

# The ORANGE

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## NEWSLETTER OF THE ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT PARTY OF KENYA



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### Crisis in University Education

Most of our public universities are literally on their death beds. It is necessary to explore the roots of the crisis so as to find a way out of the crisis. University education is central to the achievement of Kenya Vision 2030 which seeks to create " a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030". Universities, produce the intellectual manpower that produce cutting-edge research and innovative ideas and products that contribute directly to economic development of the country. Universities are largely responsible for the research, development and innovation which is the motive force driving transformation and industrialisation of the society >> **Pg2**



### ODM NEWS

Kenya's Candidate for the Chairmanship of the African Union Commission (AUC) Mr. Raila Odinga landed in Cotonou, Benin on Thursday last week to start a whirlwind campaign tour of the West African region. In Benin, he held discussions with the country's Foreign Minister Mr. Olushegun Adjadi Bakari who represented President Patrice Talon who was out of the country on official visit overseas. The Minister pledged his country's support for Mr. Odinga's bid saying he (Raila) has a strong vision that can help transform the continent. >> **Pg 9**

# Crisis in University Education



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## Universities and National Development

University education is central to the achievement of Kenya Vision 2030 which seeks to create " a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030".

Universities, produce the intellectual manpower that produce cutting-edge research and innovative ideas and products that contribute directly to economic development of the country. Universities are largely responsible for the research, development and innovation which is the motive force driving transformation and industrialisation of the society.

Universities also produce the educated labor force, required for enhancing productivity and economic competitiveness of a country.

Universities therefore contribute directly to economic growth and development. This makes

universities essential resources for a nation's development.

However presently Kenya's university education sector is in a crisis that threatens to unravel the benefits of recent rapid expansion of the sector. This is a major threat to the pursuit of the objectives of Kenya Vision 2030.

## Evolution of University Education in Kenya.

University education in colonial and immediate postcolonial period in Kenya was limited to produce an elite to replace the departing colonial civil service. The rapid expansion of university education in Kenya can therefore be traced back to efforts by President Moi.

President Moi launched the reform agenda that was meant to enhance access to university education in the country. This saw a dramatic rise in university enrolment from around 7,000 students to 60,000 students between 1978 and 2002.

President Kibaki accelerated this growth from 60,000 in 2003 to 326,000 by 2013. Under Kibaki the number of universities rose tremendously. Today the country boasts of 43 public university and

36 private university with a total enrolment of 650,000 students. This expansion is in line with the aspirations of Kenya Vision 2030.

The public university education sector is presently bedevilled by numerous challenges that are manifested in frequent staff and students unrest and strikes. The crisis is associated with inadequate financing, poor governance and political meddling in the management of university affairs and interference with academic freedom of universities.

## The Funding Crisis in Public Universities

Perhaps the most significant source of the crisis unravelling the public university sector is inadequate funding from government which promises to fund university education but never lives up to the commitment in practice. This ambivalence has to do with the conditionalities imposed on the management of public finances by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Kenya's higher education financing history can be divided into two phases: a free and low-key



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loan scheme from 1963-1983 and a loan scheme and pay-as-you-go financing from 1984 to the present. The second phase coincides with the imposition of the structural adjustments programmes (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the early 1980s.

## Foreign Meddling

The ambivalence of the government policy on the financing of public universities is largely attributable foreign Meddling and to dependence on foreign funding



from the World Bank, the IMF and numerous foreign governments who impose preconditions requiring Kenya to adjust its policies to conform to their neoliberal ideology and agenda.

These SAPs occurred in Kenya against a background of the country's declining economic performance, which increased poverty levels. The SAPs further contributed to economic recession resulting in the Government reducing per capita expenditure on education among other social services. The result was the imposition of cost sharing at all levels of education in Kenya.

The cost sharing policy adversely affected many aspects of education including insufficient provision of learning resources and deterioration in the quality of educational provision.

