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Kenya Research project by Robert M. Press [see: Press, Robert M. (2006) *Peaceful Resistance: Advancing Human Rights and Civil Liberties*. Aldershot, U. K.: Ashgate.

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Interviewee: Kenyan Archbishop David Gitari (retired).

Location of interview: Nairobi, Kenya, in his former church office.

Date of interview: November 2002

Note: BP =interviewer (Bob Press); DG = respondent/interviewee David Gitari. The interview was tape recorded. Transcription includes bracketed research notes made by Bob Press. The double ?? indicates something was not clear on the tape or uncertainty of spelling.

BP I'd like to begin with your sermons that were designed to promote and encourage human rights in the late '80s ...what did you expect Kenyans to do in response to those sermons?

**[TACTIC: Make sermons relevant to current needs (including human rights)]**

DG Well, the purpose of the sermon is mainly to, ...encourage, to exhort, to upbuild and console. That is I Cor. 14. The one who prophesizes...does so to encourage, upbuild and console. So whenever I got on the pulpit, the purpose is to upbuild people, encourage them and console in difficulties. So I would say whatever I was preaching is because the Holy Spirit inspired me to say what I was saying. And my style of preaching is known as expository preaching. In expository preaching, you take a passage of scriptures and you read it to the congregation and then you give the background to that passage. And you analyze it and then you apply it to the contemporary situation. **All good preaching must be relevant to us today.** The Good News of Paul and Peter should be good to us today. Whenever I preached, whether it was in the '80s or '70s or '90s, I always made sure the Gospel is relevant to the situation. And so if there are things that were not right politically – I did not just go to the pulpit to tell people such and such a thing is not good. But I wrote Scriptures first, and from Scriptures I could tell what the Gospel was saying. So if you have read my book, *In Season and Out of Season*, you can see that kind of way of preaching.

For instance, when I was Bishop of Kirinyaga, the Councilors, the County Councilors, gave a public land which was sold, actually a hill [gives its name]. It was a protected hill with a forest and all that, and they gave it to the Minister, a government minister at that time he was called [tries to recall the exact title but can not]. He had an interesting title; in fact he was the only one that held that portfolio.

BP So they gave it away.

**[TACTIC Political sermons using Scripture]**

DG They gave it away. And when I heard about this I actually called Christians [to] the bottom of that hill. And that is where I preached to about 1,000 people. I preached about Ahab and Abel [??]. If you know the story, Ahab was the King of Israel and Abel was a poor man who had a shamba, a farm, near the palace. And one day he came and demanded Abel to surrender his home so he could extend his vegetable garden. And Abel said no, because he knew the theology of the lands; that this is something which is God-given; you don't just surrender it. It is given to the family and you cannot just surrender it, whether it is [to the] King or not. And so my sermon was: was there not Abel among the Councilors to

say 'no,' and you know, when Abel refused, Jezebel [spelling??]. the wife of Ahab planned to have Abel killed by that and he was actually killed. Then Elijah came to confront Ahab for having killed an innocent man because of land.

**[IMPACT: Sermon thwarts government land grabbers.]**

So as a result of that, that hill was not taken. It was cancelled. And because the sermon was heard all over the nation, it became the key passage in the struggle against land grabbers in Kenya.

BP It was heard all over the nation by means of radio?

DG Well because of the media, mainly newspapers.

**[IMPACT: Queuing dropped (churches claim credit for their criticism)]**

BP I was going to ask you what was the impact of some of your pro-human rights sermons.

DG If you can take one or two of the sermons I preached: in 1986 KANU, Kenya African National Union [the then sole political party], met at Kenyatta Conference Center, that is the national delegates conference, 3,000 people, under the chairmanship of Moi. And they said in the future, all elections will be done by queuing behind the candidates. At the same time, we were meeting, the church leaders, 1,200 church leaders were meeting at...Kenyatta University. And when we read in the newspapers the following day what KANU has said, I was the chairman of that meeting. We issued a statement to say we can not accept election by queuing behind candidates. And when that was published, we were attacked by the politicians, including the President, continuously for about three weeks, but we never gave up. We continued opposing election by queuing.

