
The other Kenya: underground and alternative literature

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Abstract

Most literature available about Kenya today has been written from the point of view of imperialism or of the ruling class. Very little material representing the working people's interests is available. There is also a scarcity of information about material on Kenya (and Africa generally) from the point of view of the working people. This is a reflection of the lack of control over the process of communication and mass media by the working class. Records literature of the other side—the people's point of view. Lists some important publications from the Kenyan underground which has been systematically issuing major documents and commentary on the ongoing struggle of the people for social justice and economic liberation. Counters the claim by some that there is no progressive material coming out of Africa. Indeed this literature is indispensable for historical research and in the struggle for true democracy. Without this material, the ideology of the ruling class remains unchallenged. Also includes other progressive material. The survey is partisan and no attempt is made to have a "balanced" view, as the ruling class point of view has adequate resources to propagate itself. Makes some recommendations for information workers.

Introduction

It is necessary to have access to the vast amount of underground and alternative literature about Kenya in order to understand the current political, social and economic state the country is in. This alternative literature can provide the real picture of the situation in the country today from the viewpoint of the majority. It provides a barometer of the state of class struggle in Kenya.

While the ruling classes deny the very existence of classes and class struggle, the alternative material listed here provides an entirely different picture. So fearful have the current "leaders" become of the people's victory over oppression, that they systematically distort records of Kenya's past and have even banned open discussion of Mau Mau. In view of this, it is becoming increasingly necessary to interpret and document the history of the struggle for independence from the working class point of view. The lessons of past victories are applicable to today's problems. This has been done by the underground movements and progressive activists and historians – hence the attempt to silence their voice. Some of this "silenced" material is included in this survey.

The importance of underground movements and their publications is recorded by the underground itself:

The most dramatic development ... was the emergence of worker/peasant based underground groups. They began articulating an ideology that fully reflected the workers' struggle. The seventies saw the development of a vigorous underground press. Between 1974 and 1982, the underground groups and newspapers had become the real voice of the Kenyan people (Mwakenya (1987), *Draft Minimum Programme*, p. 13).

This survey provides a broad picture of the alternative material – it does not aim to be a complete record of such material. But sufficient material is included to show the wide range of material that is available. It is not possible to list every document published underground as much of it is lost and no organization in Kenya dare openly collect it. It is not certain if any outside institution, with the possible exception of the CIA, has collected such material.

Nonetheless, much material has been collected by Mwakenya, both inside and outside the country. Copies of some of it are available from

their overseas branches, including the ones in the USA and in Britain.

Some underground publications

Kenyan-organized underground resistance movement has had an “unbroken continuity – though not always along a straight path – from the 1970s, and in different guises and forms,” as the article, “Roots of the revolt” in *Africa Events* points out. This movement draws its inspiration from, and in a sense is a continuation of, the line taken by Mau Mau, especially in the years just before independence. In the early 1980s, it was the December Twelve Movement with the publications *Cheche Kenya* and *Pambana* which carried on the tradition of resistance and of underground press. The name “December Twelve Movement” was later changed to “Mwakenya,” a Kiswahili acronym for Muungano wa Wazalendo wa Kuikomboa Kenya (Union of Patriots for the Liberation of Kenya).

Early underground periodicals

- *Mwanguzi* – an underground publication in the 1970s that ran to more than 12 issues.
- *Kenya Twendapi?* (Where are we Heading in Kenya?) – a series of pamphlets (about nine were issued) in 1969. The author, Abdilaif Abdalla, was jailed for writing and distributing it. He was held in solidarity confinement for three years at Kamiti Maximum Security Prison.
- *Cheche Kenya* (Independent Kenya) – published as an underground document in 1981. Reissued by Zed Press, London, 1982 (reprinted 1989).
- *Coup Broadcast*. Voice of Kenya, Nairobi, August 1, 1982. Reproduced in *Race and Class*, Vol. 24 No. 3, 1983, pp. 325–6.
- *Upande Mwingine* (The Other Side) – “the very brilliant, meticulous monthly and annual documentation of the resistance actions of workers, peasants, and students etc. in industry, commerce, plantations, schools and colleges, carried out by *Upande Mwingine*, the underground workers’ organ. *Upande Mwingine* has systematically compiled this Kiswahili register of strikes and demonstrations by the working people over a number of

years” (Mwakenya (1987), *Kenya; Register of Resistance*, p. 7).

