee of Experts (COE) in 2009. This paper adopts a descriptive survey design and utilizes both primary and secondary data. Similarly, the paper utilizes both stratified and purposive sampling techniques to identify research informants. This paper reveals that both the government of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi repressed the reform-minded Asians from Nairobi. Further this study reveals that the Asian-minority community in Nairobi has been in the fore front championing for political reforms and constitutional review process in the post-independence Kenya. This is evidenced in their contributions to the CKRC in 2002 and the COE in 2009. Their efforts and that of the other Kenyan political activists bore fruits in 2010 with the promulgation of the constitution of Kenya 2010.

Key Words

Majimboism, Political and Constitutional Reforms

1.0 Introduction

On 1st June, 1963 Jomo Kenyatta led KANU to electoral victory and became Kenya's Prime Minister (Nyangena, 2003: 4). In November 1963, the Kenya Freedom Party (KFP) members led by Pio Gama Pinto, a renowned Asian leader from Nairobi, K.P. Shah, a highly respected Nairobi merchant, Chanan Singh, LegCo member from Nairobi, I.T Inamdar, the President of Mombasa Indian Association and S.K. Anjarwalla, Mombasa Tudor LegCo member resolved to align themselves with the African nationalist leadership (Seidenberg, 1983: 174).

Other members of KFP from Nairobi included Yusuf Ali Eraj, Andrew Hake and Sewa Singh Mandla all of whom served as members of the Nairobi City Council. In the spirit of shared political space, the leadership of KFP officially decided to dissolve the party with the express intention of its members to join KANU. K.P. Shah was thereafter appointed as the KANU Treasurer (Patel, 2016) and had a short stint at its headquarters in Nairobi. Besides, he also doubled up as the Treasurer of Nairobi KANU branch (Balachandran, 1981: 320-321). Shortly after the resignation of K.P. Shah, Joseph Murumbi was appointed as the Acting Executive Officer and the Treasurer of both Nairobi KANU branch and KANU party respectively (KNA/MAC/KEN/77/1).

In 1963, Kenya just like the other former British colonies, adopted a parliamentary system of government. Under the independence constitution, the Executive authority was vested in the monarchy—the Queen (Odhiambo-Mbai, 2003: 58-60). However, these powers were supposed to be exercised on her behalf by the Resident Governor—General based in Kenya and the Prime Minister who was the Head of Government (Maganda, 2012: 100). The Prime Minister was to be appointed from the leader of the political party with the majority seats in parliament. In this parliamentary system of government, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet were to sit in parliament and answer questions from the backbench.

Therefore this system guaranteed parliamentary supremacy in Kenya as one of the basic tenets of liberal democracy (Odhiambo-Mbai, 2003: 58). Asian politicians in Nairobi were therefore required to fit into this parliamentary system by participating and contesting for elective positions as a way of gaining access to representative politics within a new political dispensation where the Africans were the majority.

The Independence Constitution also created a bi-cameral legislature consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Further, the Independence Constitution devolved state power to local levels by making Kenya a quasi-federal state. This led to the creation of seven regional governments based in the seven provinces of the country, while Nairobi was retained as a 'Special District'. Moreover, the Independence Constitution provided for a multi-party democracy in Kenya. In addition, the constitution delineated Kenya into 117 constituencies (CKRC, 2005) while providing for creation of 12 'specially elected seats.' It is clear from the foregoing that Kenya's independence constitution had laid a foundation for the establishment of a liberal democratic state and the practice of liberal democracy (Kariuki, 2015: 247).

On assuming the presidency, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta began deliberate constitutional changes that were aimed at centralizing power around him. First and foremost, he enacted the constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No. 38 of 1964, which dismantled the regional governments and provided that the regional governments were to be dependent on the central government grants. And this marked the beginning of the deliberate effort to dismantle the federal system of government. In 1966, another constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act of No.18 was enacted where the president was given powers to order the detention of persons considered as a threat to the state security without trial. The most affected by these changes were persons who were considered critical to the reign of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. The same amendment also removed the exercise of emergency powers from parliament and passed them to the president (Aquino, 2014). This amendment thus

undermined the enjoyment of personal liberties of Kenyans, which were the pillars of liberal democracy as a political thought.

The constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No. 16 of 1968 abolished the provincial councils and repealed all past laws regarding regional assemblies marking the end of *Majimboism*. The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No. 5 of 1969 removed the powers to appoint members of the Electoral Commission from the Speaker of the National Assembly and allocated those powers to the president.

2.0 Repression of Reform-Minded Asians from Nairobi City

By 1975, the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No.14 completely sealed the centralization of power around Mzee Jomo Kenyatta by allocating him powers to extend the power of amnesty to detained Kenyans. In this regard, the president was given powers to pardon a person found guilty of an election offence (Aquino, 2014).

It is against the backdrop of personal rule characterized by abuse of the rule of law and violation of fundamental freedoms and rights that the reform oriented Asians from Nairobi and other Kenyans of goodwill arose to demand that the post-colonial state in Kenya was becoming ambivalent and suppressing like the colonial government.

First and foremost, Asians aligned to Oginga Odinga, who was now a political nemesis to Mzee Jomo Kenyatta found themselves subjected to the excesses of the state apparatus. One of Odinga's longterm Asian friends, mentor and close ally, Pranal Sheth was victimized, deprived off his citizenship and subsequently deported to India on the account of being on the communists' payroll by the Kenyatta state (Patel, 2016). Alongside Sheth, there were also other five Asians who were charged for having engaged in subversive activities, leading to deprivation of their Kenyan citizenship and subsequent deportation to India. These Asians were: Dr. Khrishna Dass Nagaratna, a Nairobi business man; Mr. Bharmal Meghji Lakhtia Shah, director of Haria Cash Stores, Mr. Velji Motichand Sajpar Chandaria of Nairobi; Jamnandes Manji Bhadressa, a Nyeri tailor, and Babu Premchand Shah of Karatina (*Awaaz Voices*, Vol 7, Issue 3, 2010).