In 1988 the general elections were done for the first time by queuing. And we could see the longer queue losing to the shorter queue. And I kept on telling people in my sermons that the new KANU mathematics is that...five people are more than 5,000, and that is in accordance to KANU mathematics...So every Sunday I attacked queuing system. In 1988 that's what they did. Seventy-five percent of the members of Parliament, we say they were selected, not elected.

BP I noticed in that sermon that you talked a long time, and everyone was waiting for you to get to the point about the elections basically being invalid and that the ['elected'] people sitting in front of you were not really elected, but that only came in one or two sentences, at the very end of the sermon. Why was that? Why were you so hesitant to get to the point?

DG Well, because I have to expound the Scriptures first. I must make the message clear.

So as a result of our repeated preaching against *Mololongo* [spelling??], that is queuing, in 1991, I think it was November, the same KANU gathering at Kasarani –

BP In December

DG -December, they changed to secret ballots. And I'd say that was really the work of the church. We really attacked *Mololongo*. So that is one impact we had.

BP What would be helpful for me to understand is how Kenyans become aware of their rights in terms of the church role and sermons. Do people pay attention to these sermons? How do you know?

DG Oh, they do. There is no question about that because, I'm sure in your research, most of the '80s, people were not allowed to speak their minds, including elected leaders. I think from the time of the attempted coup d'etat, Moi seems to have changed drastically. He became more of a dictator and he tried to insure that all people who speak their mind are silenced. And so he started by silencing even the press; he silenced university; he silenced trade unions. And the people he found difficult to silence were the church leaders: not all; there were just a few. And you can mention them: in the African [full name??] church there was Bishop [first name] Okullo [spelling??], there was Bishop Alexander Kipsang [??] Muge [ who died in (year) in a car crash some government opponents claimed was deliberate], I was there; Manasas Kuria did not speak until 1990. He was too, at first he was too close to the President. But when Charles Rubia was arrested, who is a relative, because Charles Rubia's son married Manasas' daughter, that's when he started speaking his mind. Mainly because of that. Then I think in the Presbyterian Church there was Rev. Timothy Njoya. The Catholic church was a bit silent in the '80s. They started speaking in the 1990s.

BP Why were they silent?

DG I don't know, but from 1990 they started issuing...very strong pastoral letters, Bishops letters.

BP I have some of those

DG And you don't see them speaking much in the '80s, but in the '90s [they did].

BP Was there a particular person within the church...

DG The Catholic Bishops who have always been very outspoken [are Ndingi] Mwana a' Nzeki...Bishop John Njenga...Bishop of Mombassa. [also names the current Archbishop of Nyeri, John Joa??]

BP Bishop Nzeki was outspoken during the days of the clashes in Nakuru. He's been relatively silent since he's come to Nairobi. And yet when you became Archbishop, you didn't become silent. I don't know what the difference is there.

DG I don't think he has become silent. I think he has continued to prophesize.

BP Well not according to anyone I've spoken to. They note his silence and wonder why.

DG Ehh. Well you better ask him.

BP I did. He says there's nothing really going on.

DG (laughs) There's nothing going on to speak about? I see.

BP But I noticed you found a few things as Archbishop to speak about

DG Yeah (emphasis)

BP So you continued your commitment [to human rights]?

DG Yes. And so that I think the other one [case of impact of the church] – well we paid a part in multi-party, in making Kenya multi-party, though I think the [person] who was really on the forefront of that was Timothy Njoya, who preached a sermon in favor of multi-party on 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1990. And then he was followed by Bishop Okullu. I think I was a late comer on that exercise.