- *Article 5* – a sister publication of *Upande Mwingine*, it kept a record of incidents of deaths, beatings, jailings, and mass punishments carried on by the regime, as opposed to resistance which was recorded by *Upande Mwingine*. The title, *Article 5*, refers to Article 5 of the Declaration of Human Rights, on the freedom of information. Prepared for use underground in the mid-1980s.
- *Kauli Raia* (People’s Opinion) – *Tunakataa* (We Say No) underground resistance poetry from Kenya. Written by the group, Upande Mwingine, during the mid-1980s. To be published by Vita Books/Mau Mau Research Center.
- *Pambana, Organ of the December Twelve Movement* – No. 1 (May 1982) was reproduced in *Law as a Tool of Political Repression in Kenya*, August, 1982 (in English and Kiswahili), published in London by the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya. No. 2 came out in July 1983.
- *People’s Weekly* – publication of Harakati ya Kupigania Demokrasia (HDK), late 1980s.

Mwakenya’s underground publications: a short guide

Mwakenya (Muungano wa Wazalendo wa Kuikomboa Kenya; Union of Patriots for the Liberation of Kenya) has published various documents, press statements, and leaflets which are widely distributed in Kenya. Some of these are listed below. Mwakenya and its predecessor, December Twelve Movement, have been active since the late 1970s. Mwakenya’s existence became known to the government in 1985. “The mention of our name in the local press (*The Standard*, February 13, 1985) alerted the regime to the existence of a new organization under the name Mwakenya” (*Mwakenya Draft Minimum Programme*, p. 17).

Basic documents

- *Kenya: Register of Resistance, 1986*. Nairobi, 1987, 27 pp. Cover in two colours.
- *Mwakenya: Draft Minimum Programme*. Nairobi, September 1987. A5, 35 pp. Typeset, printed, two-colour cover, illustrated. Includes: Towards a national democratic revolution; The immediate political tasks of

Mwakenya; The fundamental goals and objectives of Mwakenya; The immediate political demands of Mwakenya; Mwakenya's relationship with other organizations; Mwakenya's appeals to Kenyan people.

- *Mwakenya's statement on the current crisis in Kenya*, July 11, 1990.
- *Mwakenya's Plank 1990 for the Second Republic*. Later issued as *Kenya Democracy Plank* (1991).
- *Kenya; Mpango wa Demokrasia*, 1991 (in Kiswahili).
- *The Mwakenya Stand*, 1992.
- *Msimamo wa Mwakenya*, 1992 (in Kiswahili).

Periodicals

- *Mpatanishi* – underground newspaper, “the official central journal of Mwakenya.” No. 7 “appeared with our first proposed draft programme” according to the Draft Minimum Programme. No. 14 (August 1985) was a Special Issue entitled “Liberation organizations merge and formalize Mwakenya.” Vol. 5 No. 3 (December 1995) contains: Charter for Democracy in Kenya; Moism: State terrorism in Kenya; Remembering Saba Saba; The question of nationalities in Kenya.
- *Mzalendo Mwakenya* – the mass newspaper of the party. “A special issue of our mass newspaper *Mzalendo Mwakenya* was released on February 6, 1985 supporting the then protesting students of the University of Nairobi and condemning the neo-colonial regime for its continued repression of university students and lecturers” (*Draft Minimum Programme*, p. 17).