Even though no accusations were leveled against their deportation, the Kenya News Agency, a government publication, gave a cue to these accusations. The Agency stated in part; '...the deported six Asians had shown themselves by act and speech to be disloyal and disaffected towards Kenya.' (Rattansi 2004: 24). Consequently, a warning was given to the Asian community that those who chose to take up Kenyan citizenship must identify themselves with Kenya in all 'aspects' or any other activities. The paper also printed a summary of a broadcast in the Voice of Kenya (V.O.K) that declared that the entire Asian community in Kenya stood indicted by the subversive activities of its members.

Hornsby (2011) opines that politics of betrayal and rejection was a recurrent issue as early as 1965, characterized by intimidation of few outstanding Africans and Asian nationalists like Pio Gama Pinto, Makhan Singh, Fitz De Souza, Joseph Murumbi, Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kaggia, Achieng Oneko and Paul Ngei among others. While addressing the Kenya Indian Congress (KIC), during one of his lengthy Presidential addresses at the 26th session in 1966 and basing his address on Kenya's *Uhuru*, Satish Gautama stated: "We (Asians) have every reason to feel happy at these prodigious changes, for our people have played a crucial part in bringing them about" (*Awaaz Voices*, Vol 9, Issue 1, 2012). However, Satish Gautama was dissatisfied with the way the Kenyatta state was discriminating the Asians in Nairobi and elsewhere in Kenya with regard to their applications for naturalization as Kenyan citizens. Thus, this public expression of dissatisfaction by Satish Gautama was one way which reform-minded Asians used to agitate for the protection of the natural rights of the Asians in Nairobi and elsewhere in Kenya.

Similarly, Pio Gama Pinto had argued in defence of freedom fighters' (including Asians) ideological leaning and sacrifices for the cause of African nationalism, during the celebration of the Independence Day on 12th December, 1963 noting that:

The sacrifices of the hundreds of Kenya's freedom fighters must be honoured by the effective implementation of our policy—a democratic, African socialist state in which the people have a right to be free from economic exploitation and have the right to social equality. Kenya's Uhuru must not be transformed into freedom to exploit or freedom to be hungry and live in ignorance. Uhuru must be Uhuru for the masses—Uhuru from exploitation, ignorance, disease and poverty (Nowrojee, 2007:65).

Pinto's assassination on 24th February, 1965 happened a few days after President Jomo Kenyatta had sought legal counsel about how to deal with 'this bloody Goan' (Patel, 2016:89). As argued by Khamisi (2018), Pinto's war against the ravages of early days of land grabbing immediately after independence in the Kenyan post-colony might have eventually cost him his life (Khamisi, 2018: 118-119). Further, Fitz De Souza in Patel (2016) observes that, Jomo Kenyatta and Pio Gama Pinto had had bitter exchanges in the precincts of parliament over the Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965.

According to Mukilima (2015:128), the 'Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965, which was a policy document', had not been exhaustively negotiated and a consensus reached over it, given the manner in which it was hurriedly introduced and discussed in parliament in the wake of Cold War discourse and the perceived dangers of Oginga Odinga's socialist politics. Nevertheless, it did eventually legalize capitalism as Kenya's economic *Lingua Franca*.

The threats from Pio Gama Pinto to Jomo Kenyatta about amending the constitution to challenge Jomo Kenyatta's parliamentary leadership, whether real or imagined, is said to have made Jomo Kenyatta paranoid (*Awaaz Voices*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 2015). Secondly, there was fear that Odinga had planned to move a vote of 'No Confidence' against Jomo Kenyatta, supported by Pio Gama Pinto over his failure to implement the freedom dream of making Kenya a socialist state.

Political reporting in the censored political spaces of Kenya during the reign of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta also turned out to be a major setback for the reform-minded Asian journalists from Nairobi. For instance, Kul Bhushan and Cyprian Fernandes frequently got visited by the notorious Special Branch, a dreaded unit of the Kenyan police, for questioning over their write-ups in the Kenyan print media. For instance, the political coverage of Oginga Odinga's arrest by Cyprian Fernandes in the 1969 Kisumu riots, alongside the other political stories done by him, stung the Kenyatta establishment, consequently a Special Branch officer was sent to warn Fernandes's wife in 1974 that the Kenyan state had a bullet for him. This forced him to flee Kenya with his family (*East African Standard*, August 15 2010).

For his part, Kul Bhushan infuriated the Kenyatta state with an article he wrote in the *Daily Nation* of July 8, 1969 that likened Tom Mboya to John F. Kennedy, the former United States President. This article indicted the Kenyatta state over its involvement in the assassination of Tom Mboya on July 5, 1969. Kul Bhushan regretted the loss of Tom Mboya, whom he described as "Kenya's Kennedy". With this kind of political reporting, it was crystal clear that Kul Bhushan's dye had been cast. Consequently, he became a regular visitor of the Kenyan state apparatus (*Daily Nation* July 8, 1969 and *East African Standard* August 15, 2010).

Yash Pal Ghai, a renowned Kenyan legal scholar was also denied a chance to become the Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Nairobi in 1971, on the account of radicalizing university students with western philosophies, especially his agitations for political change in Kenya in the

post independence period. The book he co-authored with Patrick McAuslan titled '*Public Law and Public Change*' in 1971 became a compulsory reading for all Law Faculties in the East African Universities, something that made the Jomo Kenyatta state very apprehensive. The products of this book would later champion for democratization and reform process in Kenya (Maganda, 2012:116). Through the Viva Magazine, Salim Lone, a renowned Kenyan Asian journalist from Nairobi became a thorn in the flesh of the Kenyatta state with his editorial writings over Jomo Kenyatta's personal rule and his creeping dictatorship. Viva magazine, which was a politically conscious women's magazine, would later emerge as the vanguard of fundamental freedoms and rights through agitation of issues revolving around poverty, rampant corruption in the government of Jomo Kenyatta, women rights and the censorship of the freedom of the press and association in Kenya.