Back in 1975 I preached a sermon of condemnation of the government for the assassination of J. M. Kariuki by giving... a radio sermon, five minutes, just before the news in the morning. They were called “Lift up Your Hearts.” And I challenged the government, mainly on the issue of the sanctity of human life. Here was a man who was quite innocent but his life was taken away by people who were very close to Kenyatta. And nobody has ever been arrested for the murder of J. M. even if Parliament had appointed a ...commission and gave a report with names of people who might have killed him.

I preached after the murder of [Foreign Minister Robert] Ouko.

BP That was my next question.

DG Yes. You know, whenever someone like that is killed the President says: ‘no stone will be left untouched’ until every, until they find the killer. And I said [in my sermon], some stones are too big to be touched. Because it is true. There are people so close to the President that even if they are implicated, he doesn’t take any action. And that has weakened Moi’s position because he has let evil men go scotch free. I wish he had these people prosecuted and punished if found guilty.

BP You said there was an impact on multi-party by some of the other church leaders. Could you explain the process by which what is said behind the pulpit begins to change the awareness or consciousness of Kenyans.

DG What I would say, as a result of – you know the reason I told you that Moi silenced people in the ‘80s, so people were actually waiting to hear what the church leaders were going to say. We became the spokesmen of the people because it so dangerous for an individual to attack the government because they could easily be detained without trial. That’s how they detained Raila Odinga, Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba. And so people [were] scared. But they would find it very difficult to arrest Bishop Okullu or Bishop Muge or myself. If they arrested me, within a very short time, the whole world would be protesting. And that happened in 1997...the issue was: are we going to have elections before the constitution is revised, or vice versa. Moi was saying elections first, and then you can change the constitution. And we were saying, constitution first.

BP No reforms, no election

**[STATE TACTIC: Violence to block protest: but went too far, beating people in church]**

DG. Exactly. So the Parliament which the Budget Day in June 1997...remember there was a lot of chaos in Parliament on that day. The Minister of Finance could not read the bill [a disruption tactic repeated just before the 2002 election]. Then on Saba Saba day, 7<sup>th</sup> of July, the opposition met in Uhuru Park and they had no permit. And so they were chased away by the police. And they took refuge at All Saints Cathedral. When they entered there, it was a Saturday, the police followed them to the Cathedral and they threw tear gas. And they beat people like [Rev.] Timothy Njoya. Timothy was bleeding all over his body. I think he was beaten outside [the Cathedral. Verify: may have been inside; some people

were beaten up inside, as Alex Joe's photograph clearly shows.] People like [Mwai] Kibabki were beaten inside, when they were seated in the Cathedral.

BP Were you there?

**[TACTIC – USE international media to focus on violence even *after* the event: cleansing the church]**  
DG I was at home. The provost came on monitoring to me what was happening. And then I said, the following Sunday, a week later, I was going to cleanse the Cathedral. We let people [know] there would be a service to cleanse the Cathedral. And the international media knew. People traveled from New York, and Frankfurt, and London to come and cover the occasion. Because it had been shown on television – the police beating – inside the church. It was shown all over the world. And the letters of protest came from various parts of the world: Archbishop of Canterbury, the...[representatives] of the Anglican [church], the World Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the Vatican, whatever. They were writing letters to [President] Moi; they sent them to me and – we made a book of letters of protest from the world, and those letters were read during the service of cleansing. The passage I read in my sermon after cleansing the Cathedral was from Daniel, Chapter 5...If you read Daniel Chapter 5, King Darius saw the hand-writing on the wall...you have been weighed on the balance and found wanting; your kingdom is going to be divided. That was my message.

BP What did it mean?

DG Now, in conclusion I said the hand of God has not yet written in State House [the President's office], Nairobi. But if [President] Moi does not fulfill the following, the hand of God is going to write.

BP And what did you say was the following?