Some issues:

- April 1986: It is now guerrilla warfare in Kenya.
- March 1988: The Moi-KANU clique continue to crush democracy in Kenya.
- July 1988: Kenya in political crisis!
- May 1990: The Moi-KANU regime is under siege.
- October 1991: Mwakenya purges factional clique and renounces “Mkombozi-Mwakenya.”
- November 1991: Moi na Kanu lazima wajiuzulu!
- November 1991: The Moi-Kanu government must resign!

- May 1994: Komesha mauaji na mugawanyiko Kenya; angamiza U-Moi na U-Kanu!
- May 1994: Stop genocide and disintegration; away with Moism and Kanuism.

Press releases and general statements

Some examples:

- Moi-USA New “drugs agreements” threaten Kenyan lives (September 21, 1987).
- Moi declares unwarranted war against Uganda (December 16, 1987).
- Moi-KANU regime has no legitimacy to rule Kenya (March 29, 1988).
- Moi unleashes a state of terror on the Kenyan Somalis (November 15, 1989).
- Statement on the current political situation in Kenya (May 25, 1990).
- Letter to all patriotic, democratic, and progressive Kenyans (July 1, 1990).
- Mwakenya calls for a week of prayers ... and a general strike (August 16, 1990).
- Mwakenya yatoa mwito kuwe na wiki moja ya maombolezi ... na mgomo (August 16, 1990).
- Interview with Ngugi wa Thiong'o, spokesperson for Mwakenya. (*Ufahamu; Journal of the African Activist Association*, Vol. XVIII No. 11, 1990, pp. 41-6).
- Hata Bila Moi, Umoi tunapinga! Msimamo rasmi wa Mwakenya kuhusu hali ya mambo nchini (January 1992).
- Stop Moi's reign of terrorism. The statement of Mwakenya at the 7th Pan African Congress, Kampala, Uganda (April 1994).
- Mwakenya-UKenya merger (March 1996).
- Calling all Kenyans (September 1996).

Overseas “underground” publications

Here we shall consider briefly a particular manifestation of publishing which arose as a result of the various waves of repression seen in Kenya over the years, but which have become more intense over the last ten years or so. More and more Kenyans are having to flee Kenya for expressing their democratic rights and who subsequently face prison, detention, torture or even death. Kenyan organisations have been established wherever Kenyans have settled. *Africa Events* explains the background and looks at some publications:

Some Kenyan exiles who got involved in human rights campaigns, started organizing themselves as political activists, resulting in such externally-based groups as UKenya, formed in London in 1986, and which in October 1987 joined other groups (in USA, Scandinavian countries, Australia, and some African countries) to form Umoja wa Kupigania Demokrasia Kenya (United Movement for Democracy in Kenya) – Umoja-Kenya. As part of its activities, this movement has produced some seminal documents on Kenya, in particular, *Struggle for Democracy in Kenya: Special Report on 1988 General Elections in Kenya* (1988) and *Moi's Reign of Terror: A Decade of Nyayo Crimes Against the People of Kenya* (1989) ("Roots of revolt," *Africa Events*, 1990, Vol 6 Nos 8/9, p. 28).

- Organisation for Democracy in Kenya (Sweden), The ODK Declaration, May 1986, Stockholm.

Some Umoja/UKenya/Mwakenya publications

Documents, statements, reports

- *Katiba ya Umoja wa Kupigania Demokrasia Kenya, Ukenya*, February 1987.
- *Manifesto of UKenya (Movement for Unity and Democracy in Kenya)*, February 1987.
- *From Kimathi to Mwakenya; Resistance in Kenya Today*, 1987.
- *Kutoka Kimathi hadi Mwakenya; Upinzani Kenya leo*, 1987.
- *Struggle For Democracy in Kenya; Special Report on the 1988 General Elections in Kenya*, June 1, 1988, Background Paper No. 1.
- *Moi's Reign of Terror; A Decade of Nyayo Crimes Against the People of Kenya*, January 1989 (reprinted June 1989), Background Document No. 2.
- *Kenya Exiles Support Mwakenya's Call for a Second Republic*, August 1990.