Ghai and McAuslan (1970) notes that in a situation involving racial and ethnic differences, prospects of independence became an obvious source of conflict as the groups competed for political power. Consequently, Asians as a minority community in Kenya and other indigenous African communities realized that they were very far from power especially in the wake of a unitary system as proposed by KANU, and they began to agitate for safeguards which ranged from outright secession to bill of rights and insulation of some aspects of administration from political control. They further observe that constitutional changes after independence were aimed at increasing the power of the executive vis a vis decreasing the power or status of those institutions whose function was to control the executive and subsequently whittling away legal safeguards on the exercise of power by the executive.

In 1978 President Moi ascended to the presidency following the death of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and he instituted reforms that were aimed at endearing himself to his political opponents at the same time trying to consolidate his political authority (Munyae and Korwa, 2001: 1). First, he disbanded all ethnic organizations like GEMA, Luo Union, Abaluhya Union and professional organizations like University Academic Staff Union (UASU). He also outlawed Civil Servants Union (CSU) (Ibid: 3). Secondly, he released all political detainees including Jean Marie Seroney, Martin Shikuku and George Anyona Mosei. Others released included Prof. Ngugi wa Thiongo, Wasonga Sijeyo, a renowned journalist and political activist, Koigi Wamwere (*The New York Times* December 13, 1978). Thirdly, he started massive KANU membership recruitment drive to make the party vibrant. However these changes were short-lived.

In August 1982, junior military officers from the Kenya Air Force staged a coup attempt against his government. The coup was quickly foiled by the loyal forces led by Major General Mahmoud Mohammed. This left the government of President Moi tremendously shaken. Consequently, the government initiated an amendment to section 2 (A) of the constitution of Kenya which made Kenya a one party state by law (Munyae and Korwa, 2001: 3, 4).

In the process of consolidating his authority, a number of Asians from Nairobi were detained and others exiled for being critical to President Moi's leadership. Chander Mehra, a print-journalist of repute was arrested thrice because of his political commentaries in the print media in 1980s which condemned one party dictatorship. Mehra remarks as follows:

I was arrested thrice because my commentaries were inimical to the dictatorial regime. I exposed several aspects of mis-governance, corruption and foreign bank accounts among other things. I was incarcerated in the Nyayo house basement twice and once somewhere around Naivasha. The interrogators kept asking me to reveal the identity of my sources. I was repeatedly warned against telling anyone about my arrest, or otherwise my family will not be safe. These

arrests were harrowing for my family because they had to search for me at police stations, hospitals and even city mortuary (Patel, 2016:63).

In 1985 Chander Mehra, was denied a work permit by a Kenyan Immigration Officer; and he was given one week to leave Nairobi. Finally, he sought political asylum in Seychelles.

Abdul Karim Hudani another print journalist was arrested in 1978 and charged with sedition by the Moi state. Through the *Kenyan Mirror*, a newspaper founded by him, Abdul Karim Hudani condemned the rising dictatorship under the reign of President Moi.

Joe Rodrigues arguably the finest Asian print-journalist in post independent Kenya was also fired from the Nation Media Group in 1981 where he served as the Managing Editor. It is stated that he had infuriated the establishment by his famous 'Bondo Editorial' of April 18, 1981; where the ruling party, KANU electoral machine had barred Oginga Odinga from standing in the seat of Bondo in the general elections of 1979 (*Awaaz* September, 2006).

Joe Rodrigues had defended Oginga Odinga's constitutional rights in an editorial headed '*A time for Magnanimity.*' The editorial had stated that the decision to bar Oginga Odinga was unconstitutional, undemocratic and not conducive to the national compromise to which President Moi had been exhorting Kenyans. This led to the arrest of Joe Rodrigues and subsequent interrogation by the Special Branch. Thereafter the Nation Media Group was forced to write an official apology to the establishment (Patel, 2016: 77).

Similarly, Anil Vidyarthi was also jailed for publishing seditious articles, critical to Moi's regime. Throughout the 1990s his ColourPrint Firm came under attack for printing opposition publications. It was firebombed and raided by the Moi government and Vidyarthi himself was arrested and tried for sedition (Patel, 2016: 136). These incidences depict violation of freedom of press and expression as essentials of liberal democracy. This explains why the Asian journalists stood firm to protect the media from being censored by the Moi state.

Salim Lone, an Asian journalist also continued to condemn the one party system through his *Viva* magazine, as he did during the presidency of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. The *Viva* magazine was one of the most read publications in Nairobi in the 1980's. As captured by Patel (2016), progressive journalism and the Asian owned media platforms became the major vanguards of social and political progress in the 1980s. The activities of these Asian journalists were, therefore, an evidence of an attempt by Asian members of the fourth estate from Nairobi to reform and uphold the freedom of the media as enshrined in the Kenya's constitution, but, which was being violated by the Moi state.

3.0 Biographical Briefs of Asian Luminaries from Nairobi

The period, 1990s was characterized by calls and agitation for constitutional change towards a democratic Kenyan society led by Western donors, pressure groups and FORD activists among others. Asian political activists and clergy leaders formed an umbrella body called National Convention Executive Council (NCEC) to spearhead the struggle for multi-partysm and constitutional reforms (Nasong'o 2014: 100-103). This agitation was characterized by mass actions, protests and civil disobedience and Nairobi city became the theatre of these agitation.

At the heart of these agitations were Asian political activists like Pheroze Nowrojee and Davinder Lamba. Davinder Lamba, besides being a political and human right activist, he agitated for constitutional reforms. He was also a co-convenor of NCEC and Executive Director of Mazingira Institute, an environment and governance lobby group (Maganda, 2012: 153).

Pheroze Nowrojee, a distinguished constitutional and human rights activist also participated in the second liberation through agitation for multi-party democracy in the 1990s. He also served as the

Treasurer of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and as a member of the Mageuzi pressure group together with Senator James Orengo. As a member of FORD-Kenya and the vice-chair of Ufungamano People's Commission, Pheroze Nowrojee championed for constitutional reforms between the year 2000 and 2005 (Mutua, 2008).

Fitz De Souza, another Asian legal of repute from Nairobi represented the Asian community in the constitution review process between 2001 and 2005. He actively engaged in the review process besides defending the Independence constitution that he participated in formulating before it was diluted through amendments by the Jomo Kenyatta and Moi states (Maganda, 2012: 153).