DG...There was [the] question of [the] revision of the constitution. And there are other issues concerning human rights. You can get the sermon; it is in my new book. I hope that you are going to buy it. The one I preached my final sermon (the book is called Eight Great Years.)  
(He exists and returns with the book, which I purchase and he autographs)

**[Credit claiming: Gitari claims his sermon swayed Moi to allow IPPG reforms]**

At last he [the President] agreed we can have the constitutional reforms before the elections [A clever move by Moi, his opponents concede, as the issue of changing the constitution to reduce the President's powers was dropped for the moment.] And that was a direct impact of my sermon.

BP What was the significance of the cleansing?

DG The cleansing – because blood was shed in the Cathedral...contaminated. So we had to remove that, symbolically, by using water. It's a holy place that has been interfered with.

**[Credit sharing – when pushed for perspective]**

BP Do you think – was it your sermon or was it the fact that the international publicity came about so – the paramilitary force entering the church and beating people, that made Moi...

DG That and the sermon. It's really the work of many things. I wouldn't say it's only myself. But I was told by one of the people that that sermon actually disturbed [Moi] very much.

BP This was an aide of Moi?

**[Co-optation denied]**

DG One of the Ministers, that when he heard that the hand of God might write in State House [laughs quietly], he was not amused. And he called me there. He was [acting] very humbly. He said, Oh, OK, I now agree. And I want you, NCKK, the church leaders, to go and chair the meetings [going on among civil society proponents of a new constitution]. And so we were told to chair. We started chairing those meetings, but they were hijacked by politicians.

BP There's a different interpretation to that scenario and that is that Moi, seeing the accumulating influence of the civil society, including the churches and the politicians, very cleverly side-tracked the ministers and the church leaders into a mediating role, immediately undercut them by not paying attention to them, then pulled the politicians out of IPPG and avoided a constitutional change. Would you agree to that explanation.

**[Co-optation admitted: only because interviewer knew the background facts.]**

DG It could be. You know he's a very – people admit he's a very skilled politician.

BP Do you think Moi was playing with the churches, in a sense using them rather than being used by them.

DG. Around that time?

BP Yeah

DG Moi has not been – you know sometimes he will call us for prayers, and he appears to be honestly making some good commitments. But when you leave him, he's back to square one. And you know people used to say that the President believes that the last person to see; whoever comes he listens; the last to speak is whom he follows.

[Last to speak carries the day with Moi? Perhaps, a former associate confirms this and suggests a last-minute talk with Moi the morning he met his party members in December 1991 might have convinced him to move to multi-party.]

So we have been very disappointed many times. Because this is a man who goes to church every Sunday. And he's not serious.

BP And he is skillful, as you said? A manipulator at times?

DG Manipulator, yes.

BP So I guess the question still is: does he use the churches or do the churches influence him. Who is influencing who?

DG Now, there are some churches who get influenced by him; and I would say those are churches who are not loyal to Jesus Christ. This includes his own church, the African Inland Church. AIC was a member of NCCCK [National Council of Churches of Kenya] when we condemned queuing. And then he [Moi] called the Bishop and told him AIC must pull out of NCCCK. So AIC, which is one of the big protestant churches in this country pulled out of NCCCK. You know they were being evangelized by the Baptists from the Bible Belt in America...[his cell phone rings]

Now, I would say there are some churches which, their theological position is to obey, in accordance to Romans Chapter 13. You obey those who are in authority. You don't even criticize them. And I would put ACI there, all the churches which call themselves Kenya evangelical [unclear] tend to blindly obey those in authority. And that is a very dangerous position.

BP How do you view the role of the church?

**[Politics and the church]**

DG The role of the church – we have the mandate to proclaim the whole gospel to the whole person. Our work is not only to evangelize [unclear]; man, a human being is a psychosomatic unit. He is both...body and soul, so we have to take consideration of the whole person. And therefore politics is so important that you cannot leave it to politicians alone.

270

BP That's a line you are very well know for saying.