Periodicals

- *Habari za Umoja; Gazeti la Wanachama wa Umoja*, No.1, 1989.
- *Matukio Duniani*, No. 1, 1990.

Press and other statements issued by

Umoja/UKenya

- Mombasa people champion resistance against Kanu's undemocratic rule. November 25, 1987.
- The truth behind the Moi-Kanu regime's aggression on Uganda. December 22, 1987.

- Statement concerning Margaret Thatcher's endorsement of the repressive and corrupt Moi-Kanu Regime in Kenya. January 21, 1988.
- Umoja rejects the fraudulent general elections of March 21, 1988 in Kenya. April 10, 1988.
- Oppose repressive Constitutional Amendment in Kenya. August 2, 1988.
- Moi; destroyer of Kenya's natural and human environment. March 1, 1989.
- Moi fails in his bid to cover up Nyayo crimes. August 22, 1989.
- Mau Mau Freedom Fighters' Day. October 20, 1989.
- Kenya exiles support the November 16, 1991 pro-democracy rally to be held at Kamukunji, Nairobi. November 13, 1991.
- People's struggle heralds a new age in Kenya. December 12, 1991.
- UKenya's statement at 7th Pan African Congress, Kampala, April 1994.

Unity Conference papers

The following background papers were prepared by delegates attending the Unity Conference of Patriotic, Democratic and Progressive Kenyan Organizations Abroad, October 16-19, 1987, London. The conference was sponsored by Mwakenya and was attended by delegates from seven externally-based Kenyan organizations. The delegates voted to dissolve their individual organizations and all became part of a united movement, Umoja – United Movement for Democracy in Kenya. The former independent organizations became branches of Umoja with a Central Secretariat based in London.

- The heritage of armed struggle: resistance in the Northern Kenya, 1890-1963.
- Kenya Asian participation in Kenya people's resistance against imperialism during the period 1884-1963.
- Pambana: legacy of resistance.
- Resistance in Central and Rift Valley.
- Resistance to imperialism by the people of Nyanza and Western Provinces of Kenya.
- Legacy of resistance in the coast.
- Unity in resistance.
- Women in Kenyan people's resistance to imperialism 1884-1963.

Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya

The Committee was formed in 1982 and has played a leading role in alerting the international community about the true situation in Kenya. Besides publishing *Kenya News*, an irregular newsletter, it has published many important documents. The Committee organized a one-day conference entitled Focus on Human Rights in Kenya on July 2, 1988. It has also issued numerous statements on the abuse of human rights in Kenya.

- Law as a tool of political repression in Kenya. August 1982.
- Repression intensifies in Kenya since the August 1st coup attempt. January 1983, 20 pp.
- Release the political prisoners in Kenya. July 1982 (reprinted March 1983), 12 pp.
- University destroyed; Moi crowns ten years of Government terror in Kenya. May 1983, 16 pp.

Kenya News

An irregular publication of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya. Each issue focuses on an important topic and also carries a well researched up-to-date list of political prisoners in Kenya. The following list gives the main article carried by each issue of *Kenya News*:

- No. 1 (July 1983): “One year later; political prisoners still jailed in Kenya.”
- No. 2 (November 1983): “Democratic image – repressive reality.”
- No. 3 (April 1984): “Stop this massacre.” (The barbaric attack by the Kenyan security forces on defenceless citizens in the North East Province killed more than 1,000 people).
- No. 4 (October 1984): “Drought is a big business.”
- No. 5 (May 1985): “Sunday bloody-Sunday.” (The massacre of students at the University of Nairobi, Sunday, February 10, 1985).
- No. 6 (June 1985): “The Kenyan woman: a decade of oppression.”
- No. 7 (August 1986): “State of emergency; help close Moi’s torture chamber.”
- No. 8 (March 1987): “Torture in Kenya intensifies; there is no giving up, diaries from

a torture chamber; routine methods of extorting information.”