Achroo Ram Kapila was also one of the Asian luminaries who championed for the multiparty democracy, besides serving as a FORD activist in the early 1990s. Yash Pal Ghai, the former chairman of Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC), a constitutional expert, legal scholar as well as the convener of Kenya Asian Forum (KAF), actively participated in the struggle for constitutional reforms which was to change the governance structure both at the national and sub-national levels (Mutua, 2008).

Zahid Rajan a civil society activist founded among others the Coalition of National Convention (CNC), an initiative for the Kenya constitutional review process, which brought together like-minded civil societies to develop a roadmap for constitutional review process. In the run up to 2017 general elections, Zahid Rajan served as the convener of *Kura Yangu, Sauti Yangu* (my vote, my voice) lobby group that was involved in encouraging Asians of Kenya origin in Nairobi to come out in large numbers to vote for leaders of their choice (Zahid Rajan, O.I, 20/05/2017).

Zarina Patel was also involved in Kenya's constitutional review process as a member of Ufungamano Initiative for constitutional change under the umbrella of the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCCK) (Maganda, 2012: 154).

Satish Gautama, a renowned Asian barrister, was also in the frontline representing political enemies of the state. For example, he represented Prof. Wangari Maathai in a politically instigated charges camouflaged as a criminal case against the Kenyan state (*Awaaz* Voices, Vol. 9 Issue 1, 2012). It is on this basis that President Mwai Kibaki found it fit to recognize the critical role played by Satish Gautama in championing for political reforms, with an honour of the Senior Counsel in 2003 (ibid).

4.0 Asian Civil Societies Domiciled in Nairobi City and the Struggle for political and Constitutional Reforms in Kenya

Asian led civil societies domiciled in Nairobi, were also in the frontline championing for political and constitutional reforms. For instance in 1991, Asians of Kenya origin formed the Asian Professional Group (APG). APG would later change to Eastern Action Club for Africa (EACA) some months to the 1992 general elections. The founders of EACA included Swarn Singh Sodi, Amin Gwaderi and Salim Talib. The main objective of forming EACA was to explore on the status of political participation of the Asian community in Kenya (*Awaaz* Voices Vol.15, Issue 2, 2018). EACA also desired to bring Asians together in order to establish a platform for voicing their political interests, enhancing representation, soliciting support and liaising with political parties as well as promoting the economic objectives of the Asians not only in Nairobi but also in other parts of the country (*Sunday Nation* August 27, 1995).

In May 1996, at a press conference held at Chester House, the leadership of EACA challenged Kenneth Matiba's anti-Asian sentiments. This protest by EACA was thus one way in which reform-minded Asians used to agitate for the protection of the natural rights of the Asians in Nairobi and elsewhere in Kenya, which were at the verge of being violated by Kenneth Matiba and his ilk.

EACA also campaigned against Nairobi City Council through an advertisement in the print media dubbed '*No Service, No Service Charge in Nairobi*' (*Awaaz* Voices Vol.15, Issue 2, 2018). Thus

this campaign was aimed at democratizing Nairobi into being a liberal democracy city. In June 1997 EACA called the government and opposition to exercise tolerance and cultivate mutual respect even while holding divergent views in regard to minimum electoral reforms before the 1997 general elections as this would be a demonstration of political maturity (*Awaaz* Voices Vol.15, Issue 2, 2018). The organization also asked the Asian community in Nairobi to register in large numbers in order to exercise their right to vote leaders of their choice during the ensuing 1997 general election (*Sunday Nation* June 22, 1997).

Swarn Sodi also took the opportunity during this press briefing to acknowledge that the Asian community had played a positive role in social and economic development of the country and that, it was time Asians had a voice in parliament to represent their interests. He noted that the sense of political insecurity and alienation in Nairobi had forced Asians to take a back seat in the socio-political field despite their enormous contribution to the economy (ibid).

At the close of 1990s, Asians began participating in meetings and campaigns for peaceful elections, voter education and political mediation through a civil society called Kenya Domestic Observation Program (KEDOP). KEDOP became very critical in election monitoring in 2002 general elections. In 2002, the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK) also organized two forums for NARC coalition and KANU respectively in Nairobi. In both forums, it is estimated that over 1200 Asians attended. The Asians used these forums to voice their concern over political marginalization and acknowledged the Asian political alienation (Maganda, 2012: 155). Similarly, in 2007, Asians formed another civil society called Kenya Elections Domestic Observation Forum (KEDOF) (Michel, 2015: 54) whose role was to monitor 2007 general elections and report as to whether the general elections met the basic tenets of a liberal democracy. In one of the press briefings KEDOF Secretariat chair Sunil Shah, came out to condemn politically instigated attacks on its members who were overseeing the 2007 general elections in Langata and Mathare areas of Nairobi (*Daily Nation* December 27, 2007). During the 2007 general elections, several Asian organizations also pulled their financial resources together to mobilize Asian voters to participate in the elections. The Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK) for instance, organized civic education campaigns among the youth through radio presentations and public meetings in the Asian led schools in Nairobi. As a member of the committee of domestic observers under the umbrella, Kenya Election Domestic Observation Forum (KEDOF), the Hindu Council of Kenya sent observers to various voting stations in Nairobi and other parts of the country. According to Rashmin Chitnis the former chairman of HCK cited in Michel (2015: 54), the Council managed to send observers to 17,000 out of 27,000 voting stations in the country, and the largest observer missions were dispatched to various polling stations in Nairobi. Other Asian communities like Ismaili and Bohra also actively participated in the work of KEDOF activities.

Abdulhamid Slatch, a volunteer at the Young Muslim Association, an association that deals with orphaned children from marginalized areas was also instrumental in the creation of National Council for NGO's, Kenya Human Rights Network, Muslim Consultative Council, Ufungamano Initiative and the formulation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (*Awaaz* Voices Vol. 10, Issue 2, 2013). All these activities by the members of the Asian community influenced reforms in the electoral system and governance which also informed how Nairobi politics was conducted. Thus active Asian participation in constitutional and political reforms in Nairobi was their effort in reforming Nairobi and for that matter Kenya into being a liberal democracy.