DG Yeah. The church in Uganda, they let Idi Amin take over and then the church itself suffered a lot. [Some] churches...fear their God-given mandates to [protect] the welfare of this nation.

BP What was your title up there [in Kirinyaga, where he was the long-time Bishop]

**End of side one tape one.**

**Start of side two, tape one**

DG The Archbishop is the spokesman of the Anglican church, nationally and internationally. As a Bishop you are Bishop of your own Diocese, and if you see anything going wrong in your diocese you've got the right to speak on behalf of the people. And so as I preached, I was – when I found things were not right, whether it was in my diocese, or in Kenya, I had the liberty to speak. Sometimes we spoke as the House of Bishops, together, on issues which are national. Other times the Bishop in his own place, he can speak the way the Holy Spirit leads.

BP So some of your human rights – in other words, did you clear your human rights sermons with some organization or the church?

DG. No, no.

BP So most of those are just David Gitari speaking his heart, speaking his inspiration.

DG Yeah. Though there is a time when we wrote a book which I initiated which NCCCK published. It was analyzing the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity. And so I wrote the chapter on peace and

love and someone else wrote on unity. But if you see that book, it is really my work. I don't know if you have read it...

BP I haven't. But in other words there was quite a difference between your position as an advocate of human rights and Timothy Njoya's as an advocate of human rights whose own hierarchy of the church did not support him. Yours did.

DG Yeah, sure. Of course there was some Bishops who did not support me. But I think as a general agreement if a Bishop is not happy with what I say, you don't go public without first of all checking: is it true that you said this?

BP But the Archbishop never worked against you to try to stop you.

DG No, not at all. Well, there was a time when Moi accused us of having seen Mwakenya...I went to Canada, I think it was 1988...we met some dissidents who were called Mwakenya; that was an underground movement. So Muge, Bishop Alexander Muge saw them. After I left Canada, I rang to say there are some young people who want to see you.

BP But you saw them, too?

DG I saw the two of them and Muge saw them, but Muge went to tell the government. And I was a bit surprised by Muge's revelation. He even got names of other dissidents and had a meeting in London. They came and told the government everything.. So people started wondering whether Muge had gone to Canada on behalf of the government or on behalf of the church. So Moi attacked me for having seen those people and not telling the government. But I don't have to tell anybody when I'm doing my work.

BP You didn't have to report to anybody.

DG No.

BP Why did you see them?

DG They are the ones who came to see me. And as a Bishop you should see everyone.

BP Were they actually Mwakenya people at the time?

DG They never told me that one. But they told Muge they were. A pastor should be free to see anybody. Every person needs a doctor, needs a pastor.

BP There is an analysis by one individual I spoke with who is also an opposition promoter of human rights, not a politician, who said that sometimes the church and other groups use human rights to advance their own objectives. Do you think the churches in Kenya, some of them, used human rights to advance their own agenda, rather than just to advance human rights?

DG I'm not understanding your question?

BP OK. Why did some of the members – why did some churches support human rights: was it all for principled reasons, or was it for self-serving reasons.

**[Motivation]**

DG As far as I'm concerned, if I fight for human rights, I do so because I want to be faithful to Jesus Christ and the Gospel. Not because of anybody. And I want to, whatever I do, put it in the context of the scriptures and my allegiance to Jesus. It's not based on [wanting] to please anybody. All I want is to please Jesus.

BP There is a philosophy called rational choice. I don't know if you've heard of it [He had not]. But it basically sums up in one sentence that people only do things out of their own self-interest, what is going to promote their own interest. Did you promote human rights out of your own self-interest?

DG No. In fact I have suffered more in the process of fighting for human rights than I have gained. If you study my little history carefully you will find that when I preached against the government during the time of Kenyatta, Kenyatta people demanded to see my sermon; it was studied, and of course at that time I was very frightened ...though I did not have much contact with Kenyatta in those days.