- No. 9 (February 1989): “Moi’s police: licence to kill; ten years of terror.”
- “Free the political prisoners in Kenya” (publicity material). Leeds-Kenya Support Group, a branch of the Committee for the Release Of Political Prisoners in Kenya, Leeds.

Some relevant material

This is by no means a full list of recommended alternative material on Kenya. Taken as a whole, the following material gives the alternative picture of recent Kenyan history and a background to its current situation.

General

- Alak Malak, especially the series: “Biographies of patriotic Asians” (in Gujarati); “Waesia mashujaa - wazalendo wa Kenya” by Nazmi Ramji (Durrani). e.g. Part 3: Introducing Patriotic Kenyan Asians: Journalists, Editors, Publishers, printers (in Gujarati).
- “Countdown to freedom” (cover story); Roots of revolt, *Africa Events* (London), Vol. 6 Nos 8/9, 1990.
- Durrani, S. (1986a) “Pambana – The legacy of resistance in Kenya, 1963-68,” talk given at the Review of African Political Economy Conference, Liverpool, published in *Liberation Struggles in Africa. A Collection of Papers from ROAPE Conference, 1986*.
- Durrani, S. (1991), “Voices of resistance; underground publishing in Kenya after independence, 1963-90,” 29 pp., internal document of UKenya, London.
- Karega, M., “Mwakenya and Kenya’s future,” *New Africa News* (Melbourne, Australia), No. 67, 1988 pp. 7-10.
- Karega, M., “Kenya ripe for revolution,” *New Africa News* (Melbourne, Australia), No. 71, 1988-89, pp. 4-7.
- Mkhathshwa, J., “Kenya: from the Wananchi Declaration to Mwakenya,” *The African Communist*, No. 116, 1989, pp. 65-72.
- “Moi fights off Mwakenya,” *African Concord*, March 1987.
- “Mwakenya will not be registered now – Ngugi,” *The Standard on Sunday* (Nairobi), January 12, 1992, p. 5.

- “Mwakenya’s stand” (interview with Ngugi wa Thiong’o, the Spokesperson for Mwakenya), *Africa Events* (London), Vol. 8 No. 2, February 1992, pp.30-1 (also includes cover story: “Kenya; moment of truth”).
- “Ngugi speaks for Mwakenya,” *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), January 11, 1992, p. 28.

Historical material by some Mau Mau writers

A large amount of progressive material on Mau Mau is now available. The following are listed as examples of the best that is available. They show the advanced ideological and organizational level reached by advanced cadres. The books by Ngugi Kabiro, Mohamed Mathu, and Karigo Muchai are now out of print and the publisher no longer exists. However the London-based Vita Books and the Mau Mau Research Center in the USA are planning to reprint them.

- Durrani, S. (1986), *Kimaathi, Mau Mau’s First Prime Minister of Kenya*, Vita Books, Middlesex, 52 pp.
- Kabiro, N. (1973), *The Man in the Middle; The Story of Ngugi Kabiro*, LSM Information Center, Richmond, BC, Canada.
- Maina wa Kinyatti (1987), *Kimathi Letters*, Heinemann: Zed Books, Nairobi, London.
- Maina wa Kinyatti (1991), *Mau Mau: A Revolution Betrayed*, Mau Mau Research Centre/Vita Books, New York/London.
- Maina wa Kinyatti (1980), *Thunder from the Mountains: Mau Mau Patriotic Songs*, Zed Books, London.
- Makhan, S. (1969), *History of Kenya’s Trade Union Movement to 1952*, East African Publishing House, Nairobi.
- Mathu, M. (1974), *The Urban Guerrilla*, LSM Information Center, Richmond, BC, Canada.
- Muchai, K. (1973), *The Hardcore*, LSM Information Center, Richmond, BC, Canada.