Before the imposition of the SAPs the state subsidized university education and consequently all students were capable of meeting their needs from the state funds. However cost sharing has made the cost of education unaffordable to students from poor backgrounds.

The increasing economic difficulties associated with the cost sharing has meant that financing of education has become more costly as cost-sharing and direct upfront payments have shifted costs onto students.

This has negatively impacted equitable access to learners from all backgrounds as well as the

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quality of university education among other challenges. Consequently higher education in Kenya is increasingly unequal in spite of the presence of financial assistance through Higher Education Loans Board (HELBB), and the launched learner-based financing model.

Studies have shown a disparity ratio of 49 indicating that individuals from the highest income group are 49 times more likely to pursue higher education than those from the lowest income group. This inequality is not solely a result of higher education, but can be traced back to primary and secondary education where students from poorer backgrounds tend to have less academic success compared to those from wealthier families, as stated in the World Bank report of 2019.

However, the process of applying for scholarships and loans remains complex, and there have been



delays in disbursement, leaving students in financial limbo. Some have been forced to drop out because they cannot meet their portion of tuition fees." Unfortunately if this trend is not reversed access to university education is going to be a preserve of the rich and privileged in the country.

**The Quality Crisis**

The quality of education has also become a significant concern. Overworked lecturers, insufficient learning materials and dilapidated infrastructure mean that students in many public universities do not receive the level of education that is expected. This is particularly concerning as the country aims to improve its global competitiveness in higher education. Amid the turmoil, the

response from university leadership has been notably timid. While some vice-chancellors have thrown their weight behind the new funding model, others Kenyans have expressed grave reservations about its implementation.

**Political Meddling and Academic Freedom and Quality**

It appears that most university managers owe their allegiance to the vested interests in the political establishment rather than to the pursuit of excellence and quality in university teaching and research. The manner in which university management is selected must be re-examined and changed to restore the academic freedom of universities.



Academic freedom: is the freedom of teachers, students, and academic institutions to pursue knowledge wherever it may lead, without undue or unreasonable interference. As defined by T. B. Davie academic freedom entails “the right determine who shall be taught, who shall teach, what shall be taught, and how it should be taught, without any regard to any criterion except academic merit”. The ability of universities to be centres of academic excellence, research and innovation is heavily dependent on the proper funding of universities and allowing them to pursue the national mission and their mission without the kind of meddling that is leading to the death of some of our leading universities.

scholarships, loans, and student household contributions.

The model launched by President William Ruto on May 3, 2023, is already encountering severe funding hurdles leading to over 70,000 out of 122, 000 potential beneficiaries missing out on the funding in the 2024/2025 university admissions. The crisis is intensifying inequalities in Kenya.

**We Must Restore The Constitutional Promise**

Even though Article 43 of the CoK 2010 guarantees education to all recent studies have shown that household financing of education cost is above 37% of the total national expenditure on education. This threatens equity and inclusivity in national development since the poor are being marginalised and lbeing eft behind.

The trend also threatens the achievement of the Vision 2030 aspirations which seeks to create a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030 and aims to transform Kenya into a newly-industrialising, middle-income country providing a high

**The Learner-based Funding Model:**

The new higher education funding model called the Variable Scholarship and Loan Funding (VSLF) offers financial assistance to students pursuing higher education in universities and Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) institutions. The support is provided through government