Then when I preached so much against rigging of elections, my house was raided by a big number of thugs on 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1989. They cut into the grills and I had to escape through the roof. And from there I called the neighbors and these people ran away. The matter received international coverage and Moi promised – appointed a commission of inquiry, and he said as soon as the truth is known, he'll let the whole nation know. That was April 1989; it is now more than 13 years; he has not yet revealed the reports.

BP Was there a report?

DG Yeah. Within two hours of announcing [the inquiry] there were five policemen in my house who came to investigate. And those people had really come to kill, because they said it: we have come to kill you.

BP You heard their voices?

DG Yes. I heard their voices. The whole family was there in the house: my three sons, a visitor, the late Bishop [name] was also in my house. And they had come to kill me. And so – but this did not scare me. I continued prophesizing. I have always said that nothing will stop me from speaking the truth. No threats will silence me (emphasis). And even the other day when Moi misunderstood my sermon...I said the President's choice will not live to see the presidency.

BP What did you actually say?

DG It's in that book...the actual words were: if the new constitution is adopted, then President Moi's choice might not win the elections. Might not win, not might not "live."

BP What did you mean, might not live?

DG I did not say that.

BP You just said it now.

DG No, that's what the Daily Nation said, and that's what the President was saying.

BP OK, what did you actually say.

107

DG I said Might Not Win – that is Uhuru might not win. But the Nation said “might not live to see the presidency. So Moi thought now he had caught me, so he sent four policemen to my house to come and check up – investigate....I was misquoted. And the Nation apologized the next day. And we went to court because the government is still interested in the young man who reported. He is charged and the matter is still in court.

BP You also had – and its beyond the study period, but since you mentioned this recent thing, you had an accident with the police car. I couldn't tell whether you thought that was intentional.

DG That was intentional. Because I have been stopping there at Thika, witnessing the police taking bribes, reported them to their superiors. And so when they saw my car coming they arranged to – we were both traveling toward Nairobi [he proceeded to make a sketch of the collision scene in which he was not injured but his car and the police car collided.]

BP What was your part in the mass demonstrations of 1997.

DG I think my main part was the cleansing [after police entered the All Saints Cathedral].

BP Ok. Then the other part is this: the other question related to - I think you've said this in other words; I'm trying to put it in my own words now: that when people are afraid to speak out it takes a few individuals in organizations or by themselves, to speak out and give them courage. That courage, I think, leads people to be willing to join demonstrations or to vote their conscience. Would you agree, and if you do or don't, would you elaborate, the relationship between the mental state of an individual, the consciousness, or the level of fear, kind of something that happens between an authoritarian state and a freer state; people move mentally toward greater mental freedom as people speak out. Would you agree with that?

**[TACTIC – Embargoed sermons got wide media coverage]**

DG Well, let me put it this way: in 1986 I preached four sermons and I was attacked by politicians after every sermon. That is when the press started noticing me. Before that they had almost ignored me. They were concentrating on [the late Bishop Alexander] Muge, and Okullu. And Muge and Okullu were very clever. If they were preaching on Sunday, they would send their sermon to the press on Friday and write “embargoed.” But I never sent anything to the press.

**[The wrong “Daniel”]**

So these four sermons, every sermon I was attacked, attacked, attacked. Then I would answer them the following Sunday. One sermon I preached on Daniel, Chapter 5. When Daniel was put in the lions den. And someone telephoned the President and said I have spent the whole day attacking “Daniel” Moi. So the whole week I was really attacked.

[\***Mental Shift:** breaking the fear of speaking. Sermons lead to others speaking out.]