5.0 Contributions of Nairobi Asian Luminaries in Agitation for Electoral Reforms in Kenya

In pursuit of electoral justice, Africa Centre for Open Governance (AfriCOG) under the leadership of Zahid Rajan and Gladwell Otieno also filed a suit in the Supreme Court of Kenya against the

chairman of IEBC, Ahmed Isaac Hassan and IEBC based on numerous electoral irregularities in voter registration, electronic voter identification and tallying in the Presidential elections of 2013. Katiba Institute of Yash Pal Ghai also sought to be included in the AfriCOG petition against IEBC as *Amicus Curiae* (Friends of the Court), though their prayers were rejected by the court (*Daily Nation* March 27, 2013). Similarly, in 2017 presidential election petition involving Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka of NASA against IEBC and its chairman Wafula Chebukati vs President-elect Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President-elect William Ruto; the NASA team sought the services of Senior Counsel Pheroze Nowrojee, Senator James orengo and Otiende Amollo among other litany of lawyers (*Daily Nation* Tuesday 29, 2017).

Among the submissions made by Senior Counsel Pheroze Nowrojee was how Chairman Wafula Chebukati announced presidential election results without receiving forms 34A from the returning officers at the constituency level. According to Pheroze Nowrojee this was a testimony that IEBC had not verified the results and therefore this was a violation of electoral laws. These assertions were later confirmed by the Supreme Court in its findings that the presidential election of August 2017 was full of illegalities and irregularities consequently, leading to the cancellation of the re-election of President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto (www.kenyalaw.org. Accessed on 23/10/2018).

5.0 Asian Submissions to the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) in 2002

The submissions of the Asian minority community in Nairobi before CKRC were informed by the long period of anguish, anxiety and alienation by the post-independent Kenyan state. The submissions were either made by individual Asian activists, representatives of Asian religious groups or the Asian-ran activist groups.

The EACA led by their chairman Amingo Agri, Salim Twalib who was the vice-chairman and Swarn Singh Sodi the former chairman, in their presentation to CKRC entitled '*consolidating the Kenya Asians' view on the constitutional reform*' noted that the mutilated Independence Constitution had denied registered Asians of Kenyan origin and their descendants their basic entitlements such as identity cards and passports (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002). Therefore, in absence of these vital state documents, Asians had been denied their basic political and civil rights such as the right to vote which are the basic tenets of any liberal democratic state.

EACA stated that in a bid to get an explanation on consolidated common Asian view, a series of meetings had been held by the Asian community in Nairobi whereby views were expressed, and the foremost of those series of meetings, was the Asian conference that was held on April 2002 in Nairobi Gymkhana Sports club in Parklands. As put by Pandya Devji, (O.I, 17/06/2018) the presentations made at this conference revolved around six themes namely; the vision of the constitution, the structure and the system of government, constitutional protections, human rights, judiciary and management of national resources.

The EACA noted that the proposed constitution needed to emphasize the primacy of the individual in the society and protection of individual fundamental rights. The constitution should also entrench the values that Kenyans can share as a nation. In addition, the constitution should establish democratic institutions and recognize the fourth estate, both print and electronic as the pillars and guardians of Kenyan freedoms of liberty, speech and right to information. EACA also noted that the proposed constitution should have a strong section on fundamental human rights and the definition of human rights.

Similarly, the definition of human rights should include rights like freedom of speech, worship and liberty. It should also remove all forms of impediments to the free expression of opinion of whatsoever nature and should guarantee the right of each and every person to gain information by

whatsoever means. Additionally, EACA also demanded that any civilian should have a right to access any government office without harassment and undue delay (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002).

On the structures and systems of the government, EACA observed that the selection of ministers should not only be based on education qualification, but also the integrity of the person in the society. Additionally, the powers of the president and ministers should be limited by the constitution as this would ensure protection of Kenyans against the abuse of power by state officers. EACA also noted that cabinet ministers should not be involved in personal business with the government (ibid). Thus, it is evident here that the contribution of Asian community informed the writing of chapter six of the 2010 constitution which specifically addresses the issue of integrity of state officers.

On the electoral institution, EACA observed that it should be completely autonomous and members of the electoral commission should be appointed by proportional voting in parliament. The EACA also noted that there should be control in the creation of the number of constituencies to avoid political expediency. On affirmative action, they argued it was required to ensure participation and inclusion of the views of the youth and minority communities in the constitutional review process (Ibid).

EACA also insisted that the office of the Ombudsman should be created at the national level and sub-national levels to address complaints of exploitation and harassment by public officials and be as powerful as the other three arms of the government. They noted that if created it would provide the channel of directing complaints against harassment from the police, media officers, civil servants, police or the military.

On the police, the EACA argued that the police force needed to be independent of the president; the government. Equally, the Commissioner General of Police ought to be vetted by a parliamentary committee before his/her formal appointment by the President. Further, EACA noted that minimal standard of education was needed in the police force. Similarly, close scrutiny and supervision of the police force was needed in order to avoid malpractices (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002).

EACA also stated that there should be legal mechanism to ensure that no one is willingly discriminated against, suppressed or isolated on any ground. A minorities' commission should also be created to look into the interest of minorities and the chairman of this commission should be a member of the minority community. Kenyans should also not be classified on the basis of race or tribe and should be equal before the law.

On citizenship, EACA argued that no Kenyan should have to prove their loyalty of commitment to the country and be discriminated by race. They also noted that a programme of civic education be initiated to inculcate an understanding of citizenship. Equally, once citizenship is properly and legitimately acquired, then all citizens should be treated as having the same rights. Women should also have equal rights with men on the matter of citizenship for their spouses and children. Similarly, dual citizenship should be permitted and that no government minister should have power to terminate citizenship (ibid).