Documenting state terrorism

This section lists some important publications which have documented the reality of state terrorism that is Kenya today. An increasing number of Kenyan publications have begun to record acts of state terrorism. This is supplemented by the very supportive work of various

international human rights organizations. Thus this section counters the official image of Kenya as a peaceful country. It suits the regime and its international backers to pretend so. The reality for the people is quite the opposite, as recorded in the following documents.

Kenyan

Reports

- *The Cursed Arrow: A Report on Organised Violence Against Democracy in Kenya*, National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK), Nairobi, Vol.1, April 1992. The NCCCK contemporary report on the politicized land clashes in Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces. (includes “Chronology of events: October 29, 1991 to 12 April, 1992).
- *Courting Disaster: A Report on the Continuing Terror, Violence and Destruction in the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces of Kenya*, report by National Election Monitoring Unit (NEMU) (Council of Elders), April 29, 1993.
- “Deception, dispersal and abandonment; a narrative account on the displacement of Kenyans from Enoosupukia and Maela based on witness, Church/NGO and media accounts,” a narrative account not for publication prepared for the Ethnic Clashes Network, under the auspices of The Kenya National Council of NGOs, January 16, 1995.
- *Inter Parties Symposium. Task Force. Report on the Clashes*, NCCCK; political parties, except KANU; the International Commission of Jurists (Kenya Section); the Law Society of Kenya; University of Nairobi; the Women’s Lobby Group; the symposium took place in May 1992.
- *No Longer Silent; Silent Evictions in Mau Division, Narok District, Kenya*, The National Council of NGOs in Kenya, July 1995.
- *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and other Parts of Kenya*, Kiliku Report, Nairobi, September 1991.
- *Report on Present Situation in Clashes Affected Areas in Molo and Olenguruone, April to September 1993*, by E.K. Murimi, Executive Secretary, Justice and Peace Commission, Catholic Diocese of Nakuru. Nakuru,

Catholic Diocese of Nakuru (gives names of 1029 families displaced).

- *State of Human Rights in Kenya. A Year of Political Harassment*, Kenya Human Rights Commission, Nairobi, 1993.

Periodicals

- *Sauti ya Kamukunji*, Students Union, University of Nairobi, early 1980s.
- *The Clashes Update; The Bulletin that Keeps You Ever Updated*, National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) – Christian Outreach Rural Development Services (CORDS), PO Box 45009, Nairobi. Tel: 761948; fax: 212230.
- *The Economic Review; An Authoritative Weekly Newsmagazine*, No. 48, “The Killing Fields,” September 1993; PO Box 44271, Nairobi, Kenya. Tel: 219603/4; 219492.
- *Quarterly Repression Report*, Kenya Human Rights Commission, PO Box 55235, Nairobi, Kenya. Tel: 254 2 749233/ 749238; fax: 254 2 749248.

Overseas

Reports

Arrangement is by date of publication.