Anyway, when the President found his people are losing the battle, fighting against me, he said, let the Bishop speak. So I published a book with the title Let the Bishop Speak. So it is the President who gave me that. Now when I am thinking of that title, if I were writing another book I would say: Let the People Speak. But at that time people were not speaking. They needed some empowerment, and I think our work as church leaders is really empowering. The good thing about my preaching in Kirinyaga is that people in Kirinyaga were empowered, to the point where they were no longer just waiting for their Archbishop or Bishop to speak. They started seeing and acting themselves; seeing the evil done against them then, like elections. Even this election of the coffee farmers' association, they will never let the election be rigged. And in some of the coffee factories they really protested against land grabbing, against rigging. So there was real empowerment. And it was mainly because of my preaching. And it was not just Anglicans. People saw me as their bishop, not just an Anglican bishop, as the bishop of Kirinyaga. So that empowerment is very important, so that its not just the Bishop speaking alone; it is empowering people to have the courage to speak and protest.

BP So without that, things don't change. You could give a sermon [but] if no one reacted to it, nothing would change.

DG So we need to empower people.

BP Do you think people have been empowered now in Kenya?

DG To a large extent, I think. The civic education – you know we are living in a very interesting time [2002]. People can say, Not Moi. That was unheard of in the '80s. Now even his own Ministers and the Vice Presidents have started saying No to him. And I've been criticizing them because they are the ones who allowed him to be like that; they used to be there. And when he did all these things they kept quiet; they feared they might be sacked. Now they don't care whether they are sacked or not.

BP But Kenya really only got half a cake; they got the icing – they got freedom of expression, assembly, things like that. They never got reduction of the President's power, the provincial system [eliminated]. It's still an authoritarian state.

DG Well, we hope the new constitution will bring about change.

[**Kenya still authoritarian**]

BP But is it still an authoritarian state in that sense? Is Kenyan today still an authoritarian state?

DG It is, until we remove Moi.

BP Well, if the next person could have the same power –

DG Oh, we have to insure that the next constitution does not give too much power to presidents. And I think that is taken care of in the new constitution.

[**Church leaders get help from younger political dissidents**]

BP You mentioned that some of the sermons were given out in advance so that there would be more impact in the newspapers. I've also heard that with Bishop Okullu, Peter Anyang' Nyong'o and others who were very close to him would, in a sense provide information and ideas. Was that true?

**[Same for political elders]**

DG Yeah. And also too, the old man, Oginga Odinga – there was a time when he was the only politician who could write tough things to Moi. And Moi would do nothing about it. But it was a team of Luos, like Anyang' Nyong'o who did the homework for him. And he just put his signature there.

BP Did you get any help in information gathering from activists, human rights activists, in [preparing] your sermons.

DG [No] I had to do my own homework.

BP But did you take any tactics, strategies, in terms of making the maximum effectiveness of your sermons; what was your idea, your thinking? Did you take any steps to make sure the sermons were published or broadcast? To have greater impact.

**[Getting his sermon messages out]**

DG Apart from publishing the books themselves, where I want to really speak to the nation, I inform the newspapers that I will be preaching in such and such a place, especially when I was Archbishop. [He had retired from that office shortly before the interview.] You will notice that during that period, the press usually has looked for [Catholic Archbishop Mwana a' ] Nzeki here in Nairobi and myself. They don't bother about these other street preachers, however big their cults are, because they don't make impact. But they come to us; and sometimes I don't even have need to call them [reporters]. I just find that they are there, in the church.

**[Individuals play a key role]**

BP You've been an individual within a church, an active individual. Could you comment about the importance of individuals as opposed to say, simply the importance of a church as a whole, or the organization which sometimes gets fairly bureaucratic. What is the role of individuals within organizations.

DG I think if a person feels called to be, well let me use a Biblical word, to be a prophet, then that is a very, very important calling. And if you look at the Old Testament prophets, they were actually speaking almost a lonely voice, like Jeremiah and there were other people who were saying 'peace, peace' when there was no peace. But prophets like Isaiah, Jeremiah, Mica [??], Amos, and all that, they would prophesy and their prophecy would turn out to be true as time went on. So people were called at a certain time in history to stand and speak. You have people like Martin Luther King in America, he was just an individual, and he mobilized the people, or Mahatma Gandhi, one man, and he used not-violent methods. He really moved people. You have Desmond Tutu. He mobilized people to fight against apartheid and he won. And so an individual can do tremendous things. Sometimes people hear – its as if I have become almost an institution by myself.

BP How do you view yourself; how do you view your role during that period?

DG Well, all that I wanted was to be faithful to God. I did not want to have any benefits, as long as I'm faithful.

BP Did you see yourself as a prophet?

DG Well, eh, eh, prophecy in New Testament terms, which is forth telling, rather than foretelling, you know...telling the truth, proclaiming the gospel, speaking the whole truth; challenging things fearlessly, that is something that whenever I get on the pulpit, I speak without any fear. And Moi does not like me for that.

BP Have you ever had a chance to talk with him, one to one?

DG Oh, yeah. We talk. Sometimes I go to see him. And whenever, I don't know about today, whenever I said I want to see him, he always said – make space for me to talk to him.

BP Do you have any idea – and this goes to the heart, I'll make this right at the end of our question: do you have any analysis to say from the other point of view, what makes Moi make concessions. What makes an authoritarian leader like Moi make concessions on human rights; what tactics seem to hit home the most.

**[DONOR Pressure/tactics that work: why Moi went to multi-party]**

DG I think the interest is concerted pressure from various corners, especially from Western nations, like the Club of Paris, America, Britain; pressure coming from those angles I think they make him think twice. The reason he agreed to multi-party is because of pressure.

BP What kind of pressure?

DG Pressure from – well, there was of course a debate by church leaders, discussion by politicians like Matiba and all that, but Saitoti was the Minister of Finance. He went to Paris to meet the Paris Club, and he came [back to Kenya] with nothing. [The Club froze all new funding to Kenya and Malawi pending reforms].

BP Drawing a line: without economic reforms.

DG And so 1992 [It was actually 1991], Saitoti came with nothing.

BP Do you think it was domestic pressure first, followed by international? Because without domestic would the international have even intervened?

DG I think, yeah. We started, but I think the international community is the one who made us really become multi-party. I was at Kasarani [where Moi made the decision for Kenya to adopt multi-party politics, speaking to a national gathering of KANU] during that meeting?

BP I was, too.

DG Were you there (surprised)? I saw the way they started, with people telling Moi no, no, no [regarding multi-party]. Then he stood; he showed the book; I think it was called the Holy – oh, something like that. And then he said [unclear] we have to change to multi-party.

BP At the end of his speech

DG We have to change 2A.

BP He said that at the end of his speech.

DG At the end. And the whole house became very quiet. I was almost the only one who would clap.

BP You clapped?

DG I did not, but I felt like clapping. Because that is something that we really...

BP What do you think made him change his mind. Was it Paris Club, the money? Does he respond to money?

DG That was the main thing

BP In other words he doesn't really care what the people think domestically? He's just worried about money?

DG. Yeah. But you know, he's also a hypocrite because he will attack the foreigners and tell them to not interfere with Kenya, and at the same time, he also wants their support.

BP If you were to look at the lessons for Kenya, what are they for other authoritarian states, and there are still a lot of them left in Asia, and Africa. What's the lesson from Kenya in terms of how do human rights get promoted in an authoritarian state? What's the lessons out of Kenya?

[TACTIC: **Lesson: Churches spoke out without fear – kept govt. in check?**]

DG Well, maybe people can borrow a leaf from the witness of churches in this country. If you are to study the history of the neighboring countries, there is Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Congo, whatever. The churches have not been as courageous as the churches in Kenya, though we have not had as much problem as some of these other countries have had. But the churches there have been a bit quiet. But the church in Kenya has continued to speak – without any fear, and sometimes you know you meet Ugandans and they ask: why do you make all this noise. You have not suffered like ourselves. And the answer is, maybe the fact that we have spoken is why we are the way we are. Things have not gone all that bad. We have kept on reminding Moi [to respect human rights]

End of interview