On the judiciary, EACA argued that there was need for the judiciary to be streamlined and a conducive climate be created whereby the judiciary can operate with absolute independence. The power of appointing the Chief Justice, Judges of High Court and Court of Appeal be removed from the executive and a duly constituted body be put in place to perform this duty while leaving the vetting process to a select committee of parliament. Serious considerations should also be given to the creation of the Supreme Court as the apex court. EACA also argued in their submissions that

marriage, divorce and inheritance laws should be implemented with sensitivity to the culture and faith of the persons concerned (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002).

For its part, the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK) under the chairmanship of Prabjudas Patt, accompanied by members Shashikant K. Rahu, Mrs. Usha Shah and Rashmin Chitnis opined in their submissions that constitutional amendments should be accepted by consensus, and called upon harmony, upholding of tolerance of religion and dignity. HCK also observed that basic human rights should not be compromised and that corruption should be eradicated. Similarly, HCK stated in their submission that all people should be equal before the law. HCK also demanded that there should be no selective administration of justice and called for constitutional supremacy.

Similarly, HCK stated that the proposed constitution should not have loopholes for discrimination of any form based on trade, tribe, race, cult, religion, gender, age and disability (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002). Based on these submissions and others from different quarters, the Supreme Court was created as the apex court in Kenya, following the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

HCK also opined that a minority community that had contributed to social, economic, cultural, political and general development of the country and who were less than 100,000 people should have a nominee in parliament. They also suggested that licensing procedures be restructured to bring harmony, clarity and remove ambiguity which was the source of corruption and harassment by the authorities especially to the business community. Based on this submission, Sonia Sunjeev Birdi was nominated to represent the Asian minority in the National Assembly after the 2013 general elections. On basic human rights of Kenyans such as freedom to practice religion, culture and economic rights, HCK observed that they should be entrenched in the constitution (ibid).

HCK also stated that the government should provide affordable medical care, food, transport and legal services to the public. HCK argued that the proposed constitution should also provide for free and compulsory education at both primary and secondary levels. However at the tertiary level, education should be 20% cost-shared. They also stated that the rights of the vulnerable groups should also be entrenched in the constitution. On marriage, they argued that the minimum age should be 18 years while the rights of women and special needs people should also be entrenched in the constitution (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002).

HCK also decried the Africanization policies, which were selectively used by the post-colonial African government in Kenya. Similarly, HCK noted that it was in the national interest, for everyone to be given equal opportunities. The HCK therefore felt that the laws of the land ought to be applied equally to all citizens. They also observed that there should be no set of laws for any distinct social or religious group in the society and that there should be equitable distribution of finances (CKRC Verbatim Report of 26th June, 2002).

The HCK also observed that there was need to permit Hindu laws into the constitution, but be limited to personal law and for only those people who professed the Hindu religion. Through HCK, Asians observed that there was need for religious marriages to be recognized by law and these marriages be solemnized with issuance of marriage certificates (ibid). It is evident from these submissions that Asians in Nairobi desired Kenya to have a constitution that espoused liberal democratic ideals such as free, fair and competitive elections between multiple distinct political parties, separation of powers between different branches of government, and the rule of law, equal protection of human rights, civil rights and political freedoms for all people. Thus the Asians from Nairobi were determined to see Nairobi and Kenya at large governed by liberal democratic ideals as upheld by John Locke.

The Arya Samaj group presentations were made by their chairman Mr. Kul Bushan Vidyarthi. His presentations revolved around injustices that were committed on the Asians by the post

independence government. The Arya Samaj therefore noted that citizens should have equal rights regardless of their way of acquiring citizenship, as long as it was legal. The Arya Samaj also proposed that non-Kenyans, who have continuously resided in Kenya for more than 10 years, be granted citizenship by registration. Similarly, businessmen/women with over KES 10 million investments in the Kenyan economy, and who proceed to denounce their former citizenship, ought to be granted Kenyan citizenship through registration.

The Arya Samaj also stated that a person should be eligible to be naturalized as a Kenyan Citizen if he or she is at least 18 years and has lawfully lived in Kenya for at least 7 years preceding his or her application, and that he or she should be of good conduct (CKRC, 2005). On dual citizenship, the Arya Samaj noted that it should be permitted in the proposed constitution in order to protect Asians of Kenyan origin staying abroad from state harassment. Although the issue of Asian citizenship was not specifically addressed in the 2010 constitution, the community was later recognized as the 44th tribe in Kenya in 2017 (*Kenya Gazette*, July 21, 2017, Notice No: 7245).

The Ismaili group, another minority group comprised of Muslim Asians advocated for retention and revitalization of the Kadhi Courts in the proposed constitution during their submissions before the CKRC. The Goan Asians decried of political and economic marginalization. The Goans also observed that by historical chance, they had remained without documents of state identification for far too long. Other issues canvassed by the Goans were centred on political discrimination of the community, therefore they demanded for affirmative action to enable them catch up with other groups in social and economic development.

The Oshwal Community contended that there was need to protect religious liberty, mode of worship and even dressing styles. In support of the Oshwals, the Sikhs advocated for the protection of the rights of detained persons. They raised a complaint that the police had treated its members contrary to their religious doctrines, for example, the Sikh men would always be forced to shave their beards while in custody contrary to their religious beliefs (CKRC, 2005).

Yash Pal Ghai, an Asian legal scholar also made a presentation on the best way forward to reforming the legal profession, which was considered as the major obstacle to the rule of law and administration of justice. He proposed a number of clauses that needed to be entrenched in the proposed constitution in order to strengthen the legal profession. These proposed clauses included, the need to see the privilege of practicing law in Kenya as a matter of public trust and therefore it was a fundamental duty for every legal officer to uphold the constitution. Secondly, there was need for every legal officer to observe, respect, protect and promote the rights and freedoms as set out in the bill of rights of the 'Bomas Constitutional Draft'.

Further, he stated that the legal practitioners should conduct the practice of law with integrity and be honest in their dealings with clients, other legal officers, the courts and represent their clients to the best of their ability, besides assisting the court in the development of the law. He also proposed that there was need to establish the independent office of the Public Defender, who would provide legal advice and representation to the needy, and would serve as the counterpart to the Director of Public Prosecutions (Ghai, 2014). It is evident that all these submissions by the Asian led-civil societies, religious groups and individual Asian professionals from Nairobi were aimed at establishing a constitutional order in Kenya based on liberal democratic ideals.