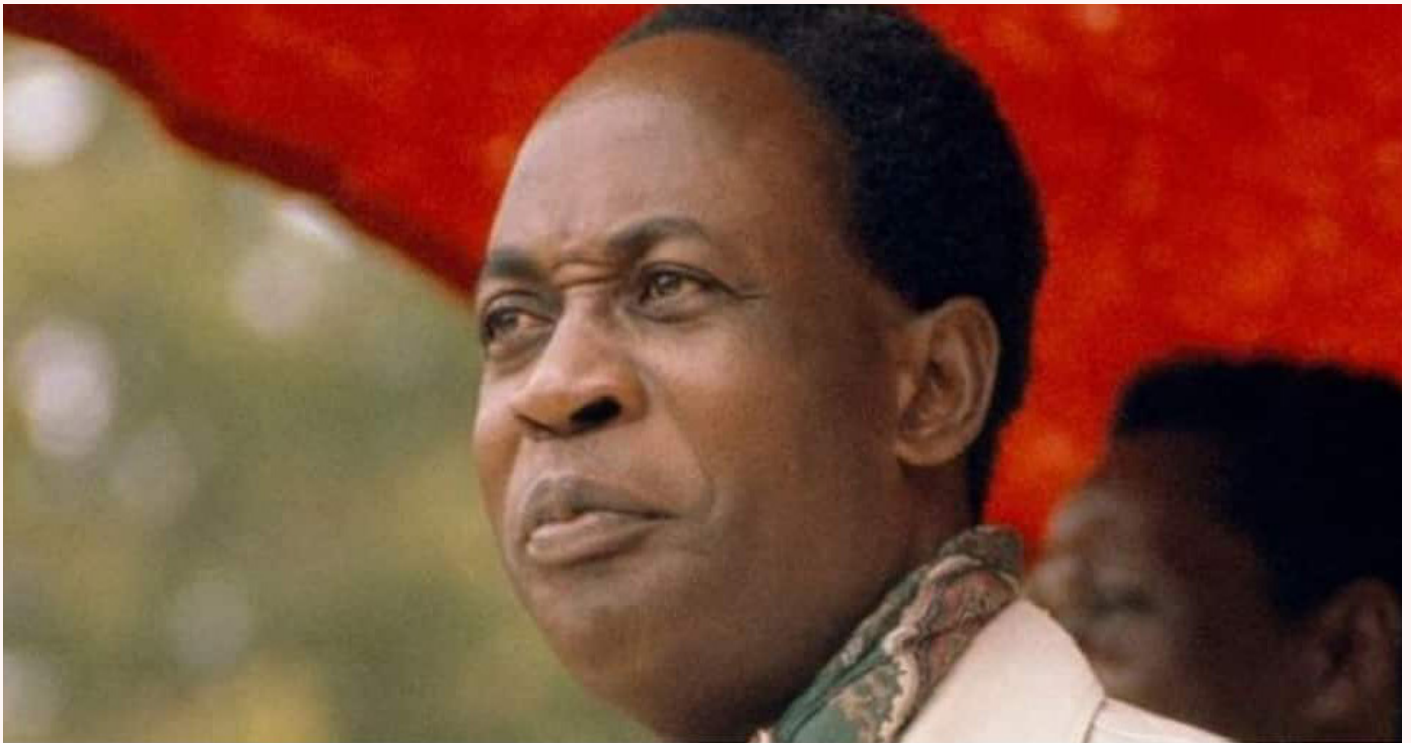


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quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment”.

There is urgent need therefore to tackle the crisis of university education in the country. We must review the financing and management of our public universities so that they may effectively achieve the mission of generating the knowledge, skills and knowledge and manpower to lead and execute the transformation of Kenya in an industrialising economy.

# Ghana: A Betrayal Of Nkrumah's Vision



According to the latest report of the Economist Intelligence Unit, Ghana's economy is on the verge of collapse. The report says that 31 out every 100 Ghanaians live in poverty. This is sad for the land of the Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah.

Ghana is among many African countries that have adopted SAP more out of compulsion in the form of threat for a cut off of external funds required to service the mounting debts. The accelerating indebtedness in Africa has been a function of its colonial legacy of externally subservient production structure, entrenched deficit in financial surplus, post-independence top-down enforcement of import substitution industrialization, reversal of democratizing trend through authoritarian and military usurpation of political power and economic privileges. With the end of cold war, globally perceived inevitability of the capitalist economic model has ensured introduction of an export led growth program, called SAP, in Africa

Ghana was the first country in Africa to attain independence from British colonialism in 1957 under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. Having led the struggle for true

independence and African unity, many believe that if Nkrumah and his ideological comrades like Modibo Keita, Amilcar Cabral and Julius Nyerere were not sabotaged, overthrown or assassinated by external forces, Africa would have taken a different economic and political trajectory.

