

FORM THREE

**HISTORY AND
GOVERNMENT**

TEACHER'S NOTES.

COURSE OUTLINE

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CHAPTER 1

EUROPEAN INVASION & COLONIZATION OF AFRICA

Name the countries whose citizens/nationals interacted with Africans.

For centuries, foreigners from the following European countries interacted with Africans:

- Portugal,
- Britain,
- France,
- Belgium,
- Germany,
- Holland,
- Italy.

However, actual European interest in Africa began in the 1st century AD.

Explain the factors that led to European expansion into Africa. (Explain the reasons for European expansion into Africa.)

- Exploration. Explorers like Vasco Da Gama, David Livingstone, John Speke, Johannes Rebmann, James Grant, Samuel Baker, HM Stanley and Mungo Park wanted to gain geographical knowledge about Africa. They revealed Africa's magnificent features, organized kingdoms and her vast resources to the world.
- Trade. The Europeans wanted to have a share in Africa's trade in gold, iron, slaves and other items and wished to directly derive taxable revenue from commerce in Africa.
- Religion. The Europeans wanted to Christianize the nonchristian Africans and to ally themselves with Prester John: a legendary Christian King of Africa, who, they hoped, would help them against the Muslims of North Africa. Besides, from the 16th to 19th century, Europe experienced the age of Religious revival, during which many missionary societies and groups were formed with the aim of spreading Christianity within and outside Europe. Such groups and societies included the London Missionary Society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the United Methodist Mission, the White Fathers and the Holy Ghost Fathers, the Church Missionary Society, Africa Inland Mission, Etc.
- The desire to "civilize" Africa by spreading Western education and culture. They wanted to stamp out slave trade and replace it with legitimate trade.
- Improvement in ship building, particularly by the Portuguese, who led by multiplying the number of masts in their Caravel ships.
- Improvement in navigation by use of charts and a sophisticated compass marked with thirty points, with which navigators could locate harbours along the coastline and note the direction of winds and currents.
- Major advances in naval warfare. With guns and Cannons of superior quality, the Europeans could conquer whoever they came across.

- The Industrial and Scientific Revolutions in Europe in the 18th century, which placed Europe on the forefront in technological development apart from increasing her need for raw materials, most of which could be found in Africa and other overseas regions.
- Adventure. Some Europeans travelled overseas for sheer joy to be the first to find and conquer new lands as others were curious to see strange lands and their people.
- Imperialism. In late 19th century, merchants and other citizens of European nations urged and pressed their governments to acquire overseas colonies for national prestige. A spirit of national pride had gripped the entire Europe.

As a result of interaction between European traders and communities along the eastern, western and southern coast of Africa, trade routes and trading centres developed, which opened up the African continent to the Greeks, Romans, Portuguese, British, French, Dutch, Spaniards and Germans. These Europeans invaded and colonized the African continent through what came to be dubbed as the Scramble For and Partition of Africa, threatening to destroy Africa's political and other structures.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR & PARTITION OF AFRICA

Define the following terms:

- ❖ Scramble.
- ❖ Partition.
- ❖ Scramble for Africa.
- ❖ Partition of Africa.

To scramble means to rush for, compete or struggle with others in order to get or do something.

To partition is to divide something among people or to apportion something among contenders or competitors.

The Scramble for Africa refers to the rush and struggle for different parts of Africa by European powers.

The Partition of Africa refers to the dividing up or the sharing of Africa among European nations.

Discuss the European scramble for Africa. (Explain how European nations scrambled for Africa.)

- ❖ By the last quarter of the 19th century, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal were in Africa, competing for colonies to boost their social, economic and political standing.
- ❖ During the Scramble for and Partition of Africa, the Europeans used both persuasion and force to acquire as many colonies as possible for themselves. Africans who collaborated were offered a reward while those who resisted were punished.
- ❖ At times, the Europeans risked fighting among themselves over colonies in Africa. The Europeans were scheming to exploit the economic resources that lay untapped in the continent.
- ❖ Anxious for a peaceful division of Africa, Otto Von Bismarck (the German Chancellor) convened the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885. European powers

discussed and divided Africa among themselves around a table overseas without involving the Africans themselves.

- ❖ African reaction to European invasion varied. Most communities resisted while only a few collaborated with the Europeans. In spite of their resistance, most African societies except Liberia and Ethiopia had been colonized by 1914.
- ❖ By 1915, many traditional kingdoms and chiefdoms in Africa had changed beyond recognition while others vanished almost without a trace.

Describe the methods used by the Europeans to acquire colonies in Africa.

- ❖ Signing treaties. Europeans signed treaties among themselves and with the local leaders in the areas they occupied.
- ❖ Military conquest. Communities that resisted European domination such as the Asante, Nandi, Ndebele and Mandinka were subdued through military expeditions, with devastating consequences.
- ❖ A blend of diplomacy and force. Europeans would sometimes use a combination of treaties and force. For instance, the British signed the Moffat, Rudd and other treaties with the Ndebele, who they however fought in the 1893 and 1896-1897 Ndebele and Chimurenga wars.
- ❖ Treachery. Under this method, Africans were tricked and lured with gifts through explorers, missionaries and traders, who were on friendly terms with but did not disclose European intentions to the Africans. For instance, the Italians signed a treaty of friendship with Menelik II, but they published an Italian version stating that Menelik had put Ethiopia under Italian protection.
- ❖ Company rule. Chartered companies were used in governing colonies on behalf of their mother countries. They helped set up administrative posts in African territories, which were later recognized as Spheres Of Influence by their parent countries.

Identify:

- ❖ The treaties signed among Europeans during the scramble for and partition of Africa.
- ❖ The treaties signed between the Europeans and LOCAL African LEADERS during the Scramble for and partition of Africa.

TREATIES SIGNED AMONG Europeans

- The Anglo-German agreements of 1886 and 1897.
- Agreements which Britain signed with Portugal and France in 1890, which allowed France to take Madagascar as Mozambique and Angola came under Portugal.
- The Anglo-Italian agreement of 1891, which brought Eritrea and the Somali coast into Italian hands.

TREATIES SIGNED BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS AND LOCAL AFRICAN LEADERS

- The 1904 and 1911 agreements between the Maasai and the British.
- The 1900 agreement between Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and the British.
- The 1884 treaties between George Goldie of the United Africa (Royal Niger) company with African leaders, which brought the Niger delta, Yoruba land and the Gambia under British control.

- The 1890 Lochner treaty between the British and King Lewanika of the Lozi, through which Zambia was acquired.
- The 1884 treaties between Harry Johnston and the chiefs in the Mount Kilimanjaro and Witu areas to facilitate British trade.
- Treaties signed between Karl Peters and the chiefs of Uzibua, Ukami, Usagara and Ungulu in the Mount Kilimanjaro region, placing them under German protection.

(b) Identify the areas in Africa which were occupied through military force by the Europeans.

- Egypt, Sudan, Malawi and Mashonaland and Matebele in Zimbabwe, whose communities were ruthlessly suppressed by the British.
- Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, where Portuguese rule was forcefully established.
- Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, which came under French military attacks and control.
- Eritrea, which was occupied by the Italians, who unsuccessfully ventured into Ethiopia.

1.(a) Explain why Company rule was initially used by European powers in administering colonies in Africa.

- The colonial powers lacked adequate manpower.
- Insufficient funds to meet the cost of administration.
- The companies were already working in their respective areas, making them suitable to utilize.
- They helped set up administrative posts in African territories.

Name the chartered companies that were used by the European powers to govern colonies in Africa.

- ❖ The Imperial British East Africa Company,
- ❖ The German East Africa Company,
- ❖ The Royal Niger company,
- ❖ The British South Africa Company.

Explain why Company rule did not last long in Africa. (Explain the factors that undermined Company rule in Africa. Or:

Explain the limitations/weaknesses of Company rule in Africa.)

- ❖ companies ran bankrupt.
- ❖ Systems of transport were poor.
- ❖ There were inadequate personnel.
- ❖ The locals resisted foreign rule.

Collapse of Company rule compelled their home governments to take over the administration of the colonies. The Europeans used either single method or a combination of methods in different regions.

Explain the factors that led to scramble for colonies in Africa. (Explain why European powers scrambled for colonies in Africa.)

European powers scrambled for and partitioned Africa among themselves for various reasons, which include the following:

- ❖ The Industrial Revolution in Europe, which increased the need for raw materials like cotton and palm oil, which could be obtained from the colonies.

- ❖ Colonies provided market for manufactured goods from European industries.
- ❖ Increased/surplus capital, which the Europeans wanted to invest in the colonies.
- ❖ Speculation that Africa was rich in minerals like gold and copper.
- ❖ Unification of Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. Germany became powerful under Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck as France lost her two mineral-rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. France turned her attention to Africa for colonies to compensate for her loss. Germany, not wishing to be left behind, was also out to acquire colonies.
- ❖ National prestige. Germany and Italy joined the race for colonies because of national glory and pride.
- ❖ European military officers encouraged their governments to participate in colonial expansion to give them an opportunity to be recognized and promoted.
- ❖ Public opinion in Europe favoured acquisition of colonies. For example, De Brazza signed a treaty with chief Makoko due to public opinion in France, creating a French colony: Congo.
- ❖ The Egyptian question. Egypt was of strategic importance to the Europeans because of the Suez Canal, built by the British and French, which shortened the route to British colonies in India and the Far East.
- ❖ French activities in West Africa and the Congo alarmed other powers, who joined the race for colonies.
- ❖ King Leopold ii) of Belgium, in 1879, sent Henry Morton Stanley to explore the River Congo and, through such activities, Stanley created the Congo Free State, which had become Leopold's empire by 1884. Leopold's activities alarmed the Portuguese, who claimed River Congo and the French turned their attention to west Africa. Germany and Britain made similar claims for colonies in the region.
- ❖ Missionaries came to spread Christianity, western education and culture and invited their mother-governments to occupy their areas to protect them.
- ❖ Influential people in Europe such as Karl Peters, Harry Johnston, William Mackinnon and David Livingstone encouraged colonialism.
- ❖ Europeans believed they had superior culture as compared to other races. They felt they had a duty to "civilize" the blacks on the African continent.
- ❖ Britain and Germany encouraged their surplus population to settle in Africa.
- ❖ European humanitarians came to abolish slave trade. William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp led in the abolition of slave trade and urged its replacement with legitimate trade.
- ❖ Africa was rich in raw materials and had good harbours.
- ❖ African communities were weakened by war, diseases,, drought and famine. This made the Europeans to easily conquer the Africans.

Identify the categories into which the factors that led to the scramble for and partition of Africa among European powers could be divided.

- ✓ Economic factors.
- ✓ Political factors.
- ✓ Strategic considerations.
- ✓ Social factors.
- ✓ The Pull factors in Africa.

© Discuss the factors that led to the Scramble for and Partition of Africa under the headings outlined in question (b).

ECONOMIC FACTORS

These stem from the Industrial Revolution in Europe as follows:

- ✓ Need for market for manufactured goods. When other European nations such as Belgium, France and Germany joined Britain in embracing the Industrial revolution, Britain lost her monopoly of European markets and had to seek alternatives elsewhere.
- ✓ Need for raw materials. In 1776, Britain was kicked out of America as a result of the Independence war and therefore lost the cheap sources of raw materials, causing her and other European entrepreneurs to venture into Africa in search of agricultural land for cultivation of cash crops.
- ✓ Need for places to invest their income. With increased capital from the Industrial Revolution, European traders preferred to invest in Africa, where there was stiff competition, which according to them would fetch more profit unlike the situation in Europe.
- ✓ Competition from African and other merchants. As other nations joined the race for colonies, European traders had to call upon their home-governments to protect them due to stiff competition from both the locals and their adversaries from Europe and elsewhere.
- ✓ The common speculation about the availability of deep pockets of mineral wealth in Africa. The discovery of diamond at Kimberley in South Africa in the 1860s and gold in Wit Waters Rand (still in South Africa) in 1886 raised the hopes of speculators in finding vast minerals in the interior of Africa.

Therefore, the Europeans turned their attention to Africa as an alternative market for their goods and cheap source of raw materials for their industries.

POLITICAL FACTORS

- ✓ The Unification of Germany. Following her unification under Kaiser William and Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck, Germany emerged as a mighty nation, defeating France in the 1870-1871 Franco-Prussian war, which caused France to turn her attention to Africa, acquiring eight colonies in west Africa to compensate for her losses.
- ✓ Nationalism. Following the French venture in Africa, a spirit of national pride spread throughout Europe in the late 19th century. Urged by their citizens, the European nations felt they had to acquire overseas colonies for national prestige. For instance, Germany and Italy went for colonies in Africa to assert their newly found superiority.
- ✓ Militarism. Reduction of prolonged wars in Europe in the 19th century caused army officers to favour colonial wars and expansion to get opportunities for glory or promotion. Such officers were mostly given honours such as knighthoods and peerages. For instance, General Woseley Kitchener, who supported British imperial expansion into Africa became Lord Kitchener.
- ✓ Public opinion. With democratization of European states in late 19th century, governments had to pay more attention to public opinion, which favoured and persuaded them to acquire colonies, which the governments did to appease the electorate in order to remain in power. It was in the light of this that, for instance,

the French Assembly agreed to ratify De Brazza's treaty with Chief Makoko to create a French colony in the Congo in 1882. Similarly, with the position of her government largely dependent on the success of her colonial policies, Germany took over Togo, Cameroon and Present-day Namibia. Britain also chose not to remain backward in what she termed as the Irresistible demand in claiming her share of Africa.

- ✓ The Press. Newspapers in Britain, France and Italy influenced public opinion on and strongly favoured acquisition of colonies.

SOCIAL FACTORS

- ✓ Missionaries' demand for protection. European missionaries who came to Africa, particularly Lagos, Uganda and Malawi, asked their home governments to protect them from the problems they encountered, such as Resistance from the local people.
- ✓ The role of influential individuals in Europe. Influential people such as writers encouraged the building of empires and overseas settlements by following adventurers with government authority. Such individuals included: W.T Stead, Karl Peters, Harry Johnston, William Mackinnon and David Livingstone.
- ✓ The rise of racism and paternalism. Paternalism is the policy of governments controlling people by providing them with what they need but giving them no responsibility or freedom of choice. European paternalism stemmed from European racism, based on Social Darwinism, enshrined in the "survival for the fittest" aspect of Charles Darwin's theory of Evolution. In the first half of the 19th century, the Europeans boasted of superiority over other races, arguing that their rule and civilization were in the interest of their colonial subjects (the colonized people), who would gain little or nothing if left to rule themselves. They claimed that they are the first (the best) race, therefore, the more of the world they inhabit, the better it is for the human race.
- ✓ The growth of European population. Steady growth of the European population led to the quest for new outlets to resettle the surplus population. That was how and when Britain earlier settled some of her people in Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Canada and South Africa. Frederick Fabri: a German nationalist, recommended that Germany makes more colonies of her own to settle poor Germans. The Portuguese and the Dutch also resettled their surplus population in Africa.
- ✓ The Humanitarian Factor. In the 19th century, humanitarians like William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp and their followers in Europe campaigned for the abolition of slavery and slave-trade, arguing that it undermined human dignity and equality. They stressed that antislavery movements could only succeed through effective European occupation of the core areas of the trade and replacing it with legitimate trade.

THE PULL FACTORS IN AFRICA

- The vast resources in Africa such as minerals, ivory, Game products, palm oil, copra, spices and kola nuts as well as good harbours for ships were very enticing to the foreigners.

- The existence of well developed trade, with trade routes and centres as well as navigable rivers in the African interior attracted Europeans, who competed with one another to exploit these rich resources.
- African communities at that time comprised small highly decentralized weak vulnerable political units, which were frequently at war, especially during slave raids.
- Diseases and natural calamities such as drought, famine, Smallpox and Measles weakened African societies and rendered them easy to conquer.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

These were characterised by:

- The Egyptian question. This referred to ownership of the Suez Canal in Egypt.
- French activities in the Congo and West Africa.
- The activities of King Leopold of Belgium.

Explain how the Scramble and partition of Africa was influenced by the following factors:

- The Egyptian question.
- French activities in the Congo and West Africa.
- The activities of King Leopold of Belgium.

THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION

- In 1798, the French under Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt on the pretext of restoring its prosperity and saving it from the tyranny of the Mamluk Beys from Turkey, although, actually, the French wanted to get and use Egypt's wealth as a base to invade Britain. This triggered (led to) the construction of the Suez Canal to shorten the route to India and the Far East.
- Khedive Ismael (the Egyptian ruler from 1863 to 1879) got loans from Britain and France for the construction and opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which left Egypt bankrupt, forcing Egypt to sell her shares in the canal to Britain. In spite of this, Egypt remained indebted to Britain.
- Britain and France set up a commission to regulate and oversee Egypt's debt repayment. But Khedive Ismael clashed with and dismissed the two commissioners that Britain and France sent for the task.
- France and Britain then pressured the Sultan of Turkey to depose Ismael. This took effect in 1879. Ismael was succeeded by his son Tawfiq, who was just but a puppet of the Europeans.
- European control of Egypt ignited (started off) a nationalist Egyptian uprising under Colonel Urabi Pasha, which was single handedly crushed by the British at the battle of Tel-El-Kebir as France was busy suppressing a rebellion in Tunisia in 1880. In 1882, the British fully occupied Egypt. This greatly disappointed the French.
- In return, the French planned to occupy territories to the south of Egypt in order to divert the waters of the Nile and make Egypt a desert, which worried the British since the Nile was Egypt's lifeline.
- Britain occupied Uganda in 1894, Kenya in 1895 and the Sudan in 1898 to utilize and protect Nile waters from French advance and to force Egypt to pay her debt.

FRENCH ACTIVITIES IN CONGO AND WEST AFRICA

- Having lost Egypt, the French established themselves in Porto-Novo, which they declared a protectorate in 1828 and planned to occupy more territories in west Africa, which worried British traders already stationed there.
- Germany joined the race for colonies by occupying Togo, Cameroon, Tanganyika and present-day Namibia.
- In 1880, Savorgnan De Brazza (an Italian adventurer in the service of France) signed treaties with King Makoko of Congo, which the French accepted in 1882, threatening earlier British and Portuguese claims in the Congo region.

THE ACTIVITIES OF KING LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM

- With an ambition to establish a personal empire, King Leopold convened the Brussels Geographical conference in 1876, which led to the formation of the International African Association, whose members were drawn from many European countries, aimed at abolishing slave trade, supporting free trade and opening centres of civilization. He tried but failed to send an expedition to the interior.
- In 1879, Leopold sent Henry Morton Stanley to explore the river Congo. Stanley reported that the River Congo was and would be the grand highway of commerce in west and central Africa. Stanley had established communication links between the coast and Stanley Falls.
- As a result, Stanley created the Congo Free State, which had become Leopold's personal empire by 1884.
- The Portuguese, who claimed to be the initial explorers of the River Congo were distressed by Leopold's activities. Portuguese claim over the Congo was recognized by Britain but rejected by France and Belgium. Having lost their control over Egypt, the French turned to West Africa, which explains why France sent De Brazza to sign treaties with King Makoko of the Congo.
- Germany and Britain voiced their desire for colonies in the Congo region, over which the Portuguese, Belgians, and French wrangled too, which threatened to spark off war among European nations in Africa.
- To avoid war, Otto Von Bismarck (the German Chancellor) convened an international conference that became known as the Berlin Conference.

THE PROCESS OF PARTITION

Explain one immediate reason for the Berlin Conference (1884-1885).

The Europeans came up with a strategy (the 1884-1885 Berlin conference) to peacefully divide Africa among themselves because of the looming (threatening) crisis in the Congo region, which various countries, including Britain, France and Portugal were seeking to occupy.

Describe the Berlin conference (1884-1885).

From 15th November 1884 unto 26th February 1885, Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck of Germany convened a conference in Berlin: Germany, concerned with the Congo and the Niger basins among other issues.

Name the countries that participated in the Berlin conference (1884-1885).

- Britain,
- Germany,
- France,

- Portugal,
- Belgium,
- Italy,
- The United States of America.

Africans themselves were excluded.

What were the objectives of the Berlin conference? (Explain the purpose/aims of the Berlin Conference).

- To set or lay down the rules of the partition.
- To eliminate conflict among European nations over their expansion into Africa.
- To define any area effectively occupied by each nation to avoid interference.
- To sort out different European views on the slave trade and its abolition.
- Establishment of authority in regions under occupation.
- To safeguard native African interests.
- To protect traders, scientists, explorers and Christian missionaries from local attacks.
- To guarantee religious tolerance.
- To guarantee free trade.
- To draw the borders of regions under occupation on a map.

State the terms of the Berlin Act.

- Any state laying claim to any part of Africa had to inform other interested parties. The claims had to be discussed and ratified if they were justifiable.
- All signatories had to declare their spheres of influence I.E. an area under each nation's occupation.
- Effective occupation had to be established in an area once the area was declared a sphere of influence.
- Any power acquiring territory in Africa had to undertake stamping out of slave trade and safeguard African interests.
- The River Congo and River Niger basins were left free for any interested power to navigate.
- If a European power claimed a certain part of the African coast, the land in the interior or behind the coastal possession became the coastal claimant's sphere of influence.
- Any country that wished to declare a protectorate in Africa had to show that its authority in the region was firm enough to protect existing European rights and guarantee free trade.

Analyse the Partition of Africa among European powers. (Explain how the European powers divided up Africa among themselves.)

- Britain got Kenya and Uganda in east Africa, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe in central Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland and the Union of South Africa in southern Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone in west Africa, Egypt and Sudan in North Africa and British Somaliland in north-eastern Africa.
- France got Ivory Coast, Senegal, Benin, Bokinaphaso, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Niger in West Africa, Chad, French Central Africa and French Congo in central Africa, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco in North Africa and French Somaliland and Eritrea in North-Eastern Africa.

- Germany got Tanganyika in east Africa, Rwanda and Burundi in Central Africa, Togo and Cameroon in west Africa and Namibia in south-west Africa.
- Belgium got Belgium Congo (former Zaire but now the Democratic Republic of Congo) in central Africa.
- Portugal got Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.
- Spain got Spanish Guinea and Spanish morocco.
- Italy got Libya and Italian Somaliland.
- The Niger went to Britain as King Leopold's claim over Congo was recognized.

Explain the impact/results of the partition of Africa. (What were the effects/consequences of the partition of Africa?)

- The Europeans gained fame, prestige and recognition by having colonial possessions. For example, by acquiring colonies, France regained the self-esteem she had lost when she was defeated in the Franco-Prussian war. By being a colonial power, she acquired a new position in the political map of Europe.
- European powers' economic growth speeded up. European industries grew as Africa provided raw materials, labour and market, which promoted trade with huge profits. E.G. King Leopold ii) monopolized the Congo trade, favouring the Belgian economy. However, Africans suffered as their economies were disrupted by the Europeans.
- Drawing of present-day boundaries in Africa as Europeans set up their spheres of influence.
- Border conflicts in Africa since present-day boundaries were drawn without considering the existing boundaries and ethnic groups.
- Introduction of European administrative systems throughout the African continent. E.g. the French applied Assimilation as the British used both Direct and Indirect rule.
- Introduction of European languages in Africa such as English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, German, Etc.
- Some African communities were split as present-day boundaries were drawn. E.G. the Somali are found in Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti. The Maasai are found in Kenya and Tanzania and the Ewe are found in Ghana and Togo.
- Collapse of African kingdoms and other systems such as Asante and Dahomey as Africa fell under European occupation.
- Introduction of the monetary economy in Africa.
- Economic disruption and exploitation of Africans by the Europeans through land alienation, forced labour and taxation. Agriculture, trade, industry as well as transport and communication were developed for the benefit of the colonial masters.
- Introduction of Western education, medicine and culture, thus undermining the indigenous African set-up.
- Formation of postcolonial African states, based on the territories set up after the partition.
- Continued diplomatic and other ties between Africa and the European countries.
- Neo-colonialism due to unchecked overdependence of African countries on Europe for financial and technical support.

Therefore, without the high level of technology in Europe, the Scramble for and Partition of Africa would not have been possible. With military advancement as well as the discovery, invention and development of steamships, railway transport, sophisticated weapons and Quinine to cure malaria, the Europeans were an upper hand over the Africans. 21st century Africa is now the focus of a new scramble, which requires African leaders to adopt policies that will end the syndrome of dependence on foreigners and lay out strategies to save Africa from and ultimately stamp out neo-colonialism.

AFRICAN REACTION TO EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

Into what categories could African reaction to European colonization be classified. (Describe the types of African reaction exhibited against European colonization. Or:

In what ways did Africans react to European colonization?

African reaction to foreign invasion could be classified into:

- Resistance, whereby African communities such as the Nandi, Ndebele, Mandinka, Pogoro and Giriama refused to cooperate with the invaders.
- Collaboration, whereby certain African communities like the Lozi, Baganda, Creoles, Wanga and Maasai cooperated with the foreigners.
- Mixed Reaction whereby some African communities E.G. the Luo and the Agikuyu gave a dual reaction I.E. some of them resisted as others collaborated with the foreigners.

Describe two types of African resistance against European colonization

There were two forms of resistance. These were:

- Active resistance I.E. use of weapons by Africans to fight foreigners and to prevent them from establishing colonial rule over them. Most African groups E.G. those of southern Tanganyika, the Nandi of Kenya, the Mandinka and the Ndebele actively resisted European colonization.
- Passive resistance I.E. deliberate adoption of a noncooperative approach with the colonizers but devoid of (without) violence. Using this method, some communities refused to work on European farms or to pay taxes as directed by the Europeans. For instance, the Pogoro of Tanganyika refused to pick cotton while the Giriama of Kenya refused to provide young men to fight in the First World War.

Into what categories could African collaboration to European invasion and colonization be classified? (Describe the types of Collaboration as exhibited by some African communities towards European invasion and colonization.)

There were various categories of collaboration such as:

- Diplomacy, whereby the concerned communities used delaying tactics to enable them to reorganize themselves before facing the colonizers.
- Signing treaties, whereby some African communities went into nonaggression agreements with the colonizers.
- Alliance I.E. cooperation with foreigners in order to acquire Western education, gifts or other goods.
- Conspiracy, whereby, amidst many inter-ethnic hostilities during European invasion of Africa, some communities undermined the strength of or sought protection from their local enemies by siding with the Europeans.

- African Hospitality, whereby some African communities welcomed the newcomers in good faith as friends and treated them as part of them.

RESISTANCE

THE MAJI-MAJI REBELLION (1905-1907)

What was the Maji-Maji rebellion? (Define the Maji-Maji uprising.)

The Maji-Maji rebellion was a mass uprising against German rule in Southern Tanganyika. The term Maji-Maji is derived from the Swahili word: Maji, which means Water. It stemmed from the magic water (millet and maize flour mixed in water drawn from river Rufiji), which Kinjekitile Ngwale of Ngaramba: a priest who established himself near river Rufiji and claimed protection by a spirit called Hongo, sprinkled the resisters with, to protect them from German bullets.

Name the communities that were involved in the Maji-Maji uprising.

- ❖ The Zaramo,
- ❖ The Matumbi,
- ❖ The Bena,
- ❖ The Ngindo,
- ❖ The Pogoro,
- ❖ The Bunga,
- ❖ The Ngoni,
- ❖ The Luguru,
- ❖ The Wamwera,
- ❖ The Ndendeule.

What were the causes of the Maji-Maji rebellion? (Explain the factors that led to the Maji-Maji uprising. Or:

Explain the reasons for the Maji-Maji resistance. Or:

Explain the purpose of the Maji-Maji uprising).

- ❖ Heavy taxes imposed on them by the German East Africa Company to raise revenue for the administration of the German protectorate. The Matumbi of North-west Kilwa felt that the Germans should have instead paid them for using their land.
- ❖ Brutality of the Arab Swahilis employed by the German east Africa company to collect Hut tax and recruit labourers.
- ❖ Forced labour and the mistreatment that accompanied it. While at work on cotton fields, roads and even settlers' farms, the Africans were whipped and humiliated in their relatives' presence. Akidas or Jumbes who treated Africans leniently were flogged too.
- ❖ Oppression, false accusation and torture of Africans by company officials. E.G. Drinking traditional liquor, which in the African eye was not offensive, was punishable with as many as 25 strokes of the cane by the Germans.
- ❖ The Germans and their house-boys disregarded and broke the Ngindo taboo against rape, fornication and adultery, stirring up anger and resentment among the local people, for such crimes were punishable by death.
- ❖ Discredit to and profaning traditional African beliefs, practices and sacred places by Christian missionaries.

- ❖ Land-alienation, especially in the Usambara, Meru and Kilimanjaro areas, where German settlers snatched massive tracts of land and took up farming from Africans upon completion of the railway lines.
- ❖ Kinjekitile's installation of confidence in the Africans by assuring them of immunity to bullets, thus uniting them against the Germans.
- ❖ German introduction of communal cotton growing schemes, on which Africans were compelled to work at the expense of their own farms, due to which African food security dwindled, a situation that was worsened by the fact that the locals paid the money they earned back to the Germans as tax.
- ❖ Subjection of locals in dry southern areas that were unsuitable for agriculture to cotton growing, which caused them heavy losses due to crop failure and more disappointment since cotton was not an edible crop.
- ❖ The locals wanted to guard their independence.

Explain the course/process of the Maji-Maji rebellion.

- ❖ The resisters were mobilized and united against the Germans in 1904 through religion by their leaders: Kinjekitile Ngwale, Abdala Mpanda and Ngamea. Kinjekitile appealed to the resisters by telling them that their ancestors would be resurrected. He assured them of immunity to German bullets by sprinkling magic water (a mixture of millet and maize flour and water drawn from River Rufiji) on the forehead of each fighter, who he then committed to war. Kinjekitile's ideas spread rapidly and secretly through a whispering campaign called Njwiywia or Jujila by the Matumbi.
- ❖ In July 1905, Matumbi workers boycotted cotton picking in their region. The Pogoro followed by uprooting cotton from an Akida's farm at Nandete. They then attacked government posts and officials.
- ❖ Rapid spreading of news caused the people of Kichi, Uzaramo, Uluguru and Ungindo to join the war. The fighters combined Guerrilla tactics and open battles.
- ❖ In August 1905, the town of Samanga was burnt down. European farms, offices and missions were attacked while a number of Arabs, Swahilis as well as the Germans themselves and Africans working for the Germans were killed.
- ❖ In the very August 1905, the Germans began killing Africans, especially the leaders of the revolt.
- ❖ In 1907, the Germans, under Governor Graf Von Gotzen, got reinforcement from Germany and from other German administered African regions. The Germans then adopted a Scorched-Earth policy, destroying all property on sight.
- ❖ The resisting Africans either surrendered or fled to Mozambique since the magic water failed to protect them from bullets, leaving them demoralized due to the defeat they suffered.

Earlier on, the Nyamwezi, the Chagga, the Gogo and the Hehe revolted but suffered enormously in the hands of the Germans, which explains why they did not join the Maji-Maji rebellion.

Explain the role of religion in the organization of the Maji Maji war. (In what ways did religion fuel the Maji Maji uprising)?

- ❖ It gave hope, courage confidence and loyalty and also reason to fight white oppression
- ❖ It gave spiritual strength to fight a superior military force

- ❖ Through religion, suspicions among communities were wiped out
- ❖ People were undoubtedly convinced that the magic water (Maji) would make people immune to European bullets
- ❖ It bore the aspect of a religious cult e.g. Bokero / Kolelo promised that the white would be destroyed
- ❖ It stood above tribal loyalty (people were out to fight, regardless of the difference of their tribes.)
- ❖ It provided the ideology which guided the war efforts
- ❖ It sustained the morale of the warriors
- ❖ It provided a common plan of action and a basis for mass action
- ❖ It provided leadership in wars e.g. prophetic leaders
- ❖ It united displeased groups
- ❖ Grievances were many because of the harsh rules of German administrators. religion was used to address this

It was a mass movement against German colonial rule

Why did the Maji-Maji rebellion fail? (Explain why the Maji-Maji resisters were defeated).

- ❖ German weapons and skills were superior to those of the Africans following their reinforcement from Germany and German administered African colonies in addition to having well trained soldiers.
- ❖ Lack of success of the already too weak religious background to the revolt, for many warriors were killed for lack of protection from Kinjekitile's magic water.
- ❖ Disunity and poor coordination among the revolters, of which the Germans took advantage.
- ❖ the Germans received reinforcement, with more weapons and mercenary soldiers, which made their force larger than that of the African warriors, who did not have adequate weapons.
- ❖ The 1907 famine and the Scorched-Earth policy used by the Germans forced some groups to abandon the fight.
- ❖ Collaboration by some communities such as the Mahenge, who joined and increased the power of the Germans against their fellow Africans.

What were the effects of the Maji-Maji resistance? (Explain the results/consequences of the Maji-Maji uprising).

- ❖ High death rate on the side of the Africans due to disease, starvation and the might of the German force.
- ❖ Great destruction of property as a result of the Scorched-Earth policy applied by the Germans.
- ❖ Severe famine due to disruption of agriculture, trade and other economic activities.
- ❖ Loss of leadership, which disorganized and demoralized African communities due to capture, arrest and killing of their leaders by German forces.
- ❖ Displacement as people fled in different directions in search of food and security.
- ❖ The war undermined the German economy in Tanganyika as numerous economic activities came to a standstill.
- ❖ Disillusionment due to failure of the war, which led to keener tribal differences, characterised by ill feelings on their varied roles during the war.

- ❖ Loss of confidence in African traditional religion as Kinjekitile's magic water failed to protect the resisters from German bullets.
- ❖ The resisters had to submit to colonial rule following their defeat. They realized the need for better weapons and organization to tackle the colonialists.
- ❖ The uprising later united more communities in Tanganyika than ever before, laying the foundation for Tanganyika's nationalism.
- ❖ The people of south-eastern Tanganyika resorted to constitutional protest in their struggle for independence, having learned of the folly of taking up arms against a colonial master with better, organized and superior weapons.
- ❖ Future Tanzanian nationalists drew inspiration from lessons learnt during the revolt.
- ❖ The Germans reformed their colonial system to avoid recurrence of such a war.

In what ways did disunity and poor coordination among the revolters undermine the Maji-Maji rebellion? (In what ways did the Germans take advantage of the disunity and poor coordination among the Maji-Maji revolters? Or: Explain how disunity and poor coordination among the revolters led to failure of the Maji-Maji uprising Or:

In what ways did the Germans benefit from disunity and poor coordination among the Maji-Maji revolters?)

- ❖ Some such as the Hehe, Nyamwezi, Chagga and Gogo did not join the revolt.
- ❖ Some such as the Matumbi revolted even before others were ready.
- ❖ There was poor coordination on the part of the African warriors, of which the Germans took advantage by subduing a group at a time.
- ❖ Some tribes surrendered amidst increasing German military pressure as others unsuccessfully fought on.
- ❖ African tribal leaders, including Kinjekitile and Mpanda were captured and executed, which demoralized the warriors.
- ❖ The African warriors lacked strategy since they did not have a single leader. Because of this, the tribal leaders did not coordinate their activities.

Explain the reforms made by the Germans following the Maji-Maji uprising.

- ❖ Rejection of extra taxation of Africans.
- ❖ Ending of forced labour, which they replaced with wage labour.
- ❖ Involvement of Africans in local administration.
- ❖ Study of their colonial policies from time to time, fearing rise of another revolt.
- ❖ Studied and learned to speak local African languages such as Kiswahili as they taught the people how to speak German.

Therefore, the Maji-Maji rebellion was a lesson both to the Germans and the Africans. The Germans improved their rule and stopped taking Africans for granted. The Africans resorted to constitutional rather than armed pursuit of independence.

THE MANDINKA RESISTANCE

The Mandinka Empire under Samouri Toure was one of West Africa's greatest states, with Toure as one of the most remarkable empire builders at the height of the European Scramble for and Partition of Africa.

Explain the background/origin of Samouri Toure and his Mandinka empire.

- Samouri Ibn Lafiya Toure was born in 1830 to the Dyula Long-Distance traders' clan of the Mandinka in Sanankoro village in the south-east of Kan-Kan in present day Guinea. He founded the Mandinka empire and was one of the greatest leaders of resistance to European rule in west Africa.
- In Samouri's teenage, Samouri's mother was captured by Sori Birama: a local chief in whose army Samouri served for seven years to win his mother's release.
- Being a professional soldier, Samouri created an empire by uniting the many warring principalities of the Mandinka people.
- In the 1860s, Toure captured Kamadugu. In 1866, he made Bisandugu his capital. He then conquered states such as Toron, Wasulonke, Konia and Kan-Kan. In 1874, he became the spiritual and political leader of the Mandinka.
- As he embarked on extending his empire westwards towards Kenyeran next to the rich gold-fields of Bure, he clashed with the French in 1882, leading to a Franco-Mandinka war in 1885, which Samouri lost.
- Samouri unsuccessfully urged the British to support him and declare his empire a British Protectorate. The British, in respect to the Berlin Act, did not want a conflict with France.
- Samouri then adopted Diplomacy in dealing with France. He signed the Bisandugu treaty, according to which some temporary boundaries were recognized as Samouri gave all his northern Niger territories to the French as he controlled Bure.
- In preparation for the Tukolor conquest, the French convinced Toure to place the Mandinka under French protection by amending the Bisandugu treaty, which he did, hoping to easily sign a treaty of friendship with the British and secure trade routes from the north under Tieba of Sikaso.
- Soon, Franco-Mandinka tension increased as the Mandinka and the French accused one another for breaking the Bisandugu treaty.

Describe the organization of Toure's administration over Mandinka. (Explain how Samouri Toure organized/exercised his administration over the Mandinka empire. Or:

Analyse the structure of Toure's administration over the Mandinka.)

Toure created and controlled a large empire in the Upper Niger through the following structure of administration:

- The empire comprised provinces, which were further divided into districts, each of which consisted of twenty villages, administered by chiefs, soldiers and religious leaders.
- A large standing army was kept in charge of expansion and defence of the empire. In it were professional soldiers (Sofa) and Cadets (Bilakor), with different uniforms to distinguish their ranks.
- Toure himself had a well trained body-Guard of 500 men, an infantry and Cavalry.
- As overall leader of the empire, Toure was commander in chief of all the forces.
- He divided his army into three groups, the first of which engaged the enemy and was armed with rifles. The second organized the people on their migration as the third conquered new areas for the settlement of the people.

What were the causes of the Franco-Mandinka war (1891-1898)? (Explain the factors that led to the Franco-Mandinka war (1891-1898). Or:

What were the reasons for the Franco-Mandinka war (1891-1898)?)

- Samouri wanted total independence for his empire.
- He could not stand (tolerate) nonmuslims on his land.
- The French wanted to occupy Mandinka through Military force, which was too provocative to bear.
- Samouri could not imagine losing the rich Bure mines to the French. In fact, for him, the Bisandugu treaty was only meant to buy time to consolidate his army for a major attack against the French.
- The French threatened Samouri's territorial expansion by claiming ownership of the areas into which his people were migrating, which was dangerous to the military and economic supremacy enjoyed by the Mandinka at the time the French came.
- Samouri's failure in his scheme to play off the British against the French.
- French supply of arms to Toure's enemies such as Tieba of Sikaso.
- He felt confident and competent to go to war with the French, having equipped his soldiers with modern weapons as well as home-made guns.
- He wanted to preserve the Mandinka culture.

Explain the course/process of the Franco-Mandinka war.

- The French organized their forces against Samouri to force him to withdraw his claims over the Kita Bamako railway area in 1883. This increased Franco-Mandinka hostility.
- To calm the situation, the French approached Samouri for a boundary settlement, which led to the treaty of Bisandugu in March 1886, by which France was given the northern river Niger territory in return for her friendship, to avert further conflicts and, hopefully, to establish an Anglo-Mandinka alliance for arms procurement from Freetown to boost Samouri's military might.
- Realizing the French intension of confrontation with his people and occupation of his territory, Samouri again unsuccessfully sought British protection, for the British accepted France's claim over the Mandinka empire in return for French concessions elsewhere in Africa.
- In 1890, France sparked off conflict between the Tukolor and the Mandinka by attacking Segu. They also quietly urged Tieba of Sikaso to attack Samouri, who repudiated the treaty of friendship.
- In 1891, war broke out between the French and the Mandinka, each accusing the other of breaking the Bisandugu treaty. Samouri faced the French alone after failing to get British support. Through Guerrilla warfare, he used the south-east forestlands to launch night attacks.
- He armed his soldiers with Repeater Rifles, avoiding pitched battles and the massing of his troops in fortified camps as he slowly retreated eastwards.
- From the new site, Samouri intensified his resistance against the French. He unsuccessfully sought alliances with the Asante of what is now Ghana as well as the British once more. But Samouri fought and defeated a French column in 1895 and a British one in 1897.
- After putting up a strong and long resistance, Samouri surrendered in 1898 and was deported by the French to Gabon. He had run short of food, guns and horses.

- Samouri Toure died in 1900, having failed to defend his empire against French imperialism, though he succeeded in waging a long war.
- Indeed, Samouri's resistance was an inspiration to modern African nationalists and leaders in Guinea.

WHY SAMOURI RESSISTED THE FRENCH FOR LONG

Identify the techniques that Samouri Toure applied in his resistance against French invasion.

He applied modern techniques such as:

- Surprise attacks,
- Ambush,
- The Scorched-Earth policy
- The mass movement of the population.

Describe three divisions of Samouri Toure's army.

- That which encountered the French,
- That which organized the population on their migration to evade French confrontation.
- That which conquered new lands to settle the people.

Explain why Samouri Toure resisted the French for long. (Why did it take long for the French to defeat Samouri Toure? Or:

Explain the reasons for Samouri Toure's long resistance against the French.)

- He had a large disciplined well-trained army, equipped with modern weapons.
- His army successfully engaged in Guerrilla warfare apart from fighting in familiar terrain. This made the Mandinka too difficult for the French to control.
- The eastwards Mandinka retreat and the Scorched-Earth policy they used delayed advance by and weakened the French.
- Samouri used his great trade-based riches to buy fire-arms and horses for his large army.
- There were local gun-smiths, on who Samouri relied when unable to buy fire-arms from the coast.
- Samouri considered his war with the French a Jihad against European infidels, who he did not want to occupy his land and was ready to fight to the bitter end, being himself a devout Muslim.
- Unity within the army and among civilians, which gave him time to resist foreign invasion instead of suppressing internal rivalry.
- He was a skilled soldier with organizational skills. This delayed his capture.
- Samouri's people (the Mandinka) were united during the war as they moved eastwards. This enabled Samouri to establish a second empire, with the capital at Dabakala.
- Samouri had military workshops that supplied him with weapons and repaired defective weapons.

Why was Samouri Toure finally defeated by the French? (Explain why Samouri Toure lost/failed in his fight against the French. Or:

What were the reasons for Samouri Toure's defeat by the French?)

- He and his people ran short of supplies due to limited or lack of involvement in economic activities as his army and people were constantly on the move.

- His scorched-Earth policy was resented, especially by civilians, who remained with nothing.
- He lacked support from the nonmandinka and nonmuslim communities in the empire, who felt mistreated under his reign and even supported the French against him.
- He lost some of the territories he had earlier occupied, especially the rich gold reserves of Bure and the link to Freetown, which left him economically unstable, unable to pay his warriors and mercenaries.
- The arms manufactured by his gun smiths eventually proved inadequate.
- His second empire was open to attacks from all sides, especially by the British and French, which made it difficult to defend.
- The British denied Samouri their support due to their policy of non-interference.
- As he expanded his empire, Samouri clashed with other African rulers such as Tieba of Sikaso and Seku Ahmadu of the Tukolor empire, who later supported the French against him.
- His retreat to Liberia was blocked and his capital besieged. Because of this, he surrendered to the French.
- He was old and unable to control his large army.

What were the results/consequences of Samouri Toure's resistance against the French? (Explain the effects of the Franco-Mandinka war (1891-1898).)

- Massive loss of life.
- Destruction of property.
- Disruption of mining and trading activities and loss of the Bure goldmines to the French.
- Famine as farming was neglected during the war.
- Misery, suffering and displacement of people during the war, most of who fled to Ghana and the Ivory Coast to avoid French conquest.
- Samouri was captured and exiled to Gabon in 1896, leading to loss of leadership.
- Creation of the second Mandinka empire.
- The Mandinka empire lost its independence.
- The resistance inspired nationalism in Guinea and, later on, the entire Africa.

NDEBELE RESISTANCE BACKGROUND

Trace the origin of the Ndebele and their resistance to European invasion and occupation.

- ✓ The Ndebele descended from the Nguni-speaking Bantu of South Africa.
- ✓ Under Mzilikazi, the Ndebele migrated from South Africa to Mashonaland in Zimbabwe and to central Africa during the 1820-1828 Mfecane wars.
- ✓ By 1837, the Ndebele had subdued and captured parts of Mashonaland, which they occupied and renamed Matebele.
- ✓ The Shona were pushed farther north but still remained under Ndebele domination politically, economically and socially.
- ✓ By the 1870s, the Portuguese, Germans, British and Boers had visited Matebeleland for hunting and mining concessions.
- ✓ Lobengula, who reigned in the course of the coming of the Europeans, delayed for some time in granting them concessions.

- ✓ In 1888, Lobengula met Cecil John Rhodes: a South African Millionaire, whose aim was to colonize central Africa for Britain. Rhodes convinced the British High Commissioner at the Cape colony to obtain a treaty from Lobengula with the help of Reverent Robert Moffat, who seemingly was on good terms with the Ndebele. Robert Moffat was the leader of the London missionary Society, who in 1859 became the first group of missionaries to settle in Matebeleland.
- ✓ That same 1888, Lobengula was persuaded to sign the Moffat Friendship Treaty, which stated that Lobengula was not to sign any other treaty with other European groups without the permission of the British. This treaty therefore paved way for British occupation of Zimbabwe, which was not in Lobengula's intention.
- ✓ To ensure British monopoly over Matebeleland, Cecil Rhodes sent Charles Rudd, Thompson and Maguire to Lobengula, which led to the signing of the 1888 Rudd Concession.
- ✓ In 1890, Cecil Rhodes obtained a charter allowing him to do more than agreed in the Rudd concession. With this charter from the British government, Rhodes planned to occupy Mashonaland and sent a group of 200 settlers (together known as the Pioneer Column), who arrived and were sent to settle in Mashonaland in September 1890.
- ✓ In 1891, the British recognized the occupation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Company, which was given the duty to administer the region. An administrator and a judge were then sent by the British government to Mashonaland, which alarmed Lobengula who sent messengers to Cape town to state the terms of the Rudd Concession.

State the conditions that Lobengula spelt out to the British during the making of the Rudd concession (1888).

- ✓ That the Europeans protect Lobengula's people: the Ndebele.
- ✓ That there be not more than ten Whites on the land at any one time.
- ✓ That other Whites be notified through the mass media to stay away from Matebeleland.

However, these conditions were not incorporated in the final text of the Rudd concession. When the terms of the Rudd Concession were interpreted to Lobengula, Lobengula learnt that he had been tricked into surrendering his kingdom to the Europeans.

State the terms of the Rudd concession (1888).

- ✓ Rhodes obtained a charter for the British South Africa Company from the British government in 1891.
- ✓ The Rudd concession gave Cecil Rhodes full charge over all metals and minerals in Lobengula's territory.
- ✓ Lobengula was awarded a monthly payment of 100 pounds, 1,000 rifles and ammunition on agreeing not to grant any land concessions or mineral rights without Rhodes' consent.
- ✓ Lobengula was to get either a gunboat on River Zambezi or 500 pounds instead.

State the implications of British occupation of Mashonaland.

- ✓ The Ndebele no longer had power over the Shona.
- ✓ Since the Shona enjoyed British protection, the Ndebele could not raid the Shona for cattle and women.

- ✓ Trade, which was controlled by the king, was now in the hands of the British.
- ✓ The powers and influence of the Ndebele king were greatly minimized.

THE NDEBELE WAR (1893)

1. Identify the factors that sparked off the 1893 Ndebele war against the British.
 - ✓ The British treacherously occupied Mashonaland, determined to permanently destroy Ndebele power.
 - ✓ The British incited the Shona to raid the Ndebele for cattle and other commodities in order to provoke the Ndebele to attack the Shona, in which case the British would then fight the Ndebele under the pretext of protecting their interests in Mashonaland.
 - ✓ Ndebele Indunas attempted to punish some Shona who had disobeyed Lobengula by pursuing and attacking the Shona and raiding White settlements to recapture their stolen cattle.
2. Explain the course/process of the 1893 Ndebele war against the British.
- 2 The war broke out in October 1893. Given the might of the British Army and the fact that Ndebele warriors had inferior weapons and had been weakened by smallpox, Lobengula chose not to confront the British forces in an open war.
- 3 The Ndebele were easily and decisively defeated. Lobengula and his people fled northwards from their Bulawayo capital.
- 4 With Lobengula's death in 1894, Ndebele Indunas were so demoralised that they surrendered to the British.

What were the results/consequences of the 1893 Ndebele war?

- ✓ Introduction/imposition of Hut tax,
- ✓ Establishment of a Native department,
- ✓ British South Africa Company control of the Southern Rhodesia colony.
- ✓ Creation of Reserve territories i.e. Gwai and Shangani for the Ndebele, who together with the Shona were forced to work in European homes, mines and farms.
- ✓ Their cattle were snatched from them.
- ✓ Great hostility between the Europeans and the Africans in Matebeleland and Mashonaland.
- ✓ The Chimurenga war, which was a Shona-Ndebele revolt against the British South Africa Company and the White Settlers.

State the powers that the British South Africa company was given by the 1894 Ndebele Order-In-Council.

- ✓ To levy Hut tax,
- ✓ To establish a Native department,
- ✓ To control the Southern Rhodesia colony.

The 1894 Ndebele Order-In-Council was an immediate move by the British invaders to bring Mashonaland, Matebeleland and the entire present-day Zimbabwe under British settler control after the defeat of Lobengula and disintegration of the system of government in Mashonaland and Matebeleland. Since the settlers were still very few, the Council handed Mashonaland and Matebeleland to the British South Africa Company.

THE CHIMURENGA WAR (1896-1897)

1.(a) What was the Chimurenga? (Define the Chimurenga uprising).

The Chimurenga was a Shona-Ndebele rebellion against the British South Africa Company and the White Settlers.

What were the causes of the 1896-1897 Chimurenga war? (Explain the factors that led to the 1896-1897 Chimurenga war. Or:

What were the reasons for the 1896-1897 Shona-Ndebele war?)

- ✓ Loss of independence, especially for the Ndebele, whose Indunas were powerless due to destruction of their social and political institutions such as the Caste and Regimental systems.
- ✓ Land alienation. Both Matebele and Mashonaland were occupied by the British, leaving the Ndebele and the Shona in reserves and as servants to the settlers.
- ✓ Loss of livestock. Shona-Ndebele cattle were either confiscated by the British south Africa Company or died of Rinderpest epidemic. Instead of helping in combating the disease, British officials ordered that the cattle be shot and burnt to prevent the disease from spreading.
- ✓ Imposition of Hut tax which was forcefully and brutally collected by the Company administration.
- ✓ Forced labour. Africans were forced to work on farms and in mines for Europeans, during which they were cruelly treated.
- ✓ The use of the Native police force, which largely comprised the Shona, who mistreated the Ndebele because of the way the Ndebele had treated them badly before the coming of the British.
- ✓ Interference by Company officials in the Shona-Portuguese trade, assuming over lordship in Mashonaland while the Shona actually regarded them as trading partners.
- ✓ Total British disregard of traditional African leaders such as the Indunas among the Ndebele and the Mwari-Mulimo spirit-leaders among the Shona.
- ✓ Natural calamities like drought, famine and locust invasion, which, according to the Shona and the Ndebele, showed God's displeasure with the presence of white men in Matebele and Mashonaland.
- ✓ Influence from traditional religious leaders like Kakubi and Nehanda in Mashonaland and Mkwati in Matebeleland, who assured people of God's protection and immunity from British bullets, thus encouraging many more to join in the rebellion.
- ✓ The 1895-1896 Jameson raid, due to which company forces in Zimbabwe were greatly reduced, creating a power-vacuum and making the Shona and Ndebele sure of winning.
- ✓ failure of the Jameson raid, which made the Shona and Ndebele realize that white people could be defeated just like any other human beings.
- ✓ Cruelty of Europeans in dealing with Africans. For instance, they would threaten black people with punishment just before payday to make Africans run away without pay, which aggrieved the local people.
- ✓ The 1893 Ndebele war with the British, which eroded Ndebele traditional authority by destroying their monarchy. The people resented this violation.
- ✓ Recruitment of the Shona into the Native police force, which the Ndebele resented.

Analyse the process of the 1896-1897 Chimurenga war. (Explain the course of the 1896-1897 Shona-Ndebele war).

- ✓ In January 1896, the Commissioner of Matabeleland: Doctor Leander Starr Jameson, took most of the police to Transvaal in an attempt to take it over from the Boers. But he was defeated. Ndebele and Shona warriors took advantage of the police absence and easily invaded the British.
- ✓ In March 1896, the Ndebele High Priest, with the help of senior Indunas, planned to install Umfezala as Lobengula's successor. Murder of some policemen made the plan fail.
- ✓ Using whatever weapons they could get, the rebels started killing African policemen employed by the British South Africa Company as well as Europeans on their isolated farms.
- ✓ Urging the rebels to drive foreigners away, the African religious leaders attributed the various natural calamities affecting them to the presence of Whites and promised the people immunity and God's protection from British Bullets if they remained united in the fight against the British.
- ✓ African policemen employed by Europeans deserted and joined their African colleagues. Men, women and children, all participated in the fight to send away the white man.
- ✓ The two communities fought separately. In Matabeleland, warriors were organized by Lobengula's son: Nyamanda and the Ndebele chief priest: Ungulu, while the Shona were organized by Banda and Tshiwa.
- ✓ Fighting was so fierce that the British South Africa Company was unable to quell it immediately. Major Plumer had to call for reinforcements, which were brought from Botswana and other parts of southern Africa.
- ✓ On realizing that they could not confront the British at war, the rebels adopted Guerrilla warfare in the Matopo and other hills.
- ✓ The Ndebele revolt ended in December 1896 when the Ndebele agreed to peace talks,, which were also favoured by Cecil Rhodes. After listening to the grievances presented by Ndebele Indunas, Rhodes agreed to disband the Shona police and give Ndebele headmen some power. The Indunas became headmen, but the African chiefs were severely punished.
- ✓ The Shona continued, but with the Ndebele warriors out of the way, the British were able to crush the Shona uprising in October 1897. In spite of long resistance, the Shona and Ndebele were eventually defeated, making way for imposition of colonial rule on them and the entire Zimbabwe.

Why did the Chimurenga revolt fail? (Explain why the Shona and Ndebele were defeated in their 1896-1897 uprising against the British. Or:

What were the reasons for the defeat of the Shona and Ndebele in their 1896-1897 revolt against the British?)

The Shona and Ndebele were defeated in their uprising against the British because of various factors such as:

- ✓ disunity among the Africans, whose lack of coordination made it easy for the British to deal with one group at a time.
- ✓ Futility of the strong religious belief in the Mwari cult, which worked against the people.

- ✓ Lack of unity of purpose in Ndebele social classes as former aristocrats fought on their own.
- ✓ Rhodes' determination to suppress the resistance and establish effective occupation, which called for negotiation for peace with the Ndebele Indunas.
- ✓ Ending of the war with the Ndebele in 1896, which eased the quashing of the Shona revolt in 1897.
- ✓ Superior weapons on the British side.
- ✓ Arrest and execution of Shona and Ndebele leaders e.g. Nehanda, Kakubi and Singinyamatshe.
- ✓ The fact that the British army was large and comprised well trained and more organized soldiers, unlike the less-skilled African warriors.
- ✓ The fact that the British got reinforcement from Botswana and South Africa.
- ✓ Natural calamities such as drought, livestock diseases and locusts, which had devastating effects on Africans, making them too weak to deal with aggressors.
- ✓ The Indunas' lack of military practice by the time of the uprising as the British broke African social and political institutions.

What were the results/effects of the Chimurenga uprising? (Discuss/explain the consequences of the Shona-Ndebele war (1896-1897).)

- Africans lost their independence to British authority. Mashonaland and Matebele were united into one to become Southern Rhodesia.
- Many people were killed.
- Allot of property was destroyed.
- African land was alienated (taken away by force) and people were pushed into Reserves and were forced to work in mines and on European farms.
- The Africans lost faith in their traditional religious beliefs, causing their leaders to lose the traditional support they previously enjoyed.
- Recognition of Indunas as headmen while the Shona police were restationed in the Ndebele area after talks between Cecil Rhodes and the Indunas.
- The Africans were exposed to severe famine as the war hindered farming.
- Company rule was discredited by the colonial office due to poor administration.
- The Africans lost a lot of livestock, some of which died of diseases while others were confiscated.
- Many Africans were converted to Christianity and therefore lost their traditional culture and beliefs.
- The Ndebele, who surrendered earlier, got some favours from the British, which the Shona did not enjoy.
- Rhodesia had to order for grain from South Africa due to famine caused by the war.
- Shona-Ndebele unity during the war, which encouraged them to intensify their struggle for independence in the 20th century.
- The Shona were worst of after the revolt, because, unlike the Ndebele. Shona leaders were captured and hanged and their chiefs disregarded by the colonialists.

COLLABORATION

Various African communities, particularly the Baganda in present-day Uganda and the Lozi of Zambia, collaborated with European colonizers.

LOZI COLLABORATION

Trace/explain the origin of the Lozi.

- Founders of the Lozi (Luyi) society may have moved southwards from the Shaba/Katanga region in what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo from mid 17th century AD.
- They slowly subdued the societies they found in the Zambezi valley to establish a very powerful Lozi kingdom in present-day Zambia.
- Lozi rulers (Litunga) claimed direct descent from God, due to which the royal class was highly regarded.
- During the reign of Lewanika, Europeans began to move into and claim large areas in Africa. Lewanika signed many agreements with them hoping to preserve and retain his kingdom's independence and his position as king. The Lozi eventually came under the rule of the British.

Explain why King Lewanika of the Lozi collaborated with the British. (What were the reasons for Lozi collaboration with the British?)

The following factors caused king Lewanika to lead his society into collaborating with the British:

- He wanted to protect his position and state, for he came to power after a bitter struggle with the Kololo and was willing to welcome a stronger power for protection.
- He was greatly influenced by missionaries, whose medicine and formal education he hoped to gain from.
- He was urged by chief Khama of the Ngwato to accept British protection. Khama spoke highly of the missionaries and the British and enumerated the benefits of cooperating.
- He wanted to promote trade between his people and the British and desired to protect the economic activities of his people E.G. fishing and agriculture.
- He wanted protection from local enemies, particularly the Sesheke chiefs.
- He was influenced by missionaries like Francois Coillard to seek British protection.
- He needed protection from his external enemies: the Ndebele.
- He felt threatened by the British, the Boers and the Germans, one of who he chose to collaborate with for security.

Identify the treaties that Lewanika signed with the British.

- The treaty with Harry Ware: a British citizen (1889).
- The Lochner treaty (1890).
- The Lawley treaty (1898).
- The Coryndon treaty (1900).

Analyse the course/process of Lozi collaboration with the British. (Explain the process/course of Lewanika's collaboration with the British).

Lewanika's collaboration came through signing treaties with the British South Africa Company, who tricked Lewanika into believing that they were representatives of the British government as follows:

- In 1885, Lewanika met Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Mission, who helped him to write a letter asking for British protection and therefore repudiate the rivalry between the Boers, British and Portuguese over central Africa. He hoped that, being the strongest, the British would protect the Lozi from other Europeans.

- In 1889, after consultation with his councillors, Lewanika sought British protection. Shortly later, he was visited by Harry Ware (a British citizen) for a Mineral Concession, which Lewanika granted by signing what became known as the Ware treaty, allowing Ware to mine in Buluzi for twenty years.
- Ware sold his concession to two other prospectors, who in turn sold it to the British South Africa Company, which sent Frank Lochner to explain these matters to Lewanika.
- Lochner met Lewanika in 1890. Lewanika signed the Lochner treaty.
- In 1897, the British South Africa company sent Major Robert T. Coryndon (a former police officer) as the British Resident in Buluzi. Coryndon established his headquarters at Sesheke.
- In 1898, Lewanika met Arthur Lawley: the Matabeleland administrator, with whom he signed the Lawley treaty, which, in addition to its terms, repeated most of the provisions of the earlier treaties.
- In October 1900, Robert T. Coryndon arranged for and drew another agreement (the Coryndon treaty) with Lewanika.
- With the 1900 Coryndon treaty, Buluzi kingdom was dealt a Death blow. Lewanika's powers were reduced, making him just an employee of the British South Africa Company. However, Lewanika signed treaties believing that the British were genuine, only to lose his kingdom and independence.

State the terms of the following treaties between Lewanika and the British:

- The Lochner treaty (1890),
- The Lawley treaty (1898),
- The Coryndon treaty (1900).

TERMS OF THE LOCHNER TREATY

- That the British South Africa Company would exercise exclusive mining rights in Buluzi except in certain farming and iron mining areas.
- That Lewanika would be paid 2000 Sterling pounds annually and royalties for all minerals mined in the area.
- That the British South Africa Company would undertake building schools, promote trade and develop telegraphy.
- That Buluzi would be protected against external aggression.
- That Lewanika would be a constitutional rather than an absolute king.
- That a British Resident would be posted to Buluzi to monitor Company activities and advise Lewanika on foreign affairs.

TERMS OF THE LAWLEY TREATY

The Lawley treaty repeated most of the provisions of the earlier treaties in addition to its following terms:

- Judicial and administrative rights over White men in Lewanika's territory belonged to the British South Africa Company.
- The British South Africa Company undertook provision of education, telegraphic, postal, transport and communication links to the Lozi.
- The size of the area governed by Lewanika was reduced.
- Lewanika was required (and he promised) to end slavery and witchcraft in his dominion.

TERMS OF THE CORYNDON TREATY

- The company's administrator would be answerable to the High Commissioner at the Cape. Here, administration in Bulozhi was put in the hands of the British government.
- The British South Africa Company would appoint officials and pay for the administration of Bulozhi.
- The British South Africa Company would provide schools, industries, postal services, transport and telegraphic facilities.
- Lewanika would only receive 850 Sterling pounds annually as his stipend.
- Traditional Lozi rights over game, ironworking and tree cutting for canoe building were guaranteed.
- The British South Africa Company was allowed to acquire land on the Batoka plateau.
- The company still had the right to prospect for minerals in Bulozhi.
- Lewanika was required to stop slavery and witchcraft in his area.
- Lewanika was made Chief of Barotse. However, this power was reduced as many white settlers arrived and wanted a greater share in the protectorate government.

What were the results of Lewanika's collaboration with the British? (Explain the effects/consequences of Lozi collaboration with the British.)

- Other leaders in the region E.G. Kasempa of Kaonde were persuaded to accept British protection.
- Lozi aristocracy was broken and the royal class reduced to tax collectors of the British South Africa Company.
- Lewanika's power was reduced to that of a mere figurehead with the title of Paramount Chief as more white settlers arrived in Bulozhi.
- Lewanika gradually lost control over the former subordinate (vassal) chiefs, who could no longer pay tribute to him as they were all under the British.
- Barotseland (Bulozhi) was finally incorporated into northern Rhodesia (later Zambia), a British protectorate.
- Colonial rule was established over northern Rhodesia without any bloodshed.
- The British used their foothold in Barotseland to conquer the surrounding communities that did not collaborate with them.

Lewanika remained Paramount Chief of the Lozi, a position he was helped to safeguard up to his death in 1916.

THE BAGANDA COLLABORATION

Trace the origin of Buganda kingdom.

- Buganda kingdom grew from a small highly centralized principality in the 14th and 15th centuries.
- Under its powerful (Kabaka) kings, Buganda expanded by conquering neighbouring and other communities through warfare.
- Because of its internal political and economic stability, Buganda grew steadily, trading with the Sudanese, Egyptians and Swahili Arabs.
- vi) By mid 19th century, Buganda was the most powerful centralized state in east Africa. This was because, among other factors, Buganda had a large army and navy. At that same time, European interest in Africa (by which Buganda was also affected) increased.

BUGANDA UNDER KABAKA MUTESA 1

Explain how Contact between the Baganda and the Europeans occurred during Kabaka Mutesa I's reign.

(Trace the beginning of contacts between the Baganda and the Europeans. Or: Describe contacts between the Baganda and the Europeans during Kabaka Mutesa I's reign.)

Contacts between the Baganda and the Europeans occurred during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I in Baganda as follows:

- ✓ In 1862, John Speke and James Grant became the first Europeans to appear in Baganda.
- ✓ In 1871 and 1875, Henry Morton Stanley visited Buganda and successfully urged Kabaka to accept missionaries in his kingdom.
- ✓ The Church Missionary society (CMS) from Britain arrived in 1872, followed by the White Fathers of the Roman Catholic Church in 1879.
- ✓ Mutesa confined the missionaries in his capital (Rubaga), which led to conversion of his court and the entire capital to Christianity.
- ✓ By 1884, four religious groups had emerged in Buganda.

Name the four religions that had emerged in Buganda by 1884. (What four religious groupings had emerged in Buganda by 1884?)

- ✓ Traditionalists,
- ✓ Muslims,
- ✓ Protestants,
- ✓ Roman Catholics)

KABAKA MWANGA (1884-1889)

When Mutesa I died in 1884, his eighteen-year-old son: Mwanga took over leadership in Baganda.

Discuss the situation in Buganda during the reign of Kabaka Mwanga.

(Describe/analyse life in Buganda during the reign of Kabaka Mwanga. Or: Assess the situation in Buganda during the reign of Kabaka Mwanga.)

- ✓ Taking advantage of Mwanga's lack of decision on which group to support, the Muslims convinced Mwanga that the Europeans would undermine him and take over Buganda. Mwanga therefore persecuted Christians.
- ✓ To safeguard the independence of his people, Kabaka Mwanga played the Protestants and Catholics off against the Muslims and vice versa, i.e. he caused hostility and fighting among these three groups.
- ✓ In 1888, the traditionalists urged Mwanga to expel all foreigners for causing chaos in Baganda.
- ✓ Angered by this plot, the Muslims, protestants and Catholics deposed (overthrew) Mwanga, who they replaced with his brother: Kiwewa, who had to share authority with them.
- ✓ Shortly later, the Muslims deposed Kiwewa and refused to get circumcised and installed his young brother Kalema as the ruler.
- ✓ With the help of the Christians and the Banyoro, Mwanga recaptured his position in 1890. By that time, he was socially very weak, for even his Katikiro was a Christian.

- ✓ Advised by the French Catholic White Fathers, Mwanga accepted the offer of a protection treaty by Karl Peters and his team in the very 1890. but he rejected a treaty offered by Frederic Jackson of the Imperial British east Africa Company.
- ✓ Fortunately for the British, the 1890 Anglo-German agreement made Uganda a British sphere of influence. Captain Frederic Lugard of the Imperial British East Africa Company was sent to Uganda in 1890 and was the first British administrator there.

To avert the threat by the Muslims and neighbouring Bunyoro, Mwanga signed a Protection treaty with Lugard, giving the Imperial British East Africa company control over Baganda.

Explain why the Baganda collaborated with the British (1875-1900). (Explain the reasons for Baganda collaboration with the British (1875-1900). Or: Why did the Baganda collaborate with the British (1875-1900)?)

Baganda collaboration with the British occurred during the reign of kings Mutesa 1 and Mwanga, aimed at:

- ✓ Acquisition of Western education, medicine and other material benefits.
- ✓ Establishment of a centralized religious authority over Baganda.
- ✓ Limit of the power wielded by traditionalists, especially with regard to Kabaka Mutesa 1's position.
- ✓ Reduction of the influence of Muslims and later other religions within the kingdom
- ✓ Protection against the Roukema of Bunyoro, who was a threat, to the position of the two Kanakas.
- ✓ Protection against Khedive Ishmael of Egypt, who wanted to extend his territory into Baganda.
- ✓ Trade with the Europeans and to get their goods, mainly fire arms.
- ✓ Need for technological experts to teach the Baganda new skills.
- ✓ Protection from internal and external enemies.
- ✓ Security or safety of the Baganda from interference.
- ✓ Need to gain regional supremacy over the surrounding kingdoms e.g. Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro.

In spite of financial missionary support, the Imperial British East Africa Company ran bankrupt and was unable to administer Buganda, which it was at the verge of abandoning. However, Lord Romebery (the British Foreign Secretary) instructed Sir Gerald Portal to go to Uganda for a report on the situation there. Uganda was then declared a British Protectorate in 1894

Discuss Kabaka Mwanga's revolt Against British rule over Buganda.

Kabaka Mwanga's revolt against British rule over Baganda stemmed from the religious conflicts that continued to afflict the Baganda as follows:

- ❖ In what became known as the Anglo-French (Franza-Ingleza) war between Protestants (British) and Catholics (French) in 1892, a catholic killed a Protestant in self defence.
- ❖ Lugard publicly supported the protestants by ordering Kabaka Mwanga to execute the Catholic, which Kabaka did not do.

- ❖ Lugard therefore armed the Protestants, who attacked and destroyed Catholic missions. Mwanga soon realized that he was just a puppet ruler since administrative authority was vested in the hands of the British administrators.
- ❖ Influenced by some Catholics and Traditionalists, Mwanga revolted against the British in 1897, but was defeated due to lack of full support from the Baganda.
- ❖ The British captured Mwanga, whom they exiled to Kismayu in Somalia in 1899 and later to the Seychelles, where he died in 1903.
- ❖ Daudi Chwa (Mwanga's infant son) was enthroned, assisted by three ministers.
- ❖ British administration of Uganda was still expensive due to the many revolts the British had to suppress. To solve this problem, discussions were held between British officials under Sir Harry Johnston and Baganda chiefs and ministers under Sir Apolo Kagwa: the Prime minister. This led to the signing of the Buganda Agreement of 1900.

Name the three ministers that assisted Kabaka Daudi Chwa in the initial moments of his reign.

- ❖ Apolo Kagwa, who was prime Minister,
- ❖ Staunslaus Mugwanya, who was the Chief Justice,
- ❖ Edward Kisingiri, who was the Treasurer.

Explain the factors that influenced the Buganda agreement (1900). (What considerations did the Buganda agreement of 1900 envisage? Or: Explain the terms of the Buganda Agreement of 1900. Or: Explain the factors that the 1900 Buganda agreement considered.)

The Buganda agreement (1900) considered the following factors:

- ❖ Boundaries. The British recognized Buganda as a kingdom within the Uganda Protectorate. Its boundaries were defined and its size doubled by inclusion of areas acquired from Bunyoro. It was divided into twenty Sazas (districts).
- ❖ Government. Kabaka and his ruling council (mainly made up of the three chief ministers) were recognized by the British. However, Kabaka's government could neither make laws nor do anything against the wishes of the protectorate (British) government.
- ❖ Land. Half of the land became Crown land on which people were allowed to live as tenants. The other half was divided on Freehold basis among the Kabaka and his ruling council.
- ❖ Finances. A Hut and Gun tax were imposed. All revenue collected was to go to the Protectorate Government. No further taxation was to be imposed without knowledge or consent of Kabaka and Lukiko (parliament) which comprised Kabaka, the ministers and the chiefs, who were to be paid for their services.

All these considerations make up the terms of the Baganda Agreement of 1900.

IMPACT OF THE BUGANDA AGREEMENT

Explain the impact of the Buganda agreement (1900). (What were the results/effects of the Buganda agreement (1900)? Or:

What were the consequences of the Buganda agreement (1900)?)

- ❖ It legalized British claim over Baganda.
- ❖ The powers of the Kabaka were considerably reduced to the advantage of the British.

- ❖ Chiefs did not have to rely on Kabaka's patronage, for they served as British administrators.
- ❖ Chiefs acquired land and the right to impose land-rent.
- ❖ The number of chiefs doubled from ten to twenty.
- ❖ Kabaka had the privilege to be consulted before any new taxes were imposed in Baganda.
- ❖ Hostilities were created between Bunyoro and Buganda due to the annexation of ten counties from Bunyoro to Baganda.
- ❖ The British later used Baganda Christians to extend their policy of Indirect Rule over other regions in Uganda.
- ❖ The agreement led to the conquest of Baganda and the rest of present-day Uganda.

What were the results/consequences of African collaboration with European rulers? (Explain the impact/effects of African collaboration with European rulers.)

- i) Colonization and loss of independence for the collaborating communities.
- ii) Recognition but reduction of the powers of some leaders E.G. Lewanika of the Lozi and the Kabakas of Buganda.
- iii) Protection of leaders who collaborated from their traditional enemies.
- i) European use of collaborating leaders to exert authority over resisting ones.
- ii) Benefit for collaborating Africans from British Missionary work.
- iii) Increased trade between the Europeans and the collaborating communities.
- iv) Subjection of African societies to land alienation, mining, taxation, forced labour and other forms of economic exploitation, regardless of their reaction.

CHAPTER 2

ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL RULE IN KENYA

The colonization of Kenya by the British was a consequence of the European scramble for and Partition of Africa during the second half of the 19th century. The Industrial Revolution was partly responsible for the Scramble.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AND PARTITION OF EAST AFRICA

In what ways was East Africa important during the scramble for and partition of Africa?

In East Africa, Germany and Britain competed for territories. East Africa was particularly important as:

- ❖ It was the source of the River Nile.
- ❖ The east coast of Africa was strategic along the way to the east.

Explain the causes of the scramble for east Africa. (What were the reasons for the European scramble for East Africa? Or:

Explain the factors that led to European scramble for East Africa).

The reasons for the European Scramble for and Partition of east Africa revolve around the changes in Europe and the prevailing conditions in Africa. Such reasons include:

- ❖ Nationalism in Europe, which led to competition over colonial possessions.
- ❖ Strategic significance. East Africa is the source of River Nile and has a coastline, which is vital for international trade.

- ❖ Economic imperialism. In the 19th century, industrialized states in Europe were in the race for colonies as they were interested in tapping raw materials for their industries, E.g. Trona, iron, etc.
- ❖ European desire to “civilize” the Africans, whom they regarded as culturally backward.
- ❖ European nationals, particularly missionaries, who were already based in Africa, who appealed for protection from their home governments.
- ❖ Some powers wanted to secure territories in East Africa just for prestige.

Explain how the following factors influenced (contributed to) the scramble for and Partition of east Africa among European powers:

- ❖ Nationalism in Europe.
- ❖ Strategic significance.
- ❖ Economic imperialism.

NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

- ❖ The emergence of Germany as a powerful European nation after the Franco-Prussian war of 1871 caused German nationals to clamour for colonies, feeling that without colonial possessions Germany could not compete favourably with other European powers.
- ❖ Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian war upset the European balance of power.
- ❖ Despite the 1884-1885 Berlin conference, German and British interests in east Africa almost led to war between Britain and Germany, especially over Zanzibar, which became the operational base for both as they began to focus on the East African interior.

STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE

- ❖ Britain and France were trying to undo each other over ownership of Egypt and the Nile's source in Uganda.
- ❖ The construction and opening of the Suez Canal shortened the distance to the Far east by half, which attracted British and French interests over Egypt and regions around the Red Sea.
- ❖ East Africa was a reliable source of fresh supplies, which attracted Anglo-German rivalry and competition in the region.

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

Industrialized states in Europe in the 19th century were in the race for colonies to:

- ❖ Tap raw materials for their factories.
- ❖ Find ready market for their manufactured goods.
- ❖ Get new avenues for investment.
- ❖ Create jobs for their people.
- ❖ Speed up their economic development.

Explain the events that preceded the Anglo-German agreement of 1886). (Explain the factors that facilitated/led to the Anglo-German agreement (1886).)

- ❖ In 1884, Harry Johnston signed a treaty with the Chagga.
- ❖ Together with the activities of Sir William Mackinnon, Johnston's presence in the Mount Kilimanjaro area caused Karl Peters to appeal to the German government for support in preventing the British from pushing the Germans out of Tanganyika.
- ❖ Karl Peters' declared protectorates over Usagara, Ungulu, Usage and Ukami. This was when the Anglo-German agreement (1886) became necessary.

Explain the terms of the Anglo-German agreement (1886). (In what ways did the Anglo-German agreement (1886) facilitate peaceful Anglo-German claims over East Africa?)

The Anglo-German agreement of 1886 facilitated peaceful Anglo-German claims on east Africa by dividing Kenya and Tanganyika between the British and the Germans through its following terms:

- ❖ The sultan of Zanzibar was to be recognized as the custodian of the 16km coastal strip and the off-shore islands of Pate, Mafia, Lamu, Pemba and Zanzibar as well as the towns of Kismayu, Prava, Merca and Mogadishu.
- ❖ The Witu coastline between river Uba and River Ruvuma would become the German sphere of influence.
- ❖ The territory between river Uba and River Juba would become the British sphere of influence.
- ❖ The western boundary was not defined. Uganda was left for whichever power got there first.

Identify the commercial companies that were assigned the duty of administering territories in east Africa on behalf of their home governments after the Anglo-German agreement (1886).

- ❖ The Imperial British East Africa company (the British East Africa Association) under William MacKinnon
- ❖ The German East Africa Company under Karl Peters.

Explain the disputes/conflicts that ensued/occurred between the Imperial British East Africa Company and the German East Africa Company in spite of or after the 1886 Anglo-German agreement over East Africa.

In spite of the 1886 Anglo-German agreement, there still was rivalry between the British and the German trading companies over east Africa as follows:

- ❖ Sultan Bagash of Zanzibar granted the Imperial British East Africa Company judicial and political powers and the right to levy customs duties over his mainland dominion, which disappointed the German East Africa Company.
- ❖ That same moment, Egypt was competing with the British over Kismayu, Manda, Mogadishu and Warsheikh in the northern coast, which were owned by the sultan.
- ❖ Determined not to allow the Sultan's northern ports into German hands, the British handed Lamu over to the Sultan, who in turn left the northern ports in British hands.
- ❖ The ports were then given to Italy, which also gave them up to Britain
- ❖ In 1889, the Imperial British East Africa company, through Frederic Jackson, sought a chance for British prospects in Buganda, Only to find that Karl Peters had already signed a treaty with Kabaka Mwanga, placing Uganda under German protection.
- ❖ In Europe at that moment, Negotiations were going on between the British and the German governments to end the Baganda crisis, which led to the signing of the 1890 second Anglo-German (Heligoland) treaty.

The 1890 second Anglo-German (Heligoland) treaty sealed the final division between the German and British spheres of influence.

State the terms of the Anglo-German treaty (1890).

- ❖ Germany recognized Uganda as part of the British Sphere of influence.
- ❖ Germany gave up her claim over Witu in return for Heligoland island in the North Sea.
- ❖ Germany accepted a British protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba.
- ❖ Germany acquired a strip of land on Lake Tanganyika from Britain and purchased the coast of Tanganyika from the Sultan of Zanzibar.
- ❖ The Sultan of Zanzibar retained the 16km coastal strip.

Explain the impact/effects of the Anglo-German agreement (1890). (What were the results/consequences of the Anglo-German agreement (1890)?)

- ❖ The western boundary was defined.
- ❖ Britain successfully laid claim over Kenya and the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.
- ❖ Britain and Germany were now mandated to administer their areas of influence.
- ❖ It ended the period of the Scramble for and Partition of east Africa.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF KENYA

With the Partition behind them, the British embarked on occupying Kenya in all possible ways.

Describe the methods used by the British to occupy Kenya.

- ❖ Signing treaties. Treaties were signed among Europeans themselves and between the Europeans and local leaders in the areas they occupied e.g. The Heligoland treaty as well as the 1904 and 1911 Maasai agreements.
- ❖ Treachery. Here, African communities such as the Wanga and the Maasai were lured through gifts and other incentives to agree to form alliances with the British.
- ❖ Military expeditions. Communities that resisted British occupation such as the Nandi, Bukusu and Turkana were forcefully subdued through punitive military expeditions.
- ❖ Operational bases. Forts, posts, commercial centres and communication lines were constructed to enhance British political control. Fort Smith (Kabete) and fort Hall (Murang'a) are good examples.
- ❖ A blend of diplomacy and force. This involved signing treaties and the use of military force among communities such as the Luo and Agikuyu, sections of who collaborated with as others resisted British occupation.
- ❖ Company rule. The British initially used the Imperial British East Africa Company in occupying Kenya to limit administration expenses or costs among other factors.

State the powers granted to the Imperial British East Africa Company by the Royal Charter in 1888.

In Kenya, the British ruled through the Imperial British East Africa Company, which was chartered in 1888. This company was given the following powers concerning Kenya:

- ❖ To establish political authority, general order and security in British East Africa.
- ❖ To develop and regulate trade by facilitating the movement of goods and people between the coast and the interior.
- ❖ To collect taxes and to institute custom duty in the area.
- ❖ To develop and "civilize" the indigenous people, closely scrutinized by the imperial consul based in Zanzibar.

What were the achievements/successes of company rule in Kenya?

- ❖ Quelling of community aggression e.g. that of the Nandi, Maasai, Akamba, etc.
- ❖ Establishment of forts, posts, commercial centres, communication lines and other operational bases, some of which developed into towns and cities.
- ❖ Development of a Rubber industry along the coast and within the interior.
- ❖ Abolition of slavery and slave trade, especially within the coastal region.
- ❖ Building of roads and other infrastructure, which facilitated transportation of railway-building and other equipment.
- ❖ Administration of the British spheres of influence between 1888-1895.

What factors undermined Company rule in Kenya? (Explain the weaknesses of Company rule in Kenya. Or:

What were the shortcomings of Company rule in Kenya? Or:

Explain the factors that led to the collapse of the Imperial British East Africa Company by 1894.)

- ❖ The region lacked strategic natural resources for exports like gold, diamonds and copper.
- ❖ The company lacked sufficient funding.
- ❖ Lack of navigable rivers, which made transportation of goods slower and expensive.
- ❖ Lack of proper communication between East Africa and the headquarters, which caused confusion and unnecessary delays.
- ❖ Many of the company officials were corrupt.
- ❖ African resistance, which made the company's work very difficult.
- ❖ Incompetence of some of the Company agents.
- ❖ The hot and dry tropical climate and diseases such as Malaria and sleeping sickness took a heavy toll on company personnel.
- ❖ Penetration of the interior and day to day operations of the administration were very costly.
- ❖ Company directors' lack of the drive, initiative, business, acumen and administrative shrewdness to manage a newly acquired territory.

THE RESPONSE OF KENYANS TO BRITISH INVASION

African Kenyan response to foreign invasion varied, depending on the conditions the European colonialists found them in. Some resisted while others collaborated. Others displayed both resistance and collaboration (mixed reaction).

Identify two types of resistance exhibited by African communities against European invasion and occupation of Kenya.

- ❖ Active resistance.
- ❖ Passive resistance.

Name the African communities that took to armed struggle against initial British occupation of their country.

Some Kenyan communities took to armed struggle against initial British occupation of their country as a way of protecting their independence. Among such communities were:

- ❖ The Nandi,
- ❖ The Giriama,
- ❖ The Bukusu,
- ❖ The Somali,
- ❖ Sections of the Agikuyu
- ❖ Sections of the Luo,
- ❖ Some of the Akamba.

THE NANDI UPRISING

In spite of their small population, the Nandi resisted British rule stronger and longer than any other community.

Explain the factors that led to Nandi resistance against British invasion and occupation. (What were the causes of Nandi resistance against British rule? Or:

Explain the reasons for Nandi resistance against British rule).

- ❖ The Nandi regarded themselves as superior to other people they had so far met.
 - ❖ British occupation threatened Nandi predominance in the region, for they had subdued neighbouring communities e.g. Luo, Luhya, Abagusi and the much feared Maasai.
 - ❖ A stranger had to seek permission to enter Nandi territory, which the British did not.
 - ❖ The Nandi regarded the Europeans as evil because of their skin colour and strange clothes.
 - ❖ Their prophet: Kimnyole's prophecy, which cautioned them to resist the newcomers in order to preserve their pride and independence and to protect their land. Kimnyole had earlier on told the Nandi of a big snake belching smoke and fire, which would come with foreigners, who would take control of Nandi territory.
 - ❖ The Nandi had a long history and tradition of resisting whoever intruded into their territory e.g. Arab and Swahili traders.
 - ❖ The Nandi were well trained and equipped for battle in addition to raiding expeditions and other cultural practices, which gave them military superiority.
 - ❖ The British planned to relocate the Nandi away from their ancestral land to make way for white settlement and agriculture,, railway construction and trading caravans.
 - ❖ Numerous Nandi victories at the close of the 19th century proved their unity and strength against foreigners
- (b)Analyse the
- process/course of Nandi resistance against British occupation of their land.
- ❖ In 1895, following Nandi Guerrilla attacks against British interests, Andrew Dick murdered two Nandi warriors who had strayed into his administrative camp at Guava Mesa.
 - ❖ The Nandi swiftly reacted by killing Peter West (a trader) and his team.
 - ❖ In 1897, the British dispatched a punitive expedition. It however failed to stop the raids.
 - ❖ When the Kenya-Uganda railway reached Nandi territory in 1899, the Nandi kept stealing building material. They ambushed and murdered railway builders.
 - ❖ From 1901-1905, British administrator: Walter Mayes conducted a campaign to pacify the Nandi, but the Nandi did not cooperate.
 - ❖ In 1901, Nandi warriors attacked the railway in protest against British settlement and farming on their land.
 - ❖ The British responded by destroying crops and villages in addition to confiscating Nandi cattle.
 - ❖ In October 1905, an all-powerful British military team made up of 1500 Indian, Swahili, Maasai and Somali fighters was sent for a decisive show-down with the Nandi. This followed Nandi attacks on European farms to the north and east of Nandi country.
 - ❖ Realizing that the Europeans were becoming a threat, Nandi leaders under Koitalel Arap Samoei called for an end to the eleven-year Nandi-British confrontation.
 - ❖ On realizing the importance of the Orkoiyot as the unifying factor without which the Nandi would be demoralized and disorganized, the British (through captain Meinertzhagen: the British officer in Nandi) arranged a meeting with Koitalel, who was Orkoiyot at that time.
 - ❖ At the meeting (which was held at Koitalel's home), scuffles ensued, followed by a brief conflict in which Koitalel and most of his advisors were killed.

❖ That same December 1905, the British carefully and successfully planned and carried out a 3700-men invasion against the Nandi, who at that moment were demoralized and disunited following their Orkoyot's death.

❖ The Nandi still fought strongly, but their spears, bows, arrows and other traditional weapons could not bring them success amidst British machine-guns and artillery.

❖ That same December 1905, Nandi elders accepted peace terms, by which the resistance ended and Nandi territory came under British occupation and rule.

Explain why the Nandi put up a long strong resistance against the British. (Explain why the Nandi resisted the British for long. Or:

Explain why it took long for the British to subdue the Nandi.)

❖ They were strongly united behind the Orkoyot.

❖ The forested Nandi countryside, with which the British were unfamiliar, was effectively used to the advantage of Nandi fighters.

❖ They got help from Kipsigis fighters.

❖ Through the regimental Age Set system, they were adequately supplied with warriors.

❖ Their mixed economy substantially aided them. They were able to live on their livestock even after the burning and destruction of their crops by the British.

❖ They had skills to manufacture iron weapons.

❖ Their territory's wet and cold climate caused respiratory diseases among British troops.

❖ Regular supply of food and war equipment sustained the fighters for a long time.

❖ They had an effective disciplined army with military experience gained against the Maasai and other neighbouring communities.

Explain why the Nandi were defeated by the British. (What were the reasons for Nandi defeat in their revolt against the British? Or:

Explain why the Nandi lost in their war against British invasion of their territory. Or:

Why were the Nandi eventually subdued by the British?)

❖ They were affected by Smallpox, which killed many of their warriors.

❖ The death of their leader: Koitalel Arap Samoei in 1905 completely demoralized them.

❖ The Scorched-Earth policy (burning, looting and destruction) employed by the British soldiers caused famine and starvation among the Nandi.

❖ The British brought in reinforcement of Indian, Somali and Swahili fighters.

❖ Nandi traditional weaponry was no much for the European guns.

❖ The British disrupted (interfered with) the regimental age set system, which supplied the Nandi with young warriors.

© What were the effects/results of Nandi resistance against British occupation?

(Explain the impact of Nandi resistance against British occupation. Or:

What were the consequences of Nandi-British confrontation?)

❖ The Nandi lost their independence to the colonizers.

❖ There was great loss of life on the side of the Nandi.

❖ The Nandi were left with no leadership following the death of Koitalel Arap Samoei: their Orkoyot.

❖ The Nandi suffered extensive destruction of property e.g. crops, homes and livestock.

❖ The British alienated (took away) Nandi land and pushed the Nandi into reserves.

❖ The Nandi military organization disintegrated

❖ The Nandi became a cheap source of labour for the British farms.

❖ Nandi warriors were recruited into the colonial police force.

- ❖ Many white settlers occupied Nandi land and started tea plantations.
- ❖ The Nandi became squatters in the farms of the British settlers.
- ❖ Disruption of Nandi economic lifestyle.
- ❖ Separation of the Nandi from their cousins: the Kipsigis to prevent any future alliance against the British.
- ❖ Loss of Nandi dignity and leadership in the region.

GIRIAMA RESISTANCE

The Agirama are Bantu-speaking inhabitants of coastal Kenya. They belong to the Mijikenda community of the Coastal Bantu division of the Eastern Bantu.

1. (a) Explain why the Giriama resisted British occupation and rule.

- i) Mazrui Arab and Swahili resistance to colonial rule in 1895.
- The bad manner in which the Imperial British East Africa company was conducting its business at the coast.
- Encroachment of Omani and Al-Busaidi Arabs on Mijikenda territory.
- Forced conscription of Agirama warriors into the King's African Rifles for military service.
- Massive land alienation, making the Agirama to seek wage employment on white farms.
- Insult to Agirama culture by British officials, who raped Agirama women.
- Agirama dislike of British-appointed headmen, who disregarded Agirama interests.
- viii) The British middlemen took over the Giriama trade in ivory and foodstuffs.
- ix) Forced payment of taxes in form of labour instead of paying from the sales of cattle or grains.
- x) The Agirama were forced to work for the British for little or no pay on the land that had been snatched from them.

(b) Explain the course of Agirama resistance against the British. (Explain the process of Agirama revolt against British invasion/occupation.)

- Inspired by their prophetess: Mekati Lili Wa Menza and an elder called Wanje Wa Madorika, the Agirama engaged in a mass resistance against British rule by rejecting forced labour, military conscription to the First World War army and the collection of taxes. They barred their young men from moving outside their villages and caused some to migrate to marginal areas such as Taru desert to avoid or escape from British administrators.
- Mekati Lili and Wanje Wa Madorika called on the Agirama to return to their ancestral shrine at the Kaya Fungo and offer sacrifice. They denounced all puppet rulers, emphasizing their support for the Agirama council of elders.
- Traditional oaths (Mukushe-kushe for women and Fisi for Men) were administered to unite and inspire Agirama warriors to wage a serious war against the British.
- Unfortunately, Lili and Wanje were arrested and deported to Kisii, paving the way for easy British suppression of the resistance by bombarding the Kaya villages, where the Giriama were staying.
- Under Fadhili Bin Omar, the Arabs offered themselves for mediation between the British and the Agirama, which brought the resistance to an end.

2. (a) Explain the role of Mekati Lili Wa Menza in the Agirama resistance against British invasion/occupation. (State the importance of Mekati Lili Wa Menza in the Agirama resistance against the British.)

- She rallied the people together against a common enemy.
- She administered oaths to encourage and unite the Agirama in facing the British.
- Her leadership shows the importance of women in the struggle for Kenya's independence.
- She presented Agirama grievances, some of which the British later addressed.

What were the effects/results of Agirama resistance? (Explain the impact/consequences of Agirama revolt against British invasion/occupation).

- Disruption to the community's economic activities e.g. trade at Takaungu, where they served as middlemen.
- Agirama defeat due to the ruthlessness adopted by the British.
- Prohibition of the brewing of traditional liquor, which for the Agirama was a crucial social and economic activity.
- Closure of the Agirama shrine at Kaya Fungo and building of a new one at Mangea.
- Impoverishment of the Agirama as the British burnt, looted and confiscated foodstuffs, livestock and other valuables.
- Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Agirama.
- Loss of Agirama independence to the British.
- Disunity and disintegration of the Agirama, especially after Lili and Wanje were deported to Kisii.

THE BUKUSU RESISTANCE

Bukusu rebellion against British intrusion into their territory from 1895 was one of the earliest and most fierce resistance to British authority in western Kenya.

What were the reasons for Bukusu resistance against British authority in the Western Kenya region? (Explain the causes of Bukusu revolt/uprising against the British).

- To safeguard Bukusu independence.
- Forced Bukusu recognition of Nabongo Mumia as overall leader of the Luhya.
- British demand for Bukusu surrender of all the guns they possessed.
- British confiscation of Bukusu livestock, grains and other valuables.
- British interference with and disregard for Bukusu culture and tradition.
- Introduction of forced labour and taxation.
- Forced conscription of the Bukusu into the British military and police force.
- Ruthlessness of British agents and officials.

Identify two places where the Bukusu confronted (fought with) the British. (In what two places did the Bukusu and the British confront each other?)

The British and the Bukusu confronted each other at:

- Lumboka fort near Bungoma
- Chetambe on the Webuye hill.

Explain the course/process of Bukusu resistance against the British.

- The Commanding Officer at Kavirondo in western Kenya had sent a trade caravan to the Ravine station. Sadly, the caravan was ambushed by the Bukusu and all rifles taken.
- The British authorities unsuccessfully commanded Bukusu surrender of all the arms in their possession.

- The British then sent a punitive expedition, which was defeated by the Bukusu.
- On hearing the news, Charles Hobley: the British administrator based at Mumias, appealed for help from the Uganda protectorate, which they got, for Major William Grant sent a contingent of Sudanese and Baganda Mercenaries.
- In 1895, two battles were fought at Lumboka near Bungoma and at Chetambe on the Webuye hill, in which the Bukusu were summarily defeated and were therefore subjected to British occupation and eventual colonization.
- The Bukusu launched more resistance attempts, but without any success, because their spears, bows and arrows, coupled with their lack of knowledge on how to use guns meant nothing much for the British and their superior weapons.

What were the effects of Bukusu resistance against British occupation? (Explain the impact of Bukusu resistance against the British).

- Total disruption to the Bukusu economy as their livestock and other valuables were looted, confiscated or destroyed by the British and their agents.
- Alienation of the Bukusu from their land and territory, which was declared British protectorate.
- Capture and imprisonment of Bukusu women and children.
- Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Bukusu.
- Interference with and disruption of Bukusu culture and tradition as some Bukusu were converted to Christianity while the rest became atheists, aping European ways.
- Loss of or poor leadership as British-appointed puppets took control, disregarding Bukusu interests.

THE SOMALI RESISTANCE

The British initially paid no attention to Somaliland. It was only when the race for acquisition of Kenya reached its climax that the British declared Jubaland province a British protectorate, a move that the Somali and their leader: Ahmed Bin Murgan harshly reacted to.

What were the causes of Somali resistance? (Identify the factors that led to Somali resistance against the British. Or:

State the reasons for Somali revolt/uprising against the British.)

- Their strong opposition to Christian British domination, which would undermine Islam.
- Punitive expeditions sent on their land by the British.
- British prevention of cattle raids against neighbouring communities, which the Somali saw as interference with their normal cultural practice.
- Division of Somaliland into Italian and British spheres of influence, which in turn divided the Darod and Hawiye clans in 1890.
- Desire to secure their pastureland and watering points from British interference.
- Desire to carry on with their nomadic lifestyle while the British compelled them to settle down.
- Explain the course/process of Somali resistance against the British.
- In reaction to the injuries inflicted by British expeditions, the Somali raided the Kismayu neighbourhood in 1898, a neighbourhood that was by then a British sphere of influence.
- The British initially made very limited attacks against the Somali.

- In 1900, the Somali murdered Jenner, who was British sub commissioner for Jubaland.
- In response, the British sent a successful but not decisively victorious punitive expedition of Indian contingents against the Somali.
- In 1905, the Somali, who by then had procured fire arms, launched a nine year Hit-And-Run battle, which was contained in 1914 with the change of boundaries.
- In 1925, parts of British Somaliland were put under Italian Somaliland, thereby ending the conflict.

Explain why the British initially made very limited attacks against the Somali.

- Such attacks were enormously expensive in terms of arms and military personnel.
- Suppressing the Somali was difficult and time consuming due to their nomadic lifestyle.
- It was not economically justifiable to wage a war only to gain a small highly unproductive territory.

What were the consequences/results of Somali resistance against British invasion/occupation? (Explain the results/impact of Somali revolt against British invasion/occupation.)

- Loss of Somali independence following the declaration of Protectorate status.
- Confiscation of Somali cattle by the British and their agents.
- Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Somali.
- Division of the Darod and Hawiye clans.
- The Europeans began to venture more into northern Kenya.
- Many Somali were recruited into the colonial force.

COLLABORATION

Explain why some Kenyan communities collaborated with the British.

Kenyan communities who collaborated with the British did so, mainly because:

- They stood to lose and were at a disadvantage.
- Their weapons were inferior.
- Their fighters were ill-trained.
- They were weakened due to natural calamities.

Identify Kenyan communities that collaborated with European rule.

- The Maasai,
- The Wanga,
- Sections of Abaluhya.
- The Agikuyu.
- The Akamba,
- The Luo.

MAASAI COLLABORATION

BACKGROUND

Explain the background/beginning of Maasai collaboration with the British.

- The Maasai, Nilotic-speaking people who inhabit the plains of the Rift Valley were basically cattle keepers, though some of them (the Kwavi) were mixed farmers.
- Although the Maasai were greatly feared, especially by European explorers and foreigners, their history dramatically changed with the death of Mbatian (the leader of the Purko Maasai) in the 19th century, because succession struggles gripped the entire Maasai community, with devastating consequences.

- By 1878, the Purko Maasai had split into two i.e. those under Sendeyo and others under Lenana. Sendeyo and Lenana were the two sons of Mbatian.
- Due to great rivalry between the two groups, Lenana's Maasai were greatly weakened, making Lenana look for an ally to rescue him and his people from this state of affairs.
- Lenana's collaboration with the Europeans perplexed many, given the fierce reputation of the Maasai community.

State the reasons for Maasai collaboration with the British.

- Numerous human and cattle diseases like Rinderpest and Smallpox, which had weakened the community by the time of British penetration.
- They were afflicted by natural calamities like drought, locust invasion and famine, which caused massive loss of livestock: the lifeblood of Maasai economy.
- High Maasai death toll due to severe famine and other natural calamities.
- They suffered devastating raids from the Nandi, who had emerged as a strong power.
- Civil wars among the Maasai, which greatly undermined Maasai power for half a century.
- Hope for British provision of the much needed military support.
- Need for food to save the Maasai from near starvation.
- Lenana's desire to consolidate his position and that of his kingdom.
- Desire to get back Maasai women and children, who had sought refuge among the Agikuyu due to famine in 1891 but who the Agikuyu were refusing to surrender.
- The community reconsidered resistance against the British after a Scottish trader: Andrew Dick and his two French companions killed 100 Maasai people in the Kedong massacre.

Explain the course/process of Maasai collaboration with the British.

- To secure assistance against Sendeyo, the Maasai warriors accepted to get and were recruited as mercenaries in the British army in return for cattle confiscated from communities such as the Nandi and the Luo of Ugenya.
 - Maasai warriors attacked and killed some Agikuyu and Swahili caravan traders who were on their way from Eldama Ravine across the Kedong valley.
 - In response, a Scottish trader called Andrew Dick and his two French companions opened fire on and killed 100 Maasai.
 - Filled with fear and awe as to how just three men could kill as many as 100 people within a short moment, the Maasai immediately sought peace.
 - An agreement was arranged for and signed between the British and the Maasai in 1904, by which Maasai reserves i.e. Laikipia plateau to the north and the Ngong' area to the south, with a 5km corridor and road set aside and constructed to connect the two reserves.
 - Another Anglo-Maasai treaty was arranged for and signed in 1911, by which the Maasai were shifted from Laikipia and pushed to the southern reserve.
- Although the Maasai collaborated to gain support and other benefits, they lost more and benefited least from their cooperation with the British.

What were the results of Maasai collaboration with the British.

- An end to their custom of livestock cross-breeding with their Samburu neighbours.
- British recognition of Lenana as Maasai Paramount chief in 1901.
- British use of some Maasai as mercenaries against resisting communities.
- Total disruption of Maasai Cattle economy.

- Division of the Purko Maasai into Loita and Ngong' groups, which led to separation of related Maasai clans.
- Disruption and disintegration of Maasai territory and integrity.
- Loss of Maasai independence as their land was declared British Protectorate.
- Massive land alienation as the British took up Maasai land, confining the Maasai in reserves.
- Interference with and limit to Maasai initiation and other cultural practices and rites due to creation of a five-square-mile reserve, which was too small for them.
- The Maasai got rewards in form of cattle and grains looted from their hostile neighbours and leaders such as the Nandi, Agikuyu and the Luo.

WANGA COLLABORATION

The Wanga: a section of Abaluhya, were a centralized community under the King (Nabongo). At the time of European invasion and occupation of Kenya, the Wanga were ruled by Nabongo Mumia. Mumia and his Wanga people collaborated with and did not resist the British.

Explain why Nabongo Mumia collaborated with the British. (Explain why the Wanga collaborated with the British.)

Nabongo Mumia led the Wanga into collaboration with the British colonialists because:

- He wanted his people to benefit from British Western civilization, Particularly education and Christianity.
- He wanted to consolidate his position as king and to be made paramount chief of the Wanga and the entire Western Kenya Region.
- He knew that the British would most likely declare Western Kenya their sphere of influence, especially after they declared Uganda a protectorate in 1894.
- He hoped for British protection against his traditional rivals i.e. the Luo of Ugenya, the Bukusu and the Nandi.
- He knew that his small Wanga community would not cost much to the might of the British force, which was much larger. He had seen the futility of resistance and wanted to spare his people from blood-shed.
- He sought help to acquire more territory for his people. He sent his agents to lay claims to Buholo, south Bukusu, Kabaras, Marama, Butso, Samia and Kimilili.
- He wanted to acquire more powerful modern weapons like fire arms for his army.

Explain the course of Wanga collaboration with the British. (Analyse the process of Wanga collaboration with the British.)

- When the British declared Uganda their protectorate in 1894, Mumia was ready to be their ally, hoping that just like the Arab and Swahili had earlier done, the British would pass through and not occupy Wanga territory on their way to Uganda.
- The Swahili and Arab traders, who Mumia had earlier befriended, later teamed up with the Imperial British East Africa Company merchants.
- Overwhelmed by Mumia's hospitality, Company agents and caravan traders built a fort and trading station at Mumia's capital: Elureko.
- In 1909, Mumia was declared Paramount chief by the British as a reward for his help in subduing the Luo, Bukusu and Nandi. His men were used as British agents.
- Elureko (the capital of Wanga kingdom) was later named Mumias in honour of Nabongo Mumia himself and in recognition of his hospitality.

Explain why the British valued their friendship with Nabongo Mumia. (Explain the importance of Nabongo Mumia to the British. Or:

In what ways was Nabongo Mumia's friendship important to the British? Or:

Explain the importance of Wanga Kingdom to the British.)

On their part, the British valued their friendship with Mumia because:

- They needed and used Wanga warriors to fight against the Luo and the Nandi.
- Elureko, which was the Wanga capital, was important as a calling station as the British travelled to Uganda.
- The British would easily obtain food from Wanga territory without using force. They gave the food to their officials and army.
- They were impressed by Nabongo's hospitality, unlike other hostile and resistant communities.

Mumias remained the headquarters of British administration in Western Kenya up to 1920 when it was moved to Kakamega. Even after that, it was still an important point for the British administration.

What were the results/effects of Wanga collaboration with the British? (Explain the impact/consequences of Wanga collaboration with the British. Or:

Explain the outcome of Wanga collaboration with the British.)

- Intensified enmity and hostility between the Wanga and other Luhyia subsections.
- Mumia's honour and declaration as Paramount Chief.
- Material benefit for the Wanga through trade, Western education and religion.
- International use of Wanga warriors as agents of British colonialism by subduing resisting communities.
- Use of Wanga agents by the British to rule indirectly over western Kenya.
- Use of Mumias as a major terminus for trade caravans to Uganda, from where Mumia and his people benefited a lot.
- expansion of Wanga kingdom by annexing new territories in Samia, Bunyala and Busonga.
- Establishment of a base by the Imperial British East Africa company at Mumias, which became the centre for colonial administration in western Kenya up to 1920.
- Ready provision of vital information over the appointment of chiefs and headmen in western Kenya.
- Eventual loss of Wanga independence after the British declared Kenya their colony in 1920.

MIXED REACTION

In facing colonial rule, some African communities exhibited a mixed reaction, whereby some sections of them cooperated with as others resisted European rule.

Identify Kenyan communities whose section cooperated with while others resisted British colonial rule.

- The Akamba,
- The Agikuyu,
- The Luo.

THE AKAMBA REACTION

The Akamba: a Bantu community in Eastern province of Kenya, came into contact and conflict with the British following the arrival of the Imperial British East Africa Company in their territory in 1890.

Explain the reasons for Akamba resistance against British colonial rule. (Why did the Akamba resist British colonial rule?)

- British attempts to prevent Akamba raids on their neighbours which the Akamba saw as interference with a normal cultural practice. The British even established garrisons at Muala and Mukuyuni to prevent Akamba warriors from engaging in raids.
- Disruption of Long-Distance trade by Company agents.
- Subjection of the Akamba to forced labour especially for public work.
- Loss of independence for the Akamba.
- Raping of Akamba women among other forms of abuse to Akamba culture.
- Frequent disruption of Akamba peace by sending British military expeditions against them.
- Confiscation and looting of Akamba property.
- The building of a fort at what is now Machakos by the local British administrators in 1890.
- British lack of respect for Akamba traditions e.g. by cutting down and using sacred Ithembu (shrine) trees as flag-poles at Mutituni in 1891.

Identify the Akamba leaders who spearheaded resistance against the British. (Name the leaders who facilitated Akamba resistance against the British.)

Among the Akamba leaders who spearheaded resistance against the British were:

- Nzivu Mweu, who organized a boycott and refused to sell goods to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1890.
- Syonguu: a prophetess, who ordered warriors in Iveti to attack the Masaku fort in 1890.
- Mwatu Wa Ngoma: an Akamba warrior, who ordered the warriors to attack the British.
- Mwana Muka from Kangundo, who incited the Akamba against the British camps at Mukuyuni and Mwala, leading to the killing of six members of the British force.

Explain the process of Akamba resistance against British colonial rule. (Analyse the course of Akamba resistance against the British.)

- In 1890, Under Nzivu Mweu, the Akamba boycotted sale of goods to Agents of the Imperial British East Africa Company.
- In the same 1890, Syonguu: a ritual prophetess, organized and led an Iveti Akamba rebellion against the British stationed at Masaku for cutting down an Ithembu tree for a flag-pole.
- In 1894, inspired by the blessing from their medicine men, the Akamba under Mwatu Wa Ngoma attacked the British at their Masaku fort for stopping them from raiding their neighbours. They were however stopped by John Ainsworth: the District Commissioner. For self-interest, Mwatu became Ainsworth's ally.
- Akamba resistance continued under Mwana Muka from Kangundo, who urged the Akamba to attack Mwatu Wa Ngoma's village and the British garrisons in Mwala and Mukuyuni, for such garrisons were established to prevent the Akamba from going on raids.
- In response, Ainsworth unsuccessfully sent 950 Maasai warriors against Mwana Muka and his people, who organized more attacks and put a blockade at Lukenya, cutting off communication between Machakos and Fort Smith.

➤ A second expedition of Kikuyu and Maasai warriors was sent, which devastated Kangundo area. The Maasai mercenaries confiscated Akamba livestock, paralyzing the Akamba economically. Mwana Muka was forced to sue for peace.

➤ The British established a detachment of the Kenya African Rifles at Kangundo.

However, Akamba resistance continued well into the 20th century.

Explain why some Akamba collaborated with British colonial rule.

Some Akamba e.g. those under Mwatu Wa Ngoma eventually collaborated with the British in different ways for various reasons such as the following:

➤ They were defeated on various occasions. The Akamba under Mwatu Way Gnome were stopped by Ainsworth in their attack on the Masaku fort.

➤ The ruthlessness with which the British attacked the Akamba scared many warriors. For instance, in 1891 when Prophetess Syonguu mobilized Akamba warriors, the Machakos Superintendent: Leith, dispatched troops with rifles, which devastated the area, killing people indiscriminately.

➤ The Akamba lost a lot of property, especially livestock, with no compensation or replacement. For example, the 1891 uprising against Masaku fort was suppressed through burning, looting and killing, which impoverished the Akamba.

➤ Akamba collaborators were rewarded. After Ainsworth suppressed Mwatu Way Ngoma's Akamba revolt in 1894, many Akamba became collaborators and supported John Ainsworth in return for gifts of grains and cattle confiscated from the Agikuyu and the Maasai.

➤ The devastating famine of 1899 made many Akimbo to collaborate with the British to get food.

➤ Some leaders of the Akamba collaborated so that they could benefit more in trade with the British at Machakos.

Explain why the Akamba were defeated by the British. (Explain why the Akamba lost in their resistance against the British.)

➤ Some of them were weakened by the 1899 famine.

➤ They lost their source of livelihood as their caravan trade and raiding activities were disrupted.

➤ Self-seeking opportunists emerge, who allied and enriched themselves with the colonial agents.

➤ Some Akamba were pacified by Missionaries as their religious beliefs and traditional practices were undermined.

➤ They lacked coordination in their resistance since they were a highly segmented society.

Explain the consequences/impact of the Akamba reaction to British colonial rule.

(What were the effects/results of the Akamba reaction to British colonial rule.)

➤ Burning and looting of villages.

➤ Forced conscription of Akimbo men into the army to fight in the First World War.

➤ Large-scale land-alienation for white settlement.

➤ Introduction of Poll tax.

➤ Massive loss of Akamba lives.

➤ Declaration of Protectorate status over Akamba territory.

➤ The British interfered with Akamba culture.

➤ In spite of Akamba bravery, British rule was imposed over them, though with some reforms. e.g. there was to be no free food for British officials touring Ukambani.

THE LUO REACTION

The Luo of Sakwa, Seme, Uyoma, Ugenya and Kisumu resisted while those of Gem and Asembo collaborated with British rule. Outstanding resisters were the Luo of Ugenya.

Explain why some of the Luo resisted British colonial rule. (Give reasons for Luo resistance against British colonial rule.)

- Need to protect their land.
- Fear of losing their freedom.
- Frequent British attacks on them for grains and livestock.
- Frequent and numerous punitive expeditions against them.

Analyse the process of Luo resistance against British colonial rule. (Explain the course of Luo resistance to British invasion/occupation of their territory.)

- To expand their territory, the Luo of Ugenya invaded Wanga Kingdom and accommodated Wanga deserters.
- Then they attacked and vandalized German stations and British telegraph wires.
- In response, the British sent an expedition (which was successful) against the Luo of Ugenya in 1896.
- The Luo on Winam gulf in Kisumu attacked a British canoe party for taking fish from them without paying.
- After several punitive raids, the Luo of Ugenya were also overcome.

The Luo of Gem under Odera Akang'o and those from Asembo supported the British.

Explain why some section of the Luo collaborated with British colonial rule.

- Influence by neighbouring Wanga community.
- Need to subdue the Luo of Sakwa, Seme, Uyoma and Ugenya.
- Superiority of the British force and weapons.
- Internal leadership disputes.

What were the results/effects of the Luo reaction to British colonial rule? (Explain the impact/consequences of the Luo reaction to British colonial rule.)

- Hatred (increased hostility) between collaborators and resisters.
- Land alienation to pave the way for British occupation and settlement.
- Massive loss of life, especially among the Luo of Ugenya.
- Replacement of African political leadership systems with British ones.
- Loss of independence for both resisters and collaborators.
- Establishment of schools and missions in Luo areas for spreading Western education and religion.
- Looting and burning, which caused loss of property and poverty in Luo territory.

THE AGIKUYU REACTION

Similarly, among the Agikuyu were those who collaborated with and those who actively resisted British rule. There were various reasons for this Agikuyu mixed reaction.

Explain why some Agikuyu sided with British rule. (State the reasons why some Gikuyu leaders collaborated with British rule.)

Gikuyu leaders such as Kinyanjui Way Gathirimu and Karuri Wa Gakure sided with British rule because:

- They got personal wealth and prestige through company trade.
- They wanted protection and recognition of their positions of leadership.

- They needed protection from their local enemies, whom they suppressed with British support.
- They knew very well that, with their inferior weapons, they would not mean much to the might of the British force and weaponry.
- They wanted to benefit from Christianity and Western education.

Explain why some Agikuyu resisted British rule. (Give reasons for Gikuyu resistance against British rule. Or:

Why did sections of the Agikuyu resist British rule?)

- Fear for loss of independence and power, particularly for leaders such as Waiyaki Wa Hinga.
- Forced supply of grains to railway, trade and mail caravans.
- Imperial British East Africa Company raids for grains and cattle in the Agikuyu countryside, during which the people, especially women were harassed.
- Interference with Gikuyu culture, especially by Missionaries, who the Agikuyu saw as not different from Imperial agents.
- Massive land alienation for white settlement.
- Excessive force, which the British applied to enforce their policies. Many punitive expeditions were sent to force them to accept British rule.

Explain the process/organization of the Agikuyu reaction against British rule.

(Analyse the course of Gikuyu reaction to British rule.)

- In 1890, captain Lugard established a fort at Dagoreti for procurement of food from the local people. He entered into an understanding with Waiyaki Way Hinga: the Agikuyu elder who was in charge of the area.
- When Lugard left for Uganda, captain Wilson took charge. But Wilson could not manage his soldiers as Lugard had done.
- Caravan traders started stealing food and livestock from the Agikuyu, who reacted by setting fort Dagoreti on fire.
- John Farnsworth: the then sub commissioner, sent a punitive expedition against Waiyaki. Waiyaki was arrested and died through mysterious circumstances while he was being deported to Mombasa.
- Fort Smith was closed down in 1899 and another fort was opened in Murang'a by Francis Hall. It was called Fort Mbiri, but was renamed Fort Hall after Hall's death in 1901. This fort was built after subduing and forcing the Agikuyu in the area to accept British rule.
- Waiyaki's land was given to the settlers and missionaries who came after 1902. Kinyanjui Wa Gathirimu, who had worked with the British just before Fort Dagoreti was destroyed, succeeded Waiyaki.
- The Fort Hall and Nyeri Agikuyu were conquered with the help of John Boyes, who arrived at Fort Hall looking for food and ivory for his railway survey parties. He forged alliances with two Gikuyu leaders i.e. Karuri Way Gakure of Fort Hall and Wang'ombe of Gaki (Nyeri), both of who supplied him with Agikuyu mercenaries, who supported the British in return for the loot confiscated from resisting groups.
- In 1904, the Agikuyu of Iriaini were subdued ruthlessly, causing the Aembu, who were their allies to petition for peace in 1906 after Meinertzhagen turned against them. Similarly, the Ameru gave in without much of a struggle, having seen the effects of resistance.

By 1910, the entire Mount Kenya region had been subdued by the British. Many Agikuyu were confined in reserves, where they settled peacefully up to the 1920s when political agitation surfaced again.

Explain the results/impact of the Agikuyu reaction to British rule. (What were the consequences of the Agikuyu reaction to British rule?)

- Emergence of Home guards, colonial headmen and many other agents of British rule in Kenya.
- Massive destruction of property.
- Western education and conversion to Christianity for those who collaborated.
- Shift of base by the British from Fort Dagoreti to Fort Smith and later Fort Hall due to constant Agikuyu raids.
- More hatred and animosity in Kikuyuland, with each section lacking trust for the other.
- Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Agikuyu, many of whose leaders and fighters were killed.
- Enormous wealth and rise to prominence by some leaders due to collaboration.
- Loss of Gikuyu independence as their resistance was highly segmentary and isolated into a few sections that were easily suppressed.
- Massive land alienation, which was carried out with the help of collaborating leaders for white settlement in Kikuyuland.
- Eventual declaration of British Protectorate status over Kikuyu territory, leading to British colonization.
- Death of Gikuyu leaders and warriors such as Chief Waiyaki Way Hinga.

Explain why Kenyan communities were defeated/subdued by the British. (Explain why Kenyan communities failed/lost in their resistance against British colonial rule.)

Various factors led to the defeat of African communities by the British during establishment of colonial rule in Kenya as follows:

- ❖ The communities were not united. While some like the Nandi resisted, Others like the Wanga collaborated with British rule.
- ❖ They had inferior weapons which were no much for British fire-arms.
- ❖ African soldiers had little knowledge of the British military tactics.
- ❖ They had been weakened by catastrophes such as famine, Rinderpest outbreak and civil strife in the 1890s.
- ❖ Their leaders lacked organizational skills to mobilize the people against the British.
- ❖ The British used treachery when dealing with some communities e.g. the Nandi.
- ❖ The British destroyed the economic base of the communities, thus making them weak.
- ❖ The warriors got demoralized when many of their colleagues and leaders were captured and killed.
- ❖ The Kenya-Uganda railway facilitated faster movement of British troops.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN KENYA

After subduing indigenous Kenyan communities, the British embarked on establishing a Central and local government for efficient and effective administration. Subjection of Kenyan Africans to British rule was accomplished when the seat of colonial administration was shifted from Zanzibar to Nairobi in 1905.

Explain the problems faced by the British in their effort to establish a good system of administration in Kenya up to 1914. (Explain the factors that undermined British efforts to establish a good system of administration in Kenya up to 1914.)

- ❖ They lacked both funds and experts to facilitate colonial administration in Africa, let alone Kenya.
- ❖ They lacked a Reference model of an administrative system like that of the traditional Buganda that could be emulated by Kenyan communities for the purpose of administration.
- ❖ Most of the chiefs selected by the British lacked legitimacy, for they were rejected by the African elders, who regarded them as nonentities as well as the young generations, who saw them as instruments of colonial exploitation and oppression.
- ❖ Many chiefs used their power to acquire riches in terms of tracts of land, Livestock and wives.
- ❖ British-appointed African leaders depended on the British for military support, which the Africans disliked and which was difficult for the British to provide.

Because of these problems, the British used the Indirect system of administration wherever and whenever possible. In communities with traditional chiefs such as the Wanga and the Maasai, the existing chiefs were recognized by the British.

Explain three main duties of chiefs as stipulated by the 1902 Village Headman Ordinance. (What were the main duties of chiefs as provided for by the 1902 Village Headman Ordinance?)

In 1902, the Village-Headman Ordinance was enacted, which gave chiefs three main duties:

- ❖ Maintenance of public order.
- ❖ Hearing of petty cases.
- ❖ Clearing of roads and foot-paths.

In 1912, through another ordinance, the chiefs' powers and responsibilities were increased. For instance, they and their assistants were allowed to employ other persons to assist them such as messengers and retainers.

Kenya was further divided into provinces, districts, divisions and locations under Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners, District Officers and chiefs for the purpose of administration.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Describe central government in colonial Kenya. (How was Central government in colonial Kenya organized?)

- ❖ Central Government management was coordinated through the advisory and Executive Council, which guided the Governor and effected colonial policies.
- ❖ The Legislative Council was established in 1907 to give legitimacy to laws enacted for the colony.
- ❖ The Governor was in charge of the entire colony and was answerable to the Colonial Secretary.
- ❖ The Kenya Protectorate was divided into Provinces headed by Provincial Commissioners, who served as representatives of the Governor.

Outline the structure/hierarchy of central government in colonial Kenya.

- ❖ The Colonial Secretary, who was based in London and was the head of British administration in all the colonies.

- ❖ The Governor, who was based in Nairobi and represented the British government in the colony.
- ❖ Provincial Commissioners (P.C).
- ❖ District Commissioners (D.C).
- ❖ District Officers (D.O).
- ❖ Chiefs.
- ❖ Headmen.

Explain the functions of the following in colonial Kenya:

- The colonial Secretary,
- The Governor,
- The Provincial Commissioner,
- The District Commissioner,
- The District Officer,
- The Chief,
- The Village Headman.

FUNCTIONS OF THE COLONIAL SECRETARY DURING COLONIAL RULE IN KENYA

- ❖ Was the political head of the British colonial administration.
- ❖ Was overall coordinator of colonial policies discussed by the cabinet and the British Parliament.

FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNOR IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ❖ Represented the British government in Kenya.
- ❖ Reported to the Colonial Secretary in conjunction with the advisory council.
- ❖ Headed the Executive Council, which implemented colonial policies and programs.
- ❖ Gave assent to laws from the Legislative Council before they were implemented.

FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ❖ Represented the Governor in the province.
- ❖ Implemented the policies and laws enacted.
- ❖ Would supervise the work of District Commissioners, District Officers and the entire provincial administration on behalf of the Governor.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ❖ Was in charge of policy implementation in the district.
- ❖ Maintained law and order and ensured security in their areas of jurisdiction.
- ❖ Presided over District advisory Committees.
- ❖ Coordinated the work of Chiefs and District officers.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT OFFICER IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ✓ Implemented orders from the District Commissioners.
- ✓ Coordinated the work of Chiefs.
- ✓ Maintained law and order in their divisions.
- ✓ Represented the Governor at divisional level.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEF IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ✓ Linked people to the governor at local levels.
- ✓ Maintained law and order within the Locations.
- ✓ Coordinated the work of headmen.
- ✓ Tax collection.
- ✓ Labour recruitments for public works and for European settlers.

FUNCTIONS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ✓ Linked people to the Government at the grassroots level.
- ✓ Mobilized their people for development within their villages.
- ✓ Maintained law and order at the Village level.

Chiefs and headmen mainly carried out their duties in the African Reserves, where movement and freedom were completely restricted.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Trace the origin of local government in Kenya. (Describe Local Government in colonial Kenya.)

- ✓ Local government was established in 1902 when, through the Village-Headman Ordinance, the Provincial Commissioner was empowered to appoint natives as village headmen.
- ✓ It had the task of providing specific services to the people residing in particular localities.
- ✓ Unlike central Government which dealt with administration of the whole country, Local Government formed an important part in administering the political process of Kenya.

Explain the functions of local government in colonial Kenya. (What was the role of local government in colonial Kenya? Or:

Why did the British government introduce Local Government in Kenya? Or:

State the reasons why the British government introduced local government in Kenya.)

- ✓ Provision of a legal forum for the local people to make decisions on their day to day affairs through committees.
- ✓ To make use of local resources to achieve development.
- ✓ To link central government to the rural community.
- ✓ To provide a means through which the government would understand the Africans better.
- ✓ To involve the local people in administration.

Trace the origin of Local Native councils in Kenya.

- ✓ Local Native Councils were established in 1922 after the Legico had passed the Native Authority Ordinance, following a request from the African leadership for a forum through which their grievances would be addressed by the colonial government.
- ✓ In 1924, District Advisory Councils were renamed Local Native Councils.
- ✓ Members of the Local Native Councils were appointed by the Provincial Commissioners from among the Chiefs, Headmen and Religious Leaders.
- ✓ The Councils' decisions could not be implemented unless approved by the provincial Commissioner and the Governor.
- ✓ The Council was chaired by the District Commissioner, who had overriding powers. For instance, he would decide on the agenda, refuse to allow discussion of certain issues or suspend any councillor whenever he wished.
- ✓ In many cases, the Provincial Commissioner overruled the decisions of the Council.
- ✓ These councils started with the system of nomination, but they later became elective.
- ✓ In 1948, Local Native councils were renamed The African District Councils (A.D.C), with Paschal Nabwane as their first African chairman.
- ✓ In spite of their change of name, the African District Councils remained the Local Authority organ in African areas until independence in 1963.
- ✓ To maintain law and order, the police and the King's African Rifles were used.

- ✓ In 1902, an Inspector-General from India was appointed to coordinate their activities. Later, the Kenya Police Reserve, regular police and the Prisons Service were created to maintain discipline, law, order and good governance in the entire colony.
- ✓ In White-Settler areas, District Councils were established much earlier than any others. They had wide powers and considerable independence.

What were the objectives of the Local Native Councils in colonial Kenya?

- ✓ To encourage and develop a sense of responsibility and duty among Africans.
- ✓ To provide a mechanism of educated Africans to articulate their requests at the District level.
- ✓ To ensure proper restriction of Africans in their Reserves.
- ✓ To provide a means for the government to understand and contain the African.
- ✓ Achievement of these objectives would be realized through:
 - ✓ Restriction of African activities, especially political agitation.
 - ✓ Provision of basic social needs such as water, cattle dips, public health, education and markets.
 - ✓ Maintenance of basic infrastructure.
 - ✓ Collection of taxes to finance their operation.

What were the consequences of Local Native Councils in colonial Kenya? (Explain the effects of Local Native Councils in colonial Kenya.)

- ✓ African political agitation was confined to the Reserves.
- ✓ Some developments like provision of water, cattle-dips, markets and schools in African areas took place in the reserves.
- ✓ The basic infrastructure like roads were established in African Reserves.
- ✓ The collection of taxes was streamlined through the Local Native Councils.
- ✓ They helped in the arbitration of disputes against Africans.
- ✓ They helped in the maintenance of law and order.

Name the European District councils that were established following the recommendations of a commission of enquiry in 1916.

In 1916, six European District Councils were established on the recommendation of a Commission of Enquiry. These were:

- ✓ Nakuru,
- ✓ Uasingishu,
- ✓ Nairobi,
- ✓ Kisumu,
- ✓ Naivasha,
- ✓ Trans-Nzoia.
- ✓ Aberdare District Council, which was set up in 1939.

In urban areas, local government was also determined by racial considerations.

(b) Explain why Africans did not enjoy the benefits got from Urban councils in colonial Kenya.

- ✓ Urbanization was mainly associated with European and Asian economic activities.
- ✓ Urban Councils were dominated by Europeans, followed by Asians.
- ✓ Although Africans were the majority in towns, they were seen as foreigners and migrant labourers.
- ✓ Africans relied on self-help schemes, with no hope of receiving reasonable social services from the councils.

Explain the impact of Local Government in colonial Kenya. (What were the results/effects of establishment of local government in colonial Kenya?)

- ✓ Maintenance of law and order through a small police force set up in 1896.
- ✓ Arbitration of African disputes through the District African Courts.
- ✓ Exploitation of local resources and initiatives in development..
- ✓ The 1906 Indian police act, which established a police force for the Kenya colony.
- ✓ Development of infrastructure and the general welfare of the African sector.
- ✓ Creation of a link between the central government and the local people.

Explain the factors that undermined local government in colonial Kenya. (Explain the setbacks to local government in colonial Kenya. Or:

What were the weaknesses of local government in colonial Kenya?)

- ✓ Chronic shortage of trained and experienced personnel.
- ✓ Poor transport and communication.
- ✓ Inadequate coordination.
- ✓ Lack of mineral resources.
- ✓ Rivalry between settlers and locals.
- ✓ More revolts as African struggle for freedom intensified.
- ✓ Inadequate revenue for Development programs, projects and day To day operations.

CHAPTER 3

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

By 1900, after dividing Africa among themselves, European powers acquired colonies and concentrated on establishing their rule on Africans, who they recruited as soldiers, chiefs and clerks among other capacities of service in maintaining European rule.

Name the European powers that had acquired colonies in Africa by 1900.

- ✓ Britain,
- ✓ Germany,
- ✓ France,
- ✓ Italy,
- ✓ Spain,
- ✓ Portugal,
- ✓ Belgium.

Describe the administrative systems set up by European powers that had acquired colonies in Africa.

- ✓ Indirect Rule, which was a British policy of administration in which the African traditional chiefs were allowed to rule their people with instructions from British officials.
- ✓ Direct Rule, which was another British system of administration whereby indigenous political and administrative institutions and leaders were replaced with European systems. In it, the British officials ruled directly without intermediaries.
- ✓ Assimilation, which was a French system of administration in which the Africans were to be similar to the French in terms of their culture and other aspects of life.

- ✓ Association, which was another French system of administration that implied partnership, whereby the French government was to respect the culture of people in her colony and allow them to develop independently rather than force them to adopt the French culture and civilization.

European colonial powers governed their colonies through one or a combination of these four systems of administration to facilitate maximum exploitation of the human and natural resources in their respective territories.

The Germans ruled for only a short period, then their colonies in Africa were taken over by the League of Nations as Mandated Territories after the First World War. In their rule in Africa, the Germans applied Direct Rule, just like the Dutch and Italians.

INDIRECT RULE

Define Indirect Rule. (What was Indirect Rule?)

Indirect rule was a single Government system in which the native chiefs had clearly defined duties and an acknowledged status equal with British officials.

Trace the origin of indirect rule in Africa. (Explain the development of Indirect Rule in Africa. Or:

Explain how Indirect Rule started/was introduced in Africa.)

- ✓ Indirect Rule was advanced by Sir Frederick Lugard: the British High Commissioner in the protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1900-1906AD.
- ✓ In it, the British felt that it was their task to preserve what was good in indigenous institutions while assisting the indigenous people to develop on their own lines.
- ✓ In Kenya and West Africa, the indirect system of government entailed using traditional African rulers to administer at the Local Government level while European administrators occupied the senior positions in the administration of the colony.
- ✓ Apart from ceding power to Africans, Indirect rule was purposed to modernize the traditional chiefs so that the British could use them to introduce some modern practices of governance to Africans without interfering or messing up with African political structures.
- ✓ African cultural practices that were found to be repugnant by the British such as human sacrifice, slavery and slave trade, witchcraft, the murder of twins and mutilation of limbs had to be eliminated.

Explain why the British used/applied Indirect rule in Africa. (What were the reasons for use of Indirect Rule in Africa?)

- ✓ It had succeeded in Uganda and India.
- ✓ Extending Direct Rule over distant territories would have been expensive.
- ✓ Britain lacked enough manpower to handle all the administrative responsibilities.
- ✓ Africans under Direct Rule would most likely resist.
- ✓ Britain was keener on her Indian colony than with her African possessions.
- ✓ Traditional African rulers were enthusiastic about and were to acquire new responsibilities in addition to retaining their positions and almost all their powers.
- ✓ British citizens were reluctant to serve in the tropics, which they perceived to be prone to diseases and other physical hardships.
- ✓ Very little funding was set aside for colonial administration by the parent government.
- ✓ Local systems of administration were already established in many African communities.

- ✓ Use of the existing traditional political systems helped to cut down on administrative costs.

THE BRITISH IN NIGERIA

Identify three administrative zones/regions that the Nigerian protectorate initially comprised. (Into what three administrative regions was the Nigerian protectorate first divided?) Initially, the Nigerian protectorate comprised three separately administered regions. These were:

- ✓ The Lagos colony Protectorate,
- ✓ The Southern Nigeria Protectorate
- ✓ The Northern Nigeria Protectorate.

These entities were then amalgamated (merged or joined) under one administration due to difficulties in administering them separately. In 1906, Lagos was integrated into Southern Nigeria. In 1914, the Northern and Southern protectorates were merged to form one Nigeria Protectorate.

Explain why the British applied/used Indirect Rule in Nigeria.

- ✓ Lack of enough European manpower to effectively control the vast Northern Nigeria protectorate.
- ✓ The Indirect system of government was cost effective, for only a few British officials would be employed, leaving the African traditional leaders to do most of the administrative work at the local level.
- ✓ Indirect Rule helped dilute African resistance to British rule as the local chiefs and elders who had governed during the pre-colonial period retained their positions at the local level.
- ✓ Poor transport and communication network in the vast Nigeria protectorate prevented the few British personnel from carrying out their duties.
- ✓ Indirect Rule had succeeded in Uganda and India.
- ✓ In northern Nigeria, there already existed the well established system of government based on Islamic law.
- ✓ African chiefs easily managed with the poor infrastructure.
- ✓ The Dual Mandate policy was to encourage the development of the colony for its own good and that of Britain.

ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

Analyse application of Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria. (Explain how Indirect Rule was applied in Northern Nigeria.)

Frederick Lugard: the British High Commissioner for northern Nigeria from 1900AD spearheaded application of Indirect rule in the Northern Nigeria region as follows:

- ✓ The protectorate was under the British High Commissioner answerable to the colonial officer in charge of Northern Nigeria. This High commissioner used the centralized system of government under the Emir's rule. For effective rule, the region was divided into smaller administrative units.
- ✓ Nigeria was divided into provinces, each under a British Resident or Provincial Commissioner.
- ✓ The Province was divided into Districts under British District officers.
- ✓ Under the District officers were the Emirs, who retained reasonable power and responsibilities.
- ✓ In each province, a court of appeal was created, presided over by a Resident.

- ✓ The British maintained a military force to suppress rebellion.
- ✓ Frederick Lugard used the central government of the Emirs to administer the region, assisted by a few European officers.
- ✓ The Emirs gladly cooperated with Lugard, especially after realizing that the British did not seek to completely replace them.

Explain the duties/responsibilities of the Emirs during Indirect rule in Northern Nigeria.

- ✓ Imposed and collected tax.
 - ✓ Tried cases in their Muslim courts and had their own prisons to jail those convicted.
 - ✓ Maintained law and Order.
 - ✓ Had to eliminate the practices that the British could not condone.
- After the merger of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914, Lugard tried but failed to establish Indirect Rule in southern Nigeria

Explain why Indirect rule failed in Southern Nigeria. (Explain the factors that undermined Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria. Or:

Explain the setbacks to Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria.)

- ✓ Southern Nigeria did not have a centralized government suitable for the application of Indirect rule.
- ✓ ii) The Igbo community resisted introduction and payment of taxes.
- ✓ iii) The Mission-educated elites felt left out and opposed the practice of appointing illiterate traditionals as chiefs in the administration of their country.
- ✓ Unlike Northern Nigeria, southern Nigeria had many ethnic groups with diverse cultures, languages and various political and religious systems, making it difficult to unite them under one ruler.
- ✓ Lugard attempted but failed to appoint Igbo traditional chiefs with responsibilities like those of the Emirs in northern Nigeria.
- ✓ The elders were offended further when Mission-educated young men were appointed to leadership.
- ✓ Lugard's attempt to give more power to Yoruba traditional leaders (the Obas) than what they were entitled to under their traditions could not work. The people despised the new authority of these leaders and became so discontented with them that the leaders had to give up.
- ✓ While Hausa was the language of administration in the North, the southern elite used English while the rest used local languages.
- ✓ Most Southern Nigerian societies had Village-Government systems (the councils of elders), which did not suit Indirect rule. Indirect Rule suited the Niger-Delta states, where traditional authorities were strong.
- ✓ Misuse of power by the warrant chiefs, who even collected tax for their own good. This drew great opposition, characterised by riots e.g. those of 1918 and 1929.
- ✓ There was a lot of communication breakdown, since Southern Nigeria lacked a common language, which made it difficult to administer.

However, Lugard was so convinced of the general good of Indirect Rule that, where there were no chiefs, he created some to ease tax collection, labour recruitment, etc. among the Igbo, these chiefs were often attacked by discontented parties, which led to British study of traditional government among the Igbo and other Eastern Nigerian societies. Although the system was not changed, adjustments were made, which improved the situation.

In what ways did Governor Donald Cameron modernize Indirect rule in Nigeria?

(Explain how Governor Donald Cameron reformed Indirect rule in Nigeria.)

In 1931, Donald Cameron was appointed governor of Nigeria. He tried to modernize Indirect Rule by:

- ✓ Checking (limiting) the growing independence of the Emirs in the north.
- ✓ Attempting to elevate the declining power of the Alafin in Yorubaland.
- ✓ Stressing the development of institutions instead of preserving them. E.g. he appointed educated people to some chiefly councils in southern Nigeria.

However, these were mere adjustments that did not meet the changing needs of the society.

What were the weaknesses/disadvantages of Indirect Rule?

In spite of its success in Northern Nigeria, Indirect rule had the following disadvantages:

- ✓ Poor or lack of communication between British officials and African chiefs due to language barrier.
- ✓ The new duties of traditional leaders such as tax collection and recruitment of labour made these leaders very unpopular among their subjects.
- ✓ Some regions lagged behind in terms of development due to opposition to change in lifestyles by local leaders such as the Emirs of northern Nigeria.
- ✓ Local rulers individually lost their independence to the British.
- ✓ The chiefs and their councils often disregarded what was unfamiliar to them e.g. Christianity and forced labour.
- ✓ It needed a lot of adaptation where indigenous administration structures did not exist.
- ✓ British officials lacked the long, patient and skilful effort needed for education of chiefs and councillors in modern ideas and therefore gave up easily.
- ✓ Northern Nigeria was isolated from other parts of Nigeria, which had a negative effect on the general development of the north compared to the south.

What were the effects/results of Indirect Rule in Africa? (Explain the impact/consequences of Indirect Rule in Africa.)

- ✓ Preservation of African cultures, unlike the case in Assimilation where they had to be replaced.
- ✓ Enrichment of African chiefs, who accumulated wealth at the expense of their subjects. They kept part of the tax they collected for their personal benefit.
- ✓ Protection of people, particularly northern Nigerians by their leaders from any foreign ideas, regarded as too radical.
- ✓ Suspicion and mistrust between the educated elite and the traditional chiefs appointed by British officials in southern Nigeria. The elites later reacted by forming political movements, which led to nationalism in Nigeria.
- ✓ Modernization of the indigenous systems of administration, particularly in northern Nigeria.
- ✓ Transformation of the role of traditional African leaders for the purpose of tax collection as well as provision of labour and soldiers to the colonial government.
- ✓ Introduction of British systems of administration and justice, with the hope of modernizing (though it undermined) existing ones.
- ✓ Slow development in Northern Nigeria as the Muslims in the north were conservative and did not appreciate new ideas. Education, Western civilization and Christianity gained root slowly and administrative jobs in the north were taken up by the educated (elite) from southern Nigeria.

- ✓ Introduction of economic exploitative policies e.g. land-alienation, taxation and forced labour.
- ✓ Some local rulers lost their independence to the British Governors.

DIRECT RULE

What was Direct Rule? (Define Direct Rule.).

- ✓ Direct Rule was a system of administration where indigenous political and administrative institutions and leaders were replaced with European systems.
- ✓ It was a system of government whereby European officers ruled directly without using any intermediaries (go-betweens).

Almost all powers used Direct Rule as a method of administration to some extent.

THE BRITISH IN ZIMBABWE

Analyse establishment of British colonial rule in Zimbabwe. (Trace the origin of British colonial rule in Zimbabwe.)

- ✓ British colonial rule was introduced in Zimbabwe in 1899, when British settlers under Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company entrenched themselves economically and politically after their arrival in Mashonaland.
- ✓ Together with Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi), southern Rhodesia (as Zimbabwe was known at that time) formed British Central Africa.
- ✓ Cecil Rhodes used his great wealth to settle Europeans in Mashonaland. He firmly established Company rule in spite of resistance by the indigenous people.
- ✓ British South Africa Company officials were stationed all over Zimbabwe. The presence of many European settlers meant that the administrative vacancies in the colony could easily be filled. For this reason, Zimbabwe was named Rhodesia (after Cecil Rhodes himself).
- ✓ Individual settlers were appointed as administrators and were given free land by the British South Africa Company.

What were the characteristics of Direct Rule in Zimbabwe? (Describe the features of Direct Rule in Zimbabwe).

- ✓ A large number of European settlers, whose population kept rising.
- ✓ Attitude and belief that Zimbabwe was pre-ordained to be a White settler colony.
- ✓ Administration by a commercial company (the British South Africa Company)
- ✓ A long chain of European civil servants, headed by the administrator for the British South Africa Company.
- ✓ Application of the direct method of administration on Africans.
- ✓ A Legislative Council, which comprised company nominees and elected settler representatives.
- ✓ European acquisition of large tracts of land.
- ✓ Adoption of measures that compelled Africans to provide labour.

Explain the reasons for adoption of Direct rule in Zimbabwe. (Why did the British use/apply direct rule in Zimbabwe?)

The British decided to use the system of Direct Rule in Zimbabwe because:

- ✓ They wanted to acquire full control of the economy and to exploit the resources such as minerals and farmland for their own benefit.

- ✓ The traditional system of administration and indigenous political institutions such as the Indunas had been disrupted or destroyed during the British conquest of Zimbabwe.
- ✓ They wanted to ensure complete control over the African communities as a way of eliminating resistance.
- ✓ The British South Africa Company officials and the settlers who were familiar with the British system of administration helped to put in place the required administrative structures. There wasn't the problem of lack of manpower.
- ✓ The British South Africa Company had enough funds to pay the administrators.
- ✓ The 1896-1897 Chimurenga uprising eroded British confidence in using traditional chiefs in the administration of the colony.

Explain the steps taken to ensure effective British occupation of Zimbabwe. (What steps did the British take to ensure their full occupation of Zimbabwe?)

- ✓ The British took over the gold workings in Mashonaland and stopped trade between Africans and the Portuguese.
- ✓ The British South Africa Company was empowered to impose a Hut tax and establish a Native department to control the whole colony.
- ✓ Reserves were created for Africans while passes for livestock, minerals and forced labour were introduced.
- ✓ A Legislative council consisting of five elected and four nominated members was established.
- ✓ A resident Commissioner and a Commandant General were appointed in 1898 by the British government.
- ✓ A Labour Board for Rhodesia was established by the Company to supply settlers in Matabeleland with workers to add onto that supplied by the Native department.
- ✓ Native land was brought under the British crown to the advantage of white settlers, who took the land to themselves when Company rule later ended. Up to this day, land is a contentious issue in Zimbabwe.

Describe Company administrative structure in Southern Rhodesia. (Analyse the structure of Company administration in Southern Rhodesia.)

- ✓ From her conquest by the British in the 1890s, up to 1923 when she became a Crown Colony, Zimbabwe was administered by the British South Africa Company, headed by the Resident Commissioner who was appointed by the company and was stationed at what is now Harare.
- ✓ Under the Resident Commissioner were various District Commissioners, all of who were Europeans.
- ✓ Under the District Commissioners were the African chiefs, who collected taxes, recruited labour and maintained law and order.
- ✓ By 1901, the white settlers, whose population had grown larger, had a significant bearing on the constitutional and administrative developments in southern Rhodesia. E.g. the British South Africa Company demarcated separate reserves for Africans in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland apart from giving grants of up to 3000 acre pieces of land to the pioneer settlers.
- ✓ By 1920, the settlers had acquired power so immensely that they began considering themselves as the real owners of Southern Rhodesia.

Analyse Crown Colony rule in Zimbabwe (1923-1953). (Describe Crown Colony rule in Zimbabwe (1923-1953).)

- ✓ Because company officials were gradually outnumbered by the European settlers, the British South Africa Company decided to give up control over Southern Rhodesia, which was left with an option of either becoming a Crown Colony or merging with South Africa.
- ✓ Through a vote, majority of the settlers chose to become a Crown Colony. They feared Afrikaner domination if they merged with South Africa and were worried that their economic interests would be neglected in favour of those of the Afrikaners.
- ✓ In 1923, southern Rhodesia became a Crown Colony.
- ✓ After these changes, the government formulated a new policy: the Two-Pyramid (parallel) development policy to run the colony. In this way, the white settlers had entrenched themselves even more firmly in Southern Rhodesia.
- ✓ In 1925, the Government set up a commission to make recommendation on the future of unallotted land in the colony. As a result, the Land Apportionment act was passed in 1930. It became the Greater Charter (Magna Carta) of southern Rhodesia.
- ✓ In 1934, the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed. This act was designed to protect white workers from African competition. For example, it empowered the government to prohibit Africans from setting up trade unions.
- ✓ Alarmed by continuing African political agitation, the government invited more and more settlers, who in turn agitated for formation of a federation comprising the three central African territories i.e. Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). They hoped that if all the settlers in the three territories ganged up, they could wield more power at the expense of the African communities.

What were the results/consequences of Crown Colony rule in Zimbabwe? (Explain the impact/effects of Crown Colony rule in Zimbabwe.)

- ✓ A new constitution was drawn up.
- ✓ A Governor was appointed to represent the Queen of England.
- ✓ The settlers were given more freedom in running the economy.
- ✓ The British government was empowered by the constitution to veto any legislation that would discriminate against Africans. However, this clause was never honoured.

Define the Two Pyramid policy as practised in Zimbabwe during Crown Colony rule.

The Two Pyramid policy was a racist policy, similar to Apartheid policy as adopted by the South African regime, characterised by discrimination against Africans.

Describe two pillars of the Two Pyramid policy. (What two pillars made up the Two Pyramid policy?)

The Two-Pyramid policy comprised two main pillars i.e.:

- ✓ The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which became the Greater Charter of southern Rhodesia.
- ✓ The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934, which was designed to protect white workers from African competition.

What were the provisions of the Land Apportionment act (1930) in Zimbabwe?

- ✓ It introduced rigid territorial segregation whereby land and other valuables were apportioned or divided into Whites' and Africans' portions.
- ✓ Africans could no longer acquire land outside their segregated areas. Sadly, the minority whites took up half of the best arable land as Africans were settled in the harsh areas infested with Tsetse flies and mosquitoes.
- ✓ It categorized land into segregated areas.

Into what four areas did the 1930 Land Apportionment act categorize land in Zimbabwe? (With regard to the 1930 Land Apportionment act, identify four areas into which land in Zimbabwe was divided.)

- ✓ Native Reserve areas i.e. land set aside for the African population, which was inadequate for the large African population.
- ✓ Native Purchase area, also land set aside for the Africans, from where Africans could buy land. This area experienced harsh climatic conditions.
- ✓ The European area. This was exclusively for the whites.
- ✓ The Unassigned area, which was set aside for expansion of government buildings and other uses.

In what ways did the 1930 Land Apportionment act negatively affect Africans in Zimbabwe? (Explain how the 1930 Land Apportionment act impacted negatively on Africans in Zimbabwe.)

- ✓ Many Africans were forced to become migrant labourers due to land unproductivity.
- ✓ Alienation of more Africans.
- ✓ Widespread poverty among Africans.
- ✓ Disruption of social roles in the Reserves as African men moved to towns and settler farms.
- ✓ Racial segregation in the provision of services in urban centres.
- ✓ Expropriation of land became the most serious grievance held by the African population.
- ✓ Imposition of taxation on Africans to compel them to provide labour for the Europeans.

What were the results of the Industrial Conciliation act (1934) in Zimbabwe? (In what ways was the 1934 Industrial Conciliation act in Zimbabwe designed to protect white workers from African competition? Or:

How did the 1934 Industrial Conciliation act impact negatively on Africans in Zimbabwe?)

- ✓ It empowered the government to prohibit Africans from setting up trade unions.
- ✓ Africans from beyond the borders of Southern Rhodesia were imported to provide labour at very low wages.
- ✓ Due to this act, Africans were pushed to the lowest level in the racially segregated society.
- ✓ Skilled jobs were set aside for the Europeans while Africans provided cheap manual labour.

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

In 1953, the British government approved the formation of a Central African Federation

Name the states/territories that formed/constituted the Central African Federation as approved by the British government in 1953.

- ✓ Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),
- ✓ Northern Rhodesia (Zambia),
- ✓ Nyasaland (Malawi).

Describe the organization of the Central African Federation as approved by the British government in 1953.

The Central African federation approved by the British government in 1953 was organized as follows:

- ✓ Each territory had its own government, responsible for local administration.
- ✓ Each territorial government was responsible for all aspects of native affairs within its boundary.

- ✓ The British government was directly involved in the administration of the two northern protectorates.
- ✓ An African Affairs Board was established to ensure that no racist legislation against the Africans was passed in the federal parliament.
- ✓ The federal parliament was given powers to deal with all matters involving more than one territory.

Identify the changes that characterised the spirit of reform among the leadership of white Rhodesian settlers in the early years of the Central African Federation.

In the early years of the Central African federation, there was a spirit of reform among the leadership of white Rhodesian settlers. The settlers opposed the efforts of Prime Minister Garfield Todd to conciliate Africans for they did not want Africans to compete with them in economic life. But the leadership carried on with the reforms through the following changes:

- ✓ A bill was introduced which recognized African trade unions.
- ✓ Government expenditure on African agriculture was increased.
- ✓ Attention was paid to provision of African education.
- ✓ The electoral system was reformed to give more Africans the vote.

Discuss political developments in the Central African Federation after 1953. (Assess the Central African Federation after 1953. or:

Discuss political developments in Zimbabwe after 1953.)

- ✓ In 1958, Todd was forced out of office by his cabinet colleagues and was succeeded by Sir Edgar Whitehead, who abolished Todd's reforms and started an era of repression, in which Africans were exploited.
- ✓ Whitehead was succeeded by Ian Smith.
- ✓ In 1963, the Central African Federation was dissolved. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland became politically independent while Southern Rhodesia remained a self governing colony.
- ✓ In 1965, Ian Smith proclaimed Southern Rhodesia's independence from Britain, but, on Britain's request, the United Nations Organization (UNO) imposed trade sanctions on southern Rhodesia in certain goods, but South Africa and Portugal continued to trade with Southern Rhodesia, which prevented Southern Rhodesia's complete isolation by Britain.
- ✓ With the new constitution of 1969, African rights were ignored and the white minority was more dictatorial.
- ✓ In 1970, Southern Rhodesia broke completely from Britain as it was declared a republic by Ian Smith's government. By that time, what was Northern Rhodesia had become Zambia while what was Nyasaland had become Malawi, leaving what was Southern Rhodesia to be simply known as Rhodesia.
- ✓ In 1971, Britain announced a settlement with the minority whites in Rhodesia, which stated that Black rule would be achieved in Rhodesia as more and more of the African majority qualified to vote and that Britain was to grant legal independence to Rhodesia if the settlement was implemented and if a majority of the Africans accepted it. Africans were not included in the negotiations to reach the settlement. Furthermore, new property qualifications were introduced which kept the number of African voters low to avoid an African majority in the voting system.

- ✓ In early 1972, a commission under Lord Pearce was sent from London to find out African feelings about the 1971 settlement, but it was rejected, so Rhodesia remained illegally independent.

White minority domination of Rhodesia continued up to 1980 when Rhodesia attained her independence under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as its first African leader. It was from that time that the country became known as Zimbabwe.

What were the effects/results of direct British rule in Zimbabwe? (Explain the impact/consequences of direct British rule in Zimbabwe. Or: Discuss the legacy of British colonial rule in Zimbabwe.)

- ✓ African nationalism. The Africans, fed up with British exploitation, demanded independence.
- ✓ Forced labour for Africans.
- ✓ Subjection of Africans to land alienation for white settlement. The Africans were pushed to Reserves.
- ✓ Enhancement of white settler production of cash crops on large white-owned plantation farms that were developed using African labour.
- ✓ Intense economic exploitation of Africans e.g. through payment of taxes and forced labour.
- ✓ Loss of political power and independence by indigenous African rulers.
- ✓ Disruption of African cultural practices. For instance, family members were separated as they left their homes to look for means of livelihood.
- ✓ Disruption of the African Traditional economy as the Africans had to work in European farms.
- ✓ The British South Africa Company was given too much power in the administration of the Economy
- ✓ Economic developments were undertaken as per the terms of the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). Transport, trade and industry were developed in the Settler regions.
- ✓ Colonial rule,, which generally cause poverty among the Africans due to exploitation.

ASSIMILATION

What is Assimilation? (Define Assimilation.)

Assimilation means to cause to resemble.

Explain why the French adopted Assimilation as a policy of administration. (Why did the French use Assimilation as a policy of administration? Or:

Explain why the French used Assimilation in administering their colonies.)

- ✓ The French Revolution of 1789, which emphasized the equality of all men. Therefore, every inhabitant of a French colony had a right to French citizenship.
- ✓ The French and other countries that practised Assimilation believed that their culture and civilization were superior to those of the Africans. They therefore imposed this standard on other nations, whose civilization they considered inferior, hoping to fully assimilate them into French culture.
- ✓ The Mulattoe population (children of mixed (European and African) parentage) in West Africa readily accepted the French culture.
- ✓ Africans in the Quatre communes were familiar with traders, colonial administrators and missionaries due to their long period of interaction with them.

- ✓ A high percentage of the population in the Quatre communes had already been converted to Christianity.

The policy of Assimilation was perfected by Lewis Faidherbe in Senegal from 1854-1865AD. The colony therefore became an integral part of the mother country rather than a separate state. France felt she had a mission to educate her colonial people in her rich heritage.

THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

Describe French structure of administration in West Africa. (Analyse/discuss French system of administration in West Africa. Or:

Describe French administration in West Africa.)

- ✓ French system of administration in west Africa was highly centralized, since the French believed in efficiency and uniformity.
- ✓ It had eight colonies, all of which were grouped into or formed the Federation of French West Africa, whose capital was Dakar: Senegal.
- ✓ The Federation was headed by a Governor General, who was answerable to the French Minister for Colonies in Paris.
- ✓ Under the Governor General were Lieutenant Governors, who were in charge of constituent colonies.
- ✓ Each colony was divided into Cercles (Provinces), each of which was headed by a Commandant De Cercle.
- ✓ A Cercle was further divided into small districts, each of which was headed by a Chef De Subdivision. If outstanding in performance, the Chef De subdivision would be elevated or promoted to Chef de Province (equivalent to Paramount Chief in the British system).
- ✓ Each district was divided into Cantons (equivalent to locations), each under a Chef De Canton.
- ✓ Under the Chef De Canton were Chef De Village (village elders), each of which headed a sub location.
- ✓ From the Districts to Villages were African chiefs.
- ✓ Each colony elected a Deputy to the French Chamber of Deputies in Paris.
- ✓ The people of West Africa were to be transformed into Frenchmen in all aspects of their lives. French and an African were given the same consideration under French colonization.
- ✓ French colonies and their societies were to be moulded in the image of France.
- ✓ Most of the French colonial officials were inefficient since many of them were military officers, who lacked high education, but were rewarded with senior administrative positions for their role in the colonial conquest.

In Senegal itself, assimilation was only applied in the Quatre (four communes i.e. Saint Louis, Goree, Rufisque and Dakar, outside of which Africans were ruled through local chiefs.

Explain the benefits enjoyed by the assimilated Africans in French West Africa.

- They were allowed to send representatives to the French chamber of deputies;
- They could vote, just like Frenchmen;
- They were provided with education opportunities like Frenchmen;
- They were exempted from forced labour, taxation and arbitrary arrest;
- They enjoyed trading rights;

- They enjoyed the services of the French judicial system;
- They were employed as civil servants;
- They operated local Authority structures like Frenchmen.

Explain the role/duties of African chiefs in French West Africa.

- ✓ Collected taxes,
- ✓ Maintained law and order,
- ✓ Organized forced labour,
- ✓ Assisted in conscription of Africans into the army.

Into what three grades were local chiefs in French West Africa categorized? (Identify three grades into which local chiefs in French West Africa were divided/classified. Or: Describe three grades of local chiefs in French West Africa.)

- ✓ Chefs De Province, who were equivalent to Paramount chiefs and were usually the successors of pre-colonial chiefs,.
- ✓ Chefs De Canton. Cantons were equivalent to locations. Mostly, such chiefs were ordinary people of ability appointed by French officials.
- ✓ Chefs De Village (village heads or elders). These were usually traditional Community heads.

Explain:

- ✓ The role/duties of Chefs De Cantons in French West Africa.
- ✓ Chefs De Village in French West Africa.

CHEFS DE CANTONS

Cantons were equivalent to locations. Mostly, Chefs De Canton were ordinary people of ability appointed by French officials. Their duties included:

- ✓ Keeping a Tax-payers register in the Canton.
- ✓ Helping the government in the conscription of Africans into the army.
- ✓ Assisting the government in the mobilization of forced labour among Africans.

CHEFS DE VILLAGE

Chefs De Village (village heads or elders) were usually traditional Community heads.

Among their duties were:

- ✓ Maintenance of roads in their areas.
- ✓ Maintenance of law and order.
- ✓ Collection of taxes.
- ✓ Organizing relief, e.g. during floods.

Into what three phases was French rule in west Africa divided? (Describe three phases into which French rule in West Africa was divided.)

French rule in west Africa was in three phases. These were:

- ✓ That which began from the earliest days of French administration in the urban coastal region of Senegal (the four communes of Saint Louis, Goree, Rufisque and Dakar) and went on up to mid 19th century. Inhabitants of the region were detribalized and assimilated into French culture.
- ✓ The governorship of Lewis Faidherbe (1854-1865), whereby the French subdued and controlled the Africans of the interior of Senegal, to whom the French were new, but, it was hoped, would be assimilated into French culture and become French citizens just like the coastal inhabitants.
- ✓ The period from 1880 onwards, when the French conquered and controlled the west African interior and portions of the coast of Guinea.

Explain the characteristics of Assimilation. (Describe the features of the French system of Assimilation.)

The French system of Assimilation had several features. These include:

- Administrative Assimilation, whereby French colonies were regarded as overseas provinces or departments of France.
- Political assimilation, which entailed a close political identity between the colonies and France, whereby the colonies were represented in the French chamber of Deputies i.e. the Lower House of the French parliament.
- Economic Assimilation i.e. economic integration of the French economy with that of her colonies. The French currency was used in the colonies to strengthen economic ties.
- Personal Assimilation i.e. acquisition of French citizenship. This was mainly experienced between France and the Communes in Senegal, where Africans were given French citizenship and other privileges enjoyed by French citizens.

Explain the conditions that Africans in French west Africa had to fulfil to qualify for French citizenship. (Identify the requirements met by Africans in French West Africa before they attained the assimilé status.)

To qualify for full French citizenship, an indigenous African in French West Africa had to:

- Become a Christian.
- Speak French.
- Attain French education.
- Serve in the civic service.

Explain why Assimilation succeeded in Senegal. (What were the reasons for the success of Assimilation in Senegal?)

- High percentage of children of mixed (African and European) parentage in the four communes.
- Africans in the four communes were familiar and interacted with European traders, colonial administrators and Missionaries.
- Most of the population in the four communes accepted the policy as they had been converted to Christianity.

Explain the factors that undermined Assimilation. (Explain why Assimilation failed. Or: Identify the setbacks/hindrances to Assimilation in French West Africa.)

- It became increasingly expensive as the French colonial empire expanded.
- Some cultures of some communities across Africa were still intact due to little or lack of contact with Europeans. These proved difficult for French colonial administrators to handle.
- Racial discrimination against the indigenous people, which undermined the system.
- Traditional African rulers resisted the system as they did not want to lose their authority over the Assimilés.
- France was motivated mainly by economic rather than social or political factors in establishing colonies in Africa.
- The French citizens in the motherland opposed the policy as they feared being outnumbered in the Chamber of Deputies.
- Some European Frenchmen feared that assimilated Africans would become serious economic rivals as they would have equal rights with Frenchmen.
- Muslims seriously resisted French attempts to convert them to Christianity.

- At the turn of the 19th century, the French began to reject Senegalese demands and to abolish the civil rights they enjoyed.
- Assimilation undermined French colonization as it would not be possible to exploit Africans who attained the Assimile status.

It was difficult for Africans to abandon their cultures in favour of the French

Explain the impact/results of Assimilation in French West Africa. (What were the effects/consequences of Assimilation in French West Africa.

- Participation of Africans in the political matters of France. E.g. Blaise Diagne from Senegal was elected Deputy in the French Parliament.
- Disruption of African culture as many Africans embraced French way of life.
- Divisions occurred between the assimilated Africans who became French citizens and the noncitizens, who paid taxes and were subjected to forced labour.
- Senegal was incorporated into the French Republic and regarded as an overseas province of France.
- Great frustration to the spread of Islam, especially in the communes due to introduction of and conversion of many Africans to Christianity.
- The authority of traditional African leaders was undermined and eroded as they were replaced by the assimilated Africans.
- Introduction of and conversion by some Africans to Christianity in Senegal.
- Introduction and modelling of education on the French system. The Assimilated Africans acquired French education and had to serve in the French Civil Service.
- Introduction and use of French language in west and other parts of Africa.
- French realization that Assimilation was dangerous and unwise.
- The failure of Assimilation which was replaced by the new policy of Association, whereby Africans were allowed to develop along their own lines but in close association with the French.
- Subjection of Africans (particularly those not yet assimilated) to taxation and forced labour.

THE POLICY OF ASSOCIATION

Define Association as a French colonial administrative structure. (Define Association as applied in French West Africa.)

Association was a policy of administration whereby the French colonial government was to respect the cultures of her colonial peoples and allow them to develop independently instead of forcing them to adopt French civilization and culture. It had already been developed and applied by Savorgnan De Brazza in Central Africa.

Explain how Africans were regarded in French West Africa under Association. (Explain how the policy of Association was applied in French West Africa. Or:

Describe the French system of Association.)

- With this new policy, assimilated Africans were regarded as French citizens, but other Africans in French colonies were treated as subjects or Second-class citizens, to whom French civil and criminal law did not apply.
- Unlike the assimilated Africans, subjects retained their cultural practices e.g. Islam and Polygamy.

Explain the differences between French and British colonial systems of administration.

(Identify the contrasts between French and British colonial systems of administration. Or:

Contrast the French and British colonial administrative structures.)

The main difference was that while the British adopted Indirect and Direct Rule in their colonies, the French were keen on destroying the African traditional administrative systems by giving every inhabitant in their colonies the right to become a French citizen. Other differences between French and British systems of administration were as follows:

- British colonies were administered separately by a governor accountable in Britain while the French colonies were governed as a federation and were regarded as overseas provinces or departments of France.
- Indirect Rule preserved African cultures while Assimilation undermined or eroded them.
- The French administration mostly used military officers while the British used a mixture of amateurs and professionals.
- The British were keen to appoint traditional rulers as chiefs, but the French simply hand-picked individuals who met their qualifications.
- Laws applied in French colonies were legislated in France while those in British colonies were enacted by the Legislative Councils in particular areas of concern.
- The British gave the traditional rulers a lot of power, but the French worked to undermine African Chieftaincies.
- British rule was varied as both Direct and Indirect Rule were applied. But the French had a uniform policy of Assimilation and only changed to Association when Assimilation failed.
- Africans in the French colonies became French citizens with full rights. However, the elites in the British colonies remained subjects.
- French colonies elected their representatives to the Chamber of Deputies in France, but the British colonies had Legislative Councils where policies were made for the colonies. British colonies were not represented in the House Of Commons.

Explain the similarities between the French and British colonial systems of administration. (Identify the common features in British and French colonial systems of administration. Or:

State the common features in British and French colonial administrative structures.)

- In both, European administrators took up senior positions in government during colonial administration.
- In both, the Africans were subjected to oppressive colonial laws and were denied the right to vote.
- Both caused massive economic exploitation of Africans. European officials developed the colony for their own good while Africans were subjected to land alienation, taxation and forced labour.
- In both, the position of chiefs was created and their authority established where there were no central authorities.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN COLONIAL KENYA

To ease the burden that British taxpayers had to put up with at the initial stages of conquest and occupation of Kenya, Britain had to make Kenya economically viable, having set up a

system of administration over the colony. Europeans from Britain, south Africa, Australia and Canada were encouraged to settle on the vast “empty” land, followed by establishment of policies and structures to facilitate changes in basic infrastructure, agriculture, education and health.

THE KENYA-UGANDA RAILWAY

The Kenya-Uganda railway was built between 1896-1901, with George Whitehouse as the Chief Engineer. Work on the railway was done by British and Indian personnel since the local people could not provide skilled labour. Though costly, the construction of the railway had a tremendous impact on the administration and economic development of colonial Kenya. State the reasons for the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway. (Explain why the Kenya-Uganda railway was constructed. Or:

Explain why the British Government built the Kenya-Uganda railway.)

- Enormous economic potential in the Kenya & Uganda region.
- Missionaries’ need for easy movement into the interior.
- Enhancement of British access to Uganda, which, to them, was a strategic territory.
- The need to replace slave trade with legitimate trade.
- The need for fast movement of troops to trouble spots within the region.
- To prove that the territory was now firmly and effectively under the British crown.
- The Berlin Act, which demanded that colonizers develop the colonies.

In 1901, the railway reached Kisumu, having passed through Nairobi in 1899.

Identify the feeder lines that were laid out to make the railway network a meaningful mode of accessing the interior in Kenya.

- The Nairobi-to-Thika branch (1914).
- The Konza-to-Magadi branch (1915).
- Voi-to-Moshi (1918).
- Rongai-to-solai (1925).
- Eldoret-to-Jinja (1927).
- Gilgil-to-Nyahururu (1929).
- The Thika-to-Nanyuki branch (1930).
- The Kisumu to Butere branch (1930).

By 1948, the Kenya-Uganda railway network had been linked with the Tanganyika network to form the East African Railways.

Explain the problems experienced in the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway.

(Explain the factors that undermined the building of the Kenya-Uganda railway.)

➤ Additional costs and delays due to heavy reliance on British and Indian rather than local personnel. The British had to import Coolies, clerks and craftsmen from India to provide the necessary manpower and expertise.

➤ Scarcity of food, water, medicine and other essential supplies.

➤ Ragged and expansive unfamiliar terrain across the highlands into the Rift Valley.

Descending the Eastern Escarpment and ascending the Western Escarpment caused engineering problems that took a lot of time to solve.

➤ Adverse (dry and hot) climatic conditions across the coastal plains, the Nyika plateau and the Taru desert. These took a heavy toll on the builders due to heat and dehydration.

➤ Costly and delayed delivery of the needed building equipment and materials.

➤ Tropical diseases like Malaria, Smallpox and the Jigger.

➤ Hostility to railway builders by some interior communities, who kept on stealing the materials and attacked railway builders. E.g. the Nandi stole telegraphic wires and iron bars to make ornaments and weapons.

➤ The menace of the Man-eating lions, especially across Tsavo.

IMPACT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE KENYA-UGANDA RAILWAY

What were the results/consequences of the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway?

(Explain the impact/effects of the building of the Kenya-Uganda railway.)

➤ Rapid expansion and promotion of British administration. With it, troops could easily be sent to the trouble spots.

➤ Influx of Asians into Kenya, who embarked on commercial activities along the railway line.

➤ Rural-Urban migration and rise of African enterprises e.g. hawking and charcoal selling.

➤ Development and expansion of other forms of transport and communication, including telegraph and roads.

➤ Increased cultural and social interaction among different races.

➤ Rise and growth of urban centres like Nairobi, Kisumu and Nakuru, some of which mushroomed as railway stations or residential areas.

➤ Rapid growth of trade between the interior, the coast and the outside world.

➤ Easy accessibility to the interior, which the railway opened up to the outside world.

➤ Rise of the railway as a major source of revenue for the colonial authorities.

➤ Influx and settlement of many Europeans in the interior.

➤ Creation of jobs for many Africans and Indians.

➤ It facilitated the evangelisation work of the Christian missionaries.

➤ Rapid development of agriculture and industry. The railway boosted Settler agriculture and growth of agro-based industries like flour milling and milk processing.

➤ Massive land alienation, with some communities such as the Maasai and the Nandi being confined in reserves.

SETTLER FARMING IN COLONIAL KENYA

The period between 1900-1904 witnessed enormous influx of white settlers into the Kenya highlands, encouraged by the colonial government.

WHY THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGED WHITE SETTLEMENT IN KENYA

➤ A visit to the Kenyan interior by sir Charles Eliot: the British Commissioner to Kenya, who referred to the Kenya highlands as a Whiteman's country. The colonial government therefore embarked on making Kenya a "Whiteman's country" by encouraging white farmers to form the backbone of Kenya's economy.

➤ An urgent need to exploit the Kenya highlands for agriculture.

➤ To finance the administrative expenses of the colony without involving the British taxpayers.

➤ To pay for the construction and maintenance of the railway.

➤ To produce raw materials for British industries.

➤ To counter Asian influence in Kenya.

➤ Suitability of the Kenya highlands for European settlement in terms of climate and soils.

FACTORS THAT PROMOTED SETTLER FARMING IN COLONIAL KENYA

Various factors enabled the White settlers to establish farms in the Kenya Highlands, such as the following:

➤ Adequate rainfall experienced in the Kenya Highlands.

- Concessions and loans granted to them by the government.
- Provision of transport facilities such as the Kenya-Uganda and Feeder railway lines and roads.
- Research services, which were started to support them.
- Removal of trade tariffs and reduction of Freight charges on import and export of agricultural inputs and products.
- Access to unlimited cheap labour.
- Ample land snatched from Africans and given to them by the government.

HOW THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT FACILITATED SETTLER FARMING IN KENYA

- Banning of Africans from growing cash crops and keeping exotic animals in order to eliminate any competition for labour, land and markets.
- Promotion of cooperatives and provision of extension services for crop and animal farming, e.g. The establishment of the Department of Agriculture and research stations for crops and animals.
- Building and maintenance of infrastructure i.e. development and expansion of road, railway and telegraphic services among other forms of transport and communication.
- Enactment of Labour laws to force Africans to work in the White farms.
- Imposition of taxes (Hut and Poll tax) to compel Africans to provide wage labour.
- Setting up of a Land Bank to give credit to White farmers.
- Protection of settlers against possible African rebellion.
- Establishment of Agro-based industries, which created a ready market for settlers' produce.
- Establishment of African reserves in remote and underdeveloped areas to deprive them of markets for their produce, thus forcing them to look for employment in White settler farms.
- The Northey circulars of 1918 and 1919, which required chiefs to supply labour recruits for settler farms and government projects.
- The Squatter system, which ensured that Africans residing on settler farms provided the required labour in return for small plots where they practised subsistence farming.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY WHITE SETTLERS IN COLONIAL KENYA

- Pests and diseases.
- Shortage of capital, which hindered procurement of farm inputs, machinery and labour.
- High operational costs.
- Alien climates and soils.
- Constant raids by local inhabitants e.g. the Maasai, Nandi and Agikuyu.
- Difficulty in marketing, particularly in the inter-war period (from the 1920s to the 1930s), characterised by price fluctuations.
- African unwillingness to provide labour.
- Transport problems due to inadequacy of roads and railways.
- Poor farming methods i.e. lack of basic farming knowledge and experience.

MAIN CROPS CULTIVATED IN COLONIAL KENYA

- Coffee in the Kenya highlands around Nairobi.
- Tea in Limuru and Kericho.
- Wheat in the Rift Valley.
- Pyrethrum in the cool places.
- Sisal in the drier areas near Machakos and at the coast.
- Cotton in Nyanza.

COFFEE

This perennial plant (coffee) was introduced in Kenya in 1889 and was grown only by wealthy European settlers as it required plenty of farm input.

In spite of shortage of capital, chemicals and labour, coffee cultivation continued to spread, especially after the founding of the Coffee Planters Association in 1908.

Until 1937, Africans were not allowed to grow coffee because, as the settlers claimed:

- African labour would not be available for European farms.
- African-grown coffee would be prone to diseases, which would easily spread to European farms.
- Africans would bring unnecessary competition to a market that should be monopolized by Europeans.
- African lack of knowledge in coffee cultivation would lower the quality of Kenyan coffee.

WHEAT

This was brought to Kenya in 1903, but it thrived as a crop from 1912.

Wheat farming was boosted by Lord Delamere's establishment of a flour mill (Unga Limited) in 1908. Wheat was cultivated in the Nakuru and Uasingishu areas. To increase production, the government imposed a 30% import duty on wheat flour and subsidised local wheat farming. It was only after independence that African farmers began to grow wheat.

SISAL

Sisal was introduced in Kenya from Tanganyika in 1893 and was initially cultivated around Thika in 1904. By 1920, it was the second-largest income-earning crop after coffee.

Major sisal growing areas were: Baringo, Koibatek, Oldonyo Sabuk, Ruiru, Thika, Murang'a, Voi, Taita and Taveta.

Africans started growing sisal in 1964. However, sisal later on faced stiff competition following the introduction of artificial fibres.

TEA

This Beverage crop was introduced in Kenya in 1903, but was not successfully cultivated until after 1925 when large tea estates were established in Limuru, Nandi, Kericho, Sotik, Nakuru, Murang'a and Kiambu by tea companies such as Brooke Bond and African Highland from India, encouraged by rising world demand for tea and coffee.

STOCK REARING

Exotic breeds of livestock were introduced into Kenya by European settlers such as Lord Delamere, who, in spite of many problems e.g. diseases like East coast Fever and Rinderpest, mineral deficiencies and raids from the Maasai, set up factories like the Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC), the Uplands Bacon Factory and the Kenya Farmers Association, encouraged by increase of import duties on dairy and meat products to promote the local farmers.

COLONIAL LAND POLICIES IN KENYA

These were land acts and ordinances passed by the Legation to empower white settlers to take up most arable land, especially in the highlands, to the exclusion of Africans and Asians. Such policies included:

- ❖ The Indian Acquisition Act (1896) which empowered the authorities to take over land for public utility and for railway and government constructions.
- ❖ The Land Regulations Act (1897), which allowed the government to offer white settlers certificates of occupation and a lease of 99 years.

- ❖ The East African Land-Order-In-Council (1901), which defined Crown land as all public land that is not private. It empowered the government to take any land at will.
- ❖ The Crown land Ordinance (1902), which empowered the government to either sell or lease crown land to the White settlers.
- ❖ The Maasai Agreement (1904), by which the Maasai were pushed into the Ngong' and Laikipia reserves and White settlers acquired the vacated land.
- ❖ The 1905 creation of four more reserves in the Kikuyu and Nandi areas.
- ❖ The 1906 government confirmation that the highlands were reserved for White settlers. In it, Lord Elgin: the British Secretary of state, in what became known as the Elgin Pledge, confirmed that the Kenyan highlands were reserved for the White settlers.
- ❖ The second Maasai Agreement (1911), which pushed the Maasai out of the Laikipia reserve to pave the way for White settlement.
- ❖ The Crown land Ordinance (1915), which provided for a land-registration scheme for settlers. It opened for sale and leased Africans' land by the settlers. In it, Crown land included the land occupied by Africans.
- ❖ The Kenya annexation Order-in-council (1920), which declared Africans tenants of the Crown, even in the reserves.
- ❖ The Land Commission (1924), which fixed the boundaries of the reserves, which were legalized in 1926.
- ❖ The Native Lands Trust Ordinance (1930), which declared African reserves permanent property of Africans.
- ❖ The Carter Commission (1932), which fixed the boundaries of the White highlands and removed Africans from the highlands.
- ❖ The Kenya highlands Order-In-Council (1939), which fixed the boundaries of the White Highlands and reserved them permanently and exclusively for the Europeans.

IMPACT OF COLONIAL LAND POLICIES

- ❖ Disruption to traditional structures and activities e.g. interethnic migration due to land alienation. Also, women took up some of the roles reserved for men after the men went to search for wage labour.
- ❖ Nationalistic activities among Africans due to the Land issue, which became a source of great bitterness. For instance, it spurred the Mau Mau uprising.
- ❖ Alienation of the Africans' right to own land, causing Africans to be dispossessed of their land, even in the reserves as White settlers like Lord Delamere acquired large tracts of land.
- ❖ Serious labour shortage for European farmers due to African unwillingness to work on settler farms.
- ❖ Indians lacked access to arable land due to reserving of the highlands for Europeans.
- ❖ Carving out of the best available land for European settler farming, Mission work and the construction of the railway.
- ❖ Imposition of taxes on Africans to compel them to seek wage labour as the taxes had to be paid in monetary form.
- ❖ African quest for alternative settlement due to the situation in the reserves, which caused some to become squatters on European farms.
- ❖ Confinement of Africans into reserves specially allocated for them, characterised by overcrowding.
- ❖ Introduction of the "Kipande" Pass Book through the Native Registration ordinances of 1915 and 1920 to coerce Africans to provide wage labour on large settler farms.

THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER (1925)

Determined to meet the Mandate regulations of the League of Nations, which compelled Britain to address African grievances more keenly than before, the colonial government in Kenya instituted three dramatic reforms in 1922 to settle the intense conflict between European settlers and Asians on one hand and Africans and other minority races on the other. These reforms were:

- ❖ Removal of Governor Northey, who was replaced by Sir Robert Coryndon in 1922.
- ❖ Abandonment of the Racial Segregation policy in Kenya except in the Highlands.
- ❖ Allowing the Asians to elect four members to the Legico, which was initially settler dominated.

In a swift reaction, the settlers dispatched a delegation to London for consultation with the Duke of Devonshire, who was at that time the secretary for colonies over the reforms in 1923. This meeting came up with a fundamental set of principles, referred to as The Devonshire White paper.

TERMS OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER (1923)

The Devonshire White paper categorically stated that:

- ❖ The Kenya highlands would be exclusively reserved for white settlers.
 - ❖ The Indians would elect five members of the Legislative Council on a Communal roll.
 - ❖ The European settlers' demand for self government was rejected.
 - ❖ Racial segregation in all the residential areas and restrictions on Indian emigration were abolished.
 - ❖ Interests of the Africans were declared paramount to those of other races in Kenya. This meant that in case of conflict, African interests would be given priority before those of the emigrant races.
 - ❖ The Colonial Secretary would exercise strict control over the affairs of the colony.
 - ❖ A Missionary would be nominated to the Legislative Council to represent African interests.
- Shortly later, John Arthur was appointed to take up this position.
- ❖ The settlers would still enjoy an upper hand concerning representation in the Legico.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER

The Devonshire white paper left the settlers, the Indians and the Africans more dissatisfied than ever before as follows:

- ❖ the Indians:
 - ❖ Totally opposed settler dominance in Kenya and called for equality of all races.
 - ❖ Opposed policies on residential segregation and restrictions on their emigration.
 - ❖ Called for direct and adequate representation in the Legico based on a Common Roll free election.
- ❖ Objected to separate taxation of Europeans and Indians.
- ❖ Opposed segregated education.
- ❖ The settlers:
 - ❖ Opposed the Indians' call for equality, which they termed as unrealistic and wishful thinking.
 - ❖ Felt that racial segregation in all spheres would be justified since European culture was 'superior' and had to lead and dominate the colony.
 - ❖ Argued that they had the moral right to protect African interests.
 - ❖ Felt that the highlands were primarily theirs and that they had a legal claim over them.

In actual sense, the Devonshire White paper was the outcome of the struggle between the Europeans and the Asians, not between Africans and the Europeans. In spite of emphasis on

African interests, total settler dominance continued up to the time Kenya attained her independence in 1963.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER

- ❖ The White settlers continued their dominance in the politics of the country despite emphasis on African interests.
- ❖ Asians were denied the right to settle in the Kenya highlands, which were reserved for European settlers.
- ❖ It intensified rivalry between the Asians and the White settlers.
- ❖ A missionary: John Arthur was appointed to the Legico to represent African interests.
- ❖ It caused the Asians to refuse to take up their seats in the Legico.

URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

FACTORS THAT PROMOTED URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

- (a) Development of colonial administrative posts into towns e.g. Machakos, Murang'a, Mumias, Kapsabet, Nyeri and Kisii.
 - (b) Mining activities, as was with Magadi and Kakamega.
 - (c) Construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway,, which led to the emergence of various urban centres, which sprang up as points for resting and for replenishing the supplies of the settlers and personnel along the railway line. Such towns include Voi, Makindu, Nairobi and Kisumu.
 - (d) Commercialization of agriculture due to large scale settler farming, which led to rise of market centres, which then became towns e.g. Eldoret, Nakuru and Nairobi.
 - (e) Asian establishment of shops along the railway, which grew into important centres and towns.
 - (f) Agro-based industries e.g. flour mills, meat processing plants and saw mills, which attracted labourers from all parts of the country and transformed their surrounding areas into town centres.
- Urbanization was largely the result of two vital processes. These were:
- ❖ the expansion of the commercial sector, in which European and Asian business firms played a key role.
 - ❖ Influx of migrant African labourers from various parts of Kenya, who contributed to the expansion of the commercial sector in different capacities e.g. porters, fitters, shop assistants, overseers, dock workers, clerks, taxi drivers and interpreters.

WHY AFRICANS MIGRATED INTO URBAN CENTRES IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ❖ Land alienation, which had pushed the Africans into reserves, which were congested, with poor soils, since their fertile land was snatched by the Europeans.
- ❖ Desire by African entrepreneurs to take advantage of the wider markets in towns to escape poverty in the crowded reserves.
- ❖ Attractions such as hospitals, water, electricity and other facilities of such kind in urban centres.
- ❖ Many were escaping from the brutality of colonial administrators e.g. taxation and forced labour.
- ❖ Prospects for good jobs and wages in towns.
- ❖ Some women migrated to escape from unhappy marriages.

EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

POSSITIVE EFFECTS

- ❖ Interaction between people of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, which was crucial for the development of national consciousness.

- ❖ National integration and a sense of nationhood as intercommunal differences and prejudices were watered down.
- ❖ Formation of welfare associations e.g. the Luo Union, to cater for African workers' needs. Such associations served as a good training ground for political leadership.
- ❖ Cementing of relationships between different ethnic groups and races through popular sporting and cultural activities in towns.
- ❖ Gainful African employment in the industries, European homes and small-scale businesses.
- ❖ expansion of industries due to ample labour and raw materials.
- ❖ Many Africans acquired technical skills from their European and Asian employers.
- ❖ Some Africans sold their produce to the urban communities and improved their income.
- ❖ some Africans, particularly in towns like Nairobi and Mombasa converted to Islam, which, in addition to Christianity, created religious/spiritual diversity in the African society.

Negative effects

- ❖ full urbanization of some migrant workers, who lost contact with their rural villages.
- ❖ Rampant unemployment due to increased competition for the few available jobs.
- ❖ Disruption of rural economic activities due to mass movement of young energetic men into towns.
- ❖ Establishment of slums due to poverty and lack of housing among migrant workers.
- ❖ Very poor remuneration and unfavourable working conditions due to the large African labour force.
- ❖ Social vices such as alcoholism, robbery and prostitution.
- ❖ Indulgence in crime, especially by the youth.
- ❖ Disruption of social structures in the rural areas due to migration of men to the urban.
- ❖ Racial segregation, mostly in urban centres.

STEPS TAKEN TO CONTROL RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

In order to control the influx and increase of the African population into towns, the colonial government authorities adopted the following measures:

- ❖ A special Urban Pass ("Kipande") was issued to identify legal African town dwellers.
- ❖ Vagrancy laws were introduced and enforced, by which the police could arrest any African that appeared to be loitering in the streets without work and return them to the rural areas.
- ❖ Different African communities were segregated by setting aside special locations for Africans working in towns, with Europeans living in high-income houses as Africans.

Were left in subhuman structures.

Such conditions led to formation of political associations and trade unions to air African grievances and to fight for the rights of African workers, eventually spilling over into African agitation and struggle for independence.

EDUCATION

Initially, the colonial Kenya government provided Africans with industrial education, which would enable them to acquire technical and agricultural skills instead of high education, which, according to the government, the Africans had no mental capacity to pursue.

In response to this bias, Africans set up independent schools to give quality education to their people. Indeed, the period between 1940-1963 saw great improvements in the provision of education due to various factors such as the following:

- (a) The experiences of ex-soldiers in the Second World War convinced Africans of the advantages of higher education.

(b) Increase in African nationalism, which meant increased calls for the improvement of the African education sector.

(c) There was need to produce better and more skilled manpower for the future independent Kenya.

(d) Primary schools were producing qualified children, who needed higher education. This necessitated establishment of Secondary Schools for Africans.

In colonial Kenya, formal education was provided by four groups. These were:

- ❖ Christian Missionaries.
- ❖ The colonial government through local councils.
- ❖ The Africans themselves.
- ❖ Community organizations e.g. that of Asians.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Christian Missionaries introduced Western education in Kenya in the 1840s. Up to 1910, they had established many schools without help from the government. As demand for Mission education and medical work increased, reading and writing became the yardstick by which to enjoy better lifestyles.

In 1911, the colonial government started the Education department, which offered grants to