Despite the constitutional review derailments, on 19th September, 2002, the CKRC released the Draft Constitution to the public. As the preparations for the Bomas Constitutional Conference were underway, the CKRC was thrown into disarray by President Moi when he dissolved parliament on 27th October, 2002. Owing to the fact that many of the CKRC Commissioners were MPs, CKRC was thus rendered non-functional. Consequently, all CKRC activities were suspended for a while.

This led to the postponement of the Bomas Conference until after the general election of December 2002 (Mutua, 2008).

After election of Mwai Kibaki in December 2002 as the president, the journey to have a new constitution was revived. In November 2005, Kenya held its first ever referendum on the constitution, though the document was rejected. After the post-election violence of 2007/8, the journey for enactment of the new constitution was revived, through the establishment of COE (Wamai, 2014 and Nasong'o, 2014).

6.0 Nairobi Asians and Constitutional Reforms in Kenya between 2008 and 2010

After the disputed presidential elections of 2007 and the subsequent outbreak of post-election violence, a team of mediators led by former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, were dispatched by the African Union to Kenya (African Union, 2008). The 2008 mediation process led by Kofi Annan provided a ripe opportunity to restart the conversation about the constitutional review process. Consequently, the National Accord and Reconciliation Act was enacted in 2008, culminating into the formation of the Government of National Unity.

On 4th March, 2008, the parties to the Kenyan mediation process, also known as Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) submitted four mediation outcomes anchored on Agenda 4 items: i) ceasefire agreement to end the violence; ii) an agreement to support and allow for humanitarian access; iii) a political agreement to amend the Kenyan Constitution for power sharing; and iv) establishment of a framework for constitutional review (Wamai, 2014: 67). Some of the reforms proposed by KNDR were divided into short and long term. Among the long term reforms that were outlined in Agenda 4 included constitutional, institutional and legal reforms (African Union, 2008).

During the KNDR session, it was agreed that enacting a new Constitution for Kenya was central to the reform agenda and finding long-term solutions to Kenya's post-electoral questions. The Co-ordination and Liaison Office of Peace and Security Council of the African Union, through its support to the Coalition Government in Kenya, on March, 2008, saw a Committee of Experts (COE) instituted with the mandate to gather views from the public and deliberate on contentious issues from the former constitutional drafts and come up with a draft constitution acceptable to Kenyans (ibid).

The Constitution of Kenya Review Act of 2008, provided that three non-Kenyan experts be nominated to the Parliamentary Select Committee for official appointment by President Mwai Kibaki as members of the Committee of Experts (COE). As argued by Nasong'o (2014:108), the presence of these three non-Kenyan experts helped raise the COE's profile and reinforced its credibility as a technical rather than a political committee. Consequently, on 23rd February, 2009 President Mwai Kibaki appointed Ms. Christina Murray (South Africa), Dr. Chaloka Beyani (Zambia) and Mr Frederik Ssempebwa (Uganda). Other members of COE included Nzamba Kitonga, Atsango Chesoni, Ekuru Aukot, Njoki Ndung'u, Otiende Amolo, Bobby Mkangi and Abdirashid Hussein (*Daily Nation*, 2 March 2009).

As put by Singh, V., (O.I, 26/05/2018), in the quest for a new constitution after the failed referendum of 2005, the Asians from Nairobi submitted their views to the COE on 16th July, 2009 at the Kenyatta International Convention Centre (KICC), where they emphasized on behalf of the Asians, that Kenya needed to have a constitution that upheld liberal democratic ideals such as free, fair and competitive elections between multiple distinct political parties, separation of powers between the different branches of government, the rule of law, equal protection of human rights, civil rights and political freedoms for all people as espoused by John Locke.

The Asians also noted in their submissions to COE that the post-independent Kenyan state needed to be reformed in order to be responsive to the needs of Kenyans. Similarly, the Asians noted that the Kenyan state as it was organized; was oppressive, uncaring, inefficient and distant from the Kenyans of all walks of life. In summative, it was incapable of looking into the welfare of the people of Kenya (COE Final Report on Constitutional Review, 2010). In this regard, the Asians stated that the constitution needed to recognize Kenya as a multi-party democratic state committed to promoting full participation by the people in managing public affairs directly or indirectly (Khan Jindal. O.I, 3/11/2018).

On participatory democracy, Asians noted that they had been alienated from participating in governance institutions such as parliament and executive for a long time due to Africanization policy, therefore their issues were unable to be addressed as the former constitutional order existed. They therefore called upon for the proposed constitution to have protective mechanisms for the minorities such as the Asians (Shah, Z., O.I, 3/11/2017). They also observed that the electoral institution should be completely autonomous and members of the electoral commission should be appointed by proportional voting in parliament. On parliament, they observed that it should be guided by a strict code of conduct, such that people with integrity questions are barred from holding both state and public offices (ibid). This later informed the writing of chapter six of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

On the judiciary, the Asians argued that there was need to clean it and reinforce the existing laws. They stated that the basic human rights of Kenyans ought to be observed and protected by the proposed constitution. These rights were not limited to freedom to practice religion, culture and economic rights (COE Final Report on Constitutional Review, 2010). Additionally, they pointed out that Kenya needed the office of the Ombudsman to address issues of past injustices and harassment. The ombudsman was also to look into omissions and commissions and excesses of civil servants and the state (Shah, Z., O.I, 3/11/2017).

As argued by Khan, S., (O.I, 26/01/2018) and Sheikh Abdi (O.I, 3/06/2017) the Asians' submissions before the Committee of Experts (COE) testifies that the Asian community in Nairobi yearned for a constitutional order that: protected private property, did not favour particular communities, protected individuals from torture in the hands of the police, protected citizenship rights including, acquisition of identity and voting cards, protected journalists and freedom of speech, as well as presentation of the accused persons before court within 24 hours (*Daily Nation*, 26 October 2009 and COE Final Report on Constitutional Review, 2010).