Nkrumah defined his belief system as "the ideology of a New Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of one and united Africa, drawing its strength from

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***Nkrumah, on one hand, was determined to show the world that Africans could govern themselves and achieve more for their people than the colonial rulers had. He was eager to make Ghana a shining example to inspire independence movements across the continent.***

modern science and technology and from the traditional African beliefs. His administration was primarily socialist and nationalist. It funded national industrial and energy projects, developed a strong national education system and promoted a pan-Africanist culture. Under Nkrumah, Ghana played a leading role in African international relations during the decolonization period.

Nkrumah, on one hand, was determined to show the world that Africans could govern themselves and achieve more for their people than the colonial rulers had. He was eager to make Ghana a shining example to inspire independence movements across the continent. The retreating colonial powers and their allies in the West, on the other hand, did not wish to see the upsetting of the global division of labour that they had established as their former "possessions" attained independence one after the other.

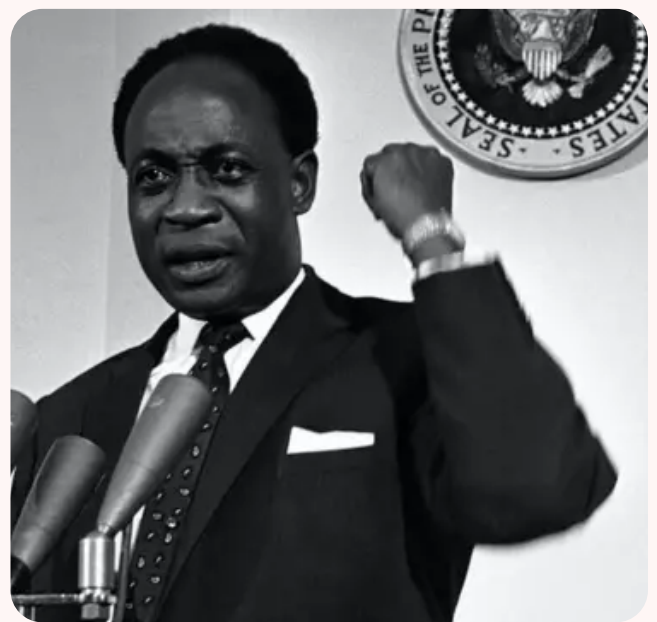
In order to stop him from sowing seeds of economic independence not only in Ghana, but in Africa as a whole, Nkrumah had to give way. With the support of Western intelligence, there was an assassination attempt on Nkrumah in 1962. Between 1962 and 1966, there were at least two

other attempts on the life of the Ghanaian president.

On February 24th, 1966 the government of Nkrumah was overthrown by the police and armed forces headed by Major General Joseph Arthur Ankrah, who was later forced to resign in 1969 for engaging in bribery. In April 1969 Brigadier General Akwasi Amankwa Afrifa became Head of state following the removal of Ankrah. Afrifa was subsequently toppled in 1970. For the next nine years, Ghana was ruled by Edward Akufo-Addo (1970 – 1972), Col. Ignatius Acheampong (1972 – 1978), and Lt. Gen. Fred Kwasi Aluffo (1978 – 1979)

Over this period, Nkrumah's policies came under severe attacks and reversals. Industrialisation dream was abandoned, infrastructure projects became only corruption avenues and social programmes like education, health and water collapsed.

In 1979, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings seized power before handing it over to democratically elected leadership of Hilla Liman the following year. Liman proved to be as corrupt as – if not more than – the generals. This ostensibly led to Rawlings' comeback.



Discontent with the new administration's economic mismanagement, Rawlings staged a second coup in 1981, citing Ghana's spiraling debt, hyperinflation, and growing unrest. His leadership marked a period of intense restructuring, often controversial for its harsh measures.

When Rawlings returned to power, positioning himself as a champion of the people with slogans like "Always for People. Always for Development." Determined to reshape Ghana's trajectory, he targeted "hoarders" and profiteers, labeling market women and corrupt officials as "kalabule" — perpetrators of black-market profiteering. This campaign often devolved into public punishments, reflecting Rawlings' harsh approach to Ghana's economic struggles.

Initially adopting nationalist and socialist policies, Rawlings introduced

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*In 1951 Babu went to Britain to study Philosophy and English Literature and was drawn first to Anarchism and then to Marxism.*

workers' councils, centralized economic management, and aligned with the Soviet Union. His "one man, one house" policy led to widespread confiscation of property by soldiers. However, as the Soviet bloc crumbled in the late 1980s, Rawlings shifted toward free-market capitalism, seeking support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He implemented austerity measures and oversaw Ghana's transition to a

multi-party democracy.

Ghana faced a severe macroeconomic crisis in the early 1980s, prompting the government to adopt Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) to stabilize the economy. During this period, the economic and social infrastructure was near collapse, most transactions occurred in parallel markets, and the country experienced a significant loss of human capital. A series of external shocks, including rising oil prices, severe drought, and the forced repatriation of one million Ghanaian workers from Nigeria, exacerbated the crisis. In response, the government turned to the World Bank and IMF for support, resulting in the implementation of the Economic Recovery Program (ERP).

By the late 1990s, Ghana faced further challenges due to unfavorable external economic conditions, such as declining export prices and rising oil costs. This period was marked by high macroeconomic instability, unsustainable levels of external and internal debt, and widespread poverty. The SAPs, while stabilizing the economy to some extent, failed to catalyze sustained development. The economy remained heavily reliant on cocoa, timber, and minerals, all of which were subject to volatile international prices. For instance, the price of cocoa declined

during the SAP period, partly due to increased production and currency devaluations across multiple adjusting countries. These dynamics deepened Ghana's structural vulnerabilities, as earnings from commodity production steadily declined.

The government responded to the revenue crisis by increasing export commodity production, often at the expense of domestic food production. This strategy created additional challenges for the local food market, raising concerns about whether farmers should prioritize crops for domestic consumption instead. Meanwhile, Ghana's debts continued to mount. By 1998, external public debt reached 76% of GDP, and the balance of payments deficit stood at \$806 million. The reliance on underpriced export commodities and insufficient domestic production further entrenched economic challenges and perpetuated the cycle of indebtedness.

The structural adjustment programs (SAPs) implemented under Jerry Rawlings' leadership from 1983 marked a transformative period in Ghana's economic history. As a military ruler, Rawlings leveraged his regime's authoritarian framework to enforce sweeping reforms with relative ease. This approach minimized resistance, although it came at the cost of democratic freedoms and



heightened social tensions.

Initially, Rawlings, presenting himself as an ideological reincarnation of Nkrumah, was opposed to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) but was compelled to adopt its prescriptions due to Ghana's dire economic state. Recognizing that external funding was essential to revitalize the collapsing economy, Rawlings' regime embraced austerity measures. These policies, however, brought significant hardships to Ghanaians. The authoritarian nature of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) enabled Rawlings to implement reforms that might have faced insurmountable resistance under a civilian administration. His government frequently cited economic mismanagement and corruption as justifications for its actions, framing its policies as necessary steps to restore stability.

The PNDC's methods of enforcing SAPs were characterized by coercion and suppression. Protests from students and urban residents—groups disproportionately affected by rising prices and job cuts—were met with threats and, in some cases, outright repression. Fear became a critical tool in stifling dissent.



***The Zanzibar Revolution took on 12 January 1964. Sultan Jamshid bin Abdullah was deposed during the Zanzibar Revolution. The Sultan fled into exile, and the Sultanate was replaced by the People's Republic of Zanzibar, a socialist government led by the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP).***

The government's readiness to use force deterred organized opposition, with widespread belief that dissent would result in severe consequences.

Labor unions, traditionally a powerful force in Ghana's political landscape, were systematically weakened. The PNDC replaced union leaders with more compliant figures and dissolved opposition within the Trade Union Congress (TUC). This ensured that workers' grievances were contained and channeled in ways that posed minimal risk to the regime. Even as economic



hardships intensified, labor protests were fragmented and lacked robust leadership. Instances of defiance, such as the workers' takeover of the Ghana Textile Products Company in 1982, were swiftly addressed through government intervention, often accompanied by violence or strategic co-option.

The PNDC also sought to align workers with its agenda through initiatives like the Workers' Defence Committees (WDCs), which challenged traditional union structures. These committees

helped suppress dissent while maintaining the appearance of worker involvement. Despite their initial influence, the WDCs could not entirely suppress labor dissatisfaction. By the mid-1980s, new TUC leadership emerged and began voicing stronger criticism of the government's policies, though this opposition remained constrained by fear of further repression.

Rawlings' authoritarian approach facilitated the implementation of SAPs but left a legacy of weakened labor institutions and



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persistent economic inequities. His government’s reliance on force and intimidation alienated many Ghanaians, even as it achieved some economic stabilization. Over time, the regime’s coercive strategies eroded the organizational

capacity of labor unions, limiting their ability to challenge or propose alternatives to the government’s reforms. Consequently, while the PNDC succeeded in enforcing structural adjustments, it did so by undermining democratic principles and entrenching fear across Ghanaian society.

Notably, Rawlings transitioned from a military ruler to a democratically elected president, winning elections in 1992 and 1996. His tenure was marked by economic reforms, political stability, and efforts to curb corruption. Despite controversies, Rawlings remains a polarizing but pivotal figure in Ghanaian history. He passed away on 12 November 2020 in Accra, leaving behind a complex legacy as a soldier, revolutionary, and statesman.

It can be concluded that Nkrumah erred in his anticipation that “flag” independence would mark the end of imperialism, and that neo-colonialism was its final stage. An alternative understanding would have prepared him for the possibilities of imperialism adjusting its methods, shifting the location of its centre, but continuing in its essential form as a method of unequal exchange or naked extraction as a core feature of

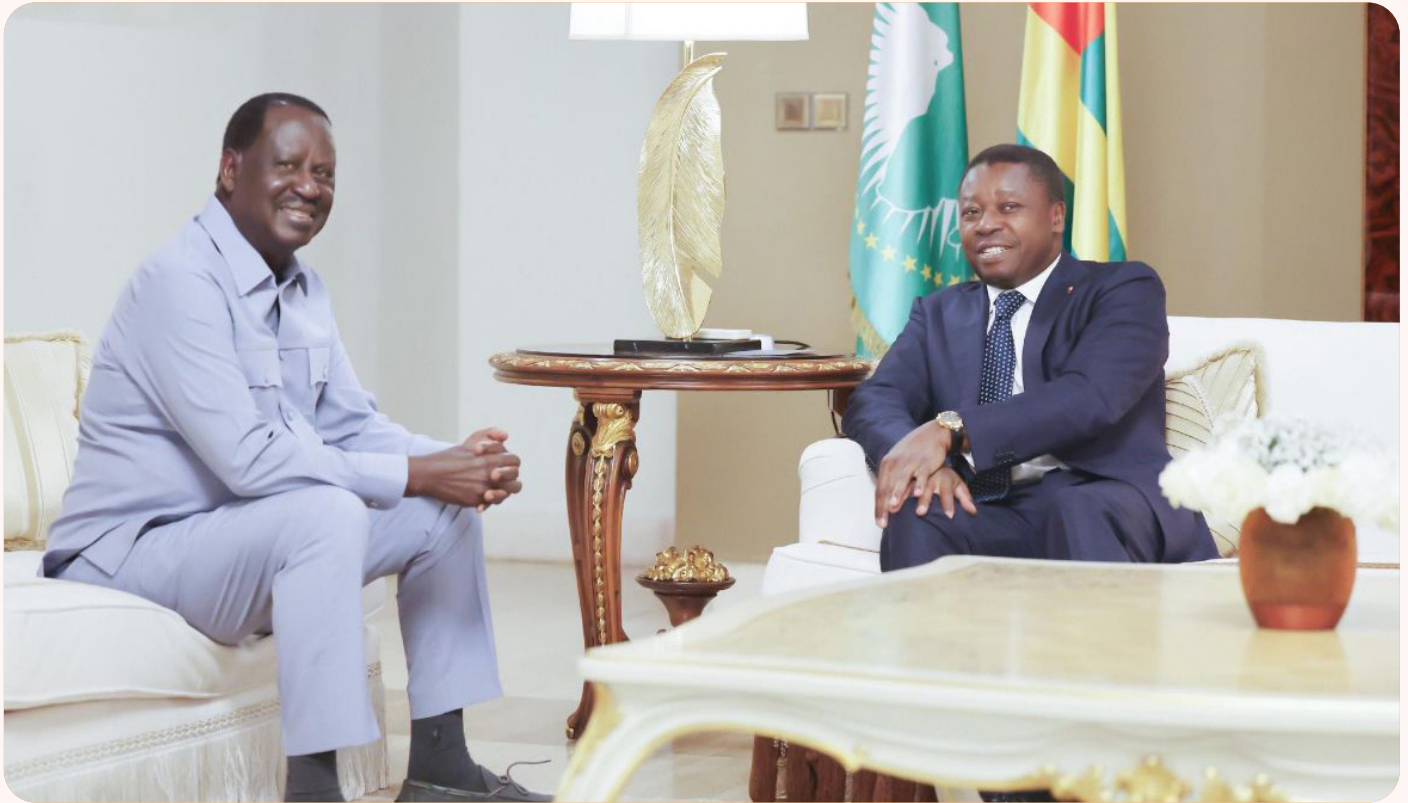
capitalism. This would not preclude the necessity of understanding the specific features of imperialism in his lifetime, but would have allowed for a greater sense of realism in the possibilities of transformation, in the fashioning of his concrete responses.

Where would Ghana be if Nkrumah’s trajectory was allowed to continue?





# Raila Steps up AUC Campaign in West Africa



Kenya's Candidate for the Chairmanship of the African Union Commission (AUC) Mr. Raila Odinga landed in Cotonou, Benin on Thursday last week to start a whirlwind campaign tour of the West African region.

In Benin, he held discussions with the country's Foreign Minister Mr. Olushegun Adjadi Bakari who represented President Patrice Talon who was out of the country on official visit overseas. The Minister pledged his country's support for Mr. Odinga's bid saying he (Raila) has a strong vision that can help transform the continent.

Mr. Odinga later flew to Lome, the capital city of Togo where he held discussions with President Faure Gnassingbe. On his X handle, Mr. Odinga said he had fruitful discussions with President Gnassingbe on his vision to make Africa great and better.

On Sunday, Mr. Odinga jetted in Accra, Ghana where he was hosted by his old friend President Nana Akufo-Addo at the Presidential palace. "It was a pleasure

discussing my AUC chairmanship bid and issues affecting the continent with President Nana Akufo-Addo. I commend Ghana for its leading role as a progressive voice in African affairs", Mr. Odinga posted on his X handle.

On Monday, the Candidate flew to Dakar, Senegal, where he was hosted by President Bassirou Diomaye-Faye at the Presidential palace. On his X handle after the meeting, Mr. Odinga posted, "Thank you, H.E. President Diomaye-Faye, for the warm reception in Dakar. It was an honour to discuss my vision for the continent. I was delighted to hear your ideas on how to build a united, peaceful, and prosperous Africa."

He later posted a photo of himself standing in front of a historical monument in Dakar and said, "I paid homage at the African Renaissance Monument in Dakar. This prodigious structure signifies not only the cultural heritage of Africa but also the hope and resilience of its people. As I stood in its shadow, I reflected on the journey we have walked."



He went on to state "Acknowledging that this is Africa's century, and the monument being a constant reminder of that, I was inspired by the idea that it is a time for renewal and growth; a time to take collective steps as a people towards the Africa We Want".

On Tuesday, flew to Abuja, Nigeria where he had fruitful discussions with the leadership of the country.

Mr. Odinga is seeking to replace

Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat of Chad, whose tenure comes to an end in February next year. Others in the race are Djibouti's Foreign Minister Mahmoud Ali Youssef, former Foreign Minister of Mauritius Anil Kumausingh Gayan, and former Foreign Minister of Madagascar Richard James Randriamandrato.

The election for the new Chairperson of the AUC will be held in February 2025.

# ODM Holds Party Elections



Party members on Wednesday 17th November held grassroots elections across the country to elect officials at the Polling Unit level.

The exercise which was conducted by the National Elections Coordinating Committee (NECC), was held in all the polling units in the 47 counties.

Presiding Officers at the polling units opened the exercise at

10:00am and briefed members on the two modes of election to use. The first one was by way of consensus whereby members and candidates had to sit down and agree on the structure of leadership at that level.

The other model was by voting by show of hands where by a candidate's name would be read and those in support wave their hands in affirmation.

In a statement released by the National Elections Coordinating Committee (NECC) Wednesday evening, the committee's Secretary, Mr. Richard Tairo, said the exercise went smoothly in 95 percent of the polling units where members chose to vote by consensus or show of hands.

"The exercise went smoothly and uninterrupted in most polling units save for isolated places where some individuals are accused of interference," said Mr. Tairo in the statement.

He said the NECC had launched investigations in areas where violence was reported and said action will be taken against the perpetrators.

"The NECC and the National Secretariat of the party have been working round the clock to handle any emerging issues and complaints reported prior to the exercise to ensure smooth running of the elections" he said.

NECC Member Sen. Hamida Kibwana thanked election officials



across the country and the County Elections Coordinators in all 47 counties for working tirelessly to ensure the exercise's success. "They have worked so diligently. There was no bias on their side and we acknowledge the good work they have done", she said.

The NECC urged any candidate feeling aggrieved with the outcome of the results in their respective areas to file a formal complaint and that they will be accorded a fair hearing.

# Osotsi to Host Thousands on his Thanksgiving Day

Deputy Party Leader Mr. Godfrey Osotsi is this Sunday, 1st December 2024 expected to host thousands of wananchi from the entire Western Kenya region and beyond for his Thanksgiving event to be held at the Chavakali Boys High School grounds.

The event which will be graced by the ODM leader Mr. Raila Odinga is expected to attract attendance from party members, supporters and the general public from all the counties of Western Kenya and beyond.

Speaking to the Orange Newsletter, Mr. Osotsi, who is also the Senator of Vihiga County said he expects over fifteen

thousand people to attend the ceremony.

"It is going to be massive. It will be big. We have put in place mechanisms to ensure it will be held in a peaceful atmosphere and wananchi will have an opportunity to listen to their leaders", he said.

He said he had invited regional Governors, Members of Parliament from both Senate and National Assembly, Members of County Assemblies, Religious leaders, Opinion leaders from the entire Western Kenya region and Trade Unionists.

Also expected to attend the event is a Minister from South Sudan.