- *Kenya and “Mwakenya” – More Arrests*, Index on Censorship, Briefing Paper, April 25, 1986.
- *Kenya; Torture, Political Detention and Unfair Trials*, Amnesty International, London, 1987 (update issued in 1988).
- *Kenya: Forcible Return of Somali Refugees; Government Repression of Kenyan Somalis*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1989.
- *Kenya: Harassment of Ethnic Somalis*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1989.
- *Kenya: Suppression of Press Freedom; Banning of Critical Papers and Intolerance of Dissent*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1989.
- *News from Africa Watch*, December 6, 1989.
- *Kenya; Once Again, A Critical Magazine Faces Threat of a Banning Order*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1990.
- *Kenya; Political Crackdown Intensifies*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1990.
- *Kenya; Screening of Ethnic Somalis; The Cruel Consequences of Kenya’s Passbook System*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1990.
- *Kenya; Silencing Opposition to One-party Rule*, Amnesty International, London, 1990.
- *Kenya: Taking Liberties*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1991.
- *Kenya: Briefing for Members of Parliament, Article 19*, London, 1992.
- *Kenya: Recent Threats to Freedom of Expression, Article 19*, London, 1992.
- *Country Report on Human Rights Practices in Kenya 1993*, US State Department, Washington, DC, 1993.
- *Divide and Rule, State-Sponsored Violence in Kenya*, Human Rights Watch Africa, London, 1993.
- *Failing the Democratic Challenge: Freedom of Expression in Multi-Party Kenya*, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center, 1993.
- *Kenya: Divide and Rule, State Sponsored Ethnic Violence*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1993.
- *Kenya: Shooting the Messenger*, Article 19, London, 1993.
- *Report on Kenya*, State Department, 1993, pp. 128-42.
- *From Relief to Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Reconciliation: Developments and Prospects for Internally Displaced Populations in Western and Rift Valley Provinces*, UNDP, September 1994.
- *Kenya: Multipartyism Betrayed in Kenya; Continuing Rural Violence and Restrictions on Freedom of Speech and Assembly*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1994.
- *Kenya; Report for Labour Party*, by Tony Worthington, MP, Westminster Foundation for Democracy, 1994.
- *Kenya: Seeking Refuge, Finding Terror: The Widespread Rape of Somali Women*.
- *Refugees in North Eastern Kenya*, World Watch/Africa, London, 1994.
- *Censorship in Kenya: Government Critics Face the Death Sentence*, Article 19, London, 1995.
- *Displaced Less Visible, Still Suffering; Orchestrated Ethnic Violence in Kenya*, MSF Report on Ethnic Violence in Kenya, Medecins sans Frontieres, Paris, July 18, 1995.
- *Old Habits Die Hard; Rights Abuses Follow Renewed Foreign Aid Commitments*, Human Rights Watch/Africa, Vol. 7 No. 6, July 1995.
- *Playing the Communal Card; Communal Violence and Human Rights*, Human Rights Watch Africa, London, April 1995.
- *Women in Kenya; Repression and Resistance*, Amnesty International, London, 1995.

Periodicals

- *Pambana; Kenyan News and Social Justice Journal*, published by Asian Development Foundation, 130 Little Collins Street, Melbourne 3000, Australia (editors: Ndungi wa Mungai and Richard F. Wootton).

Conclusion

This brief survey shows that much work needs to be done in documenting and making available relevant material on the real situation in countries such as Kenya. African countries are facing increasing marginalization in all fields as a result of the new scramble for their resources in the 1990s. This is particularly evident in the field of information where the development of new technologies is used not to develop Africa's resources, but to further impoverish its people.

Yet the situation is not hopeless. The present survey shows that there is a vibrant underground working class movement which has the ideas and theories to solve their problems. Progressive people are risking their lives to ensure free flow of information. In the long run, they will find their own solution to the information – and other – problems they face.

In this context, what role can progressive people around the world, especially in the information field, play? The first demand of the people in Africa is to be left alone by the Western countries to find their own solutions. Progressive people everywhere can demand this

from their governments. In addition, support for the information activities of the underground and people's movements would obviously be helpful. Very little, if any, such support is forthcoming.

Documenting, collecting and making available alternative material would play an important role in supporting the information struggle of the African people. Collecting only the output from African government sources and from African-based multinational publishers will merely help to reinforce the message of the ruling classes. It is the alternative literature which will redress the information balance, and in the long run help to reinterpret African history from the people's point of view. It is only from this that real progress and development can follow. The availability of such material in British and American universities and public libraries can help to change people's attitudes.

It is hoped that by making alternative material widely available, libraries in Kenya as well as around the world will enable a better understanding of the struggle waged by the people of Kenya. The real proof of freedom of information is whether libraries dare collect and disseminate this alternative material.

The lesson for library and information workers is that they need to make a conscious effort to collect and make available such alternative material. Without this effort, they are failing in their professional duty. It remains to be seen if the profession is ready for this challenge.