Other grievances that Asians had against post-independent Kenyan state included; lack of an institution which they could take their complaints to, besides calling for the protection of privacy of their homes. They also resented arbitrary arrests and searches. For the Ismaili Muslim Asians, they championed for the constitutionalization of the Kadhi courts. COE acknowledges that the Kadhi courts became one of the contentious issues that pitted the Evangelicals, Catholics and Hindus on one side against the Muslims, the Asian Ismailis included (COE Final Report on Constitutional Review, 2010: 27).

In November, 2009, the harmonized constitutional draft by the COE was released to the public. Salim Lone, a renowned Asian journalist and Mukhisa Kituyi undertook the responsibility of spearheading the 'Yes' campaign. Their efforts and that of the other stakeholders culminated into the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, on 27th August, 2010 (*Kenya Gazette*, No. 55 of 27th August, 2010).

It is therefore evident that the journey of constitutional review in Kenya began way back in the early 1990s, although its realization was achieved in 2010. Various groups from the Asian minority in Nairobi were able to submit their memoranda to the Constitution Review Committees in Nairobi.

Although not all of these submissions were taken into consideration, some of them were incorporated into the 2010 constitution thereby signifying the Asians' contribution to the constitution making-process in Kenya.

7.0 The Impact of Asian Contributions on Constitutional Review Process: Some Reflections on the Constitution of Kenya 2010

The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 was one of the greatest moments for the Asian community in Nairobi and for that matter all Kenyans. Most of the Nairobi Asians' proposals and that of the other stakeholders became the pillars of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

To affirm this assertion, some of their submissions that were later effected in the constitution of Kenya 2010 are examined. The submissions by EACA that the selection of cabinet ministers and other state officers should be based on the integrity of the person, informed the writing of Chapter Six of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

On Affirmative Action, the submissions of EACA informed the writing of chapter four that has expansive rights and freedoms enjoyed by the youth, children, persons with disability, women, marginalized groups and older members of the society. Similarly, the submissions by EACA that the constitution should emphasize protection of individual fundamental rights and freedoms informed the writing of Chapter Four of the Constitution.

As submitted by EACA that the office of the Ombudsman should be created, the framers of the new constitution saw it wise to establish the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission (KNHREC). Later from this commission, an office of the Ombudsman was created by an act of parliament in 2011. Similarly, the call for dual citizenship was also effected as submitted by HCK. The creation of an independent Judicial Service Commission to guarantee absolute judicial independence was also informed by the submission of EACA. Kadhi courts were also established as submitted by Ismaili group of the Asians.

The submissions by HCK that the government should provide affordable medical care and education, informed the provision of free and compulsory education at both primary and secondary levels as enshrined in Chapter Four of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Similarly, Universal Healthcare Coverage (UHC) was launched by President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2017 as part of the government's efforts to provide affordable medical care.

The proposal by HCK that the procedures of amendment of the constitution should be clear and should be over 65% of the majority votes, informed the writing of Chapter Sixteen of the Constitution which espouses on the procedures of amending the Constitution of Kenya 2010. This was meant to protect the constitution from arbitrary amendments. Moreover, the submissions by EACA that the police needed close supervision and scrutiny in order to avoid malpractices informed the establishment of the Independent Police Oversight Authority (IPOA) as a civilian wing that would monitor the conduct of the police.

Other proposals by EACA that the new constitution should entrench the values that Kenyans can share as a nation also did influence the writing of Article 10 of Chapter Two, which outlines the national values and principles of governance. As argued by John Locke (1947), liberalism as a political thought sought to establish a constitutional order that emphasizes on protection of important individual freedoms such as the freedom of speech, freedom of association, an independent judiciary and public trial by a jury, gender and racial equality and total abolition of autocratic privileges.

It is evident that the Constitution of Kenya 2010 which the Asians from Nairobi and other Kenyans contributed immensely in its formulation did enshrine Locke's liberal democratic ideals as the cornerstones of Kenya as a liberal democracy. But most importantly this new constitution captured

the desires of Asians as a minority group and ensured their participation in the political process of Nairobi city without fear or favour. With this Constitution, the Asians were able to offer their candidature in the 2013 and 2017 general election at various levels of representation as far as the political process in Nairobi was concerned.

8.0 Conclusions

This paper sought to examine the contributions of the Asians from Nairobi in the struggle for political and constitutional reforms in Kenya in the post-independence period. The paper starts by examining the constitutional reforms that were enacted by the government of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta that were aimed at centralizing political authority around him. It also examines the political transition from the Kenyatta state to the Moi state. The Asians from Nairobi who agitated for both political and constitutional reforms are examined through the lens of liberal democracy theory.

Further the paper examines the repression of reform-minded Asians from Nairobi during the Kenyatta and Moi states. The biographical briefs of selected Asian luminaries in Nairobi are also examined. The paper also discusses the contributions of Asian-led civil societies domiciled in Nairobi in agitation for political and constitutional reforms. The contributions of Asians in championing for electoral reforms between the period 2013 and 2017 are also assessed.

The paper finally discusses the submissions of Asians from Nairobi to the CKRC in 2002 and the COE in 2009 respectively. The paper also assesses the submissions of Asians from Nairobi that were effected in the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

This paper reveals that both the government of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi repressed the reform-minded Asians from Nairobi. Further this study reveals that the Asian-minority community in Nairobi has been in the fore front championing for political reforms and constitutional review process in the post-independence Kenya. This is evidenced in their contributions to the CKRC in 2002 and the COE in 2009. Their efforts and that of other Kenyan political activists bore fruits in 2010 with the promulgation of the constitution of Kenya 2010.

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Khan, S. – O.I, 26/01/2018 – A Personal Assistant to an Asian Politician in Embakasi; 49 years

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Singh, V. – O.I, 26/05/2018 – Runs his Cloth Business in Nairobi CBD; 64 years

Shah, Z. – O.I, 3/11/2017 – A Manager in an Asian Printing Firm in Industrial Area; 65 years

Zahid Rajan –O.I, 20/05/2017 – Executive Director of Awaaz Magazine based at Embakasi; 55 years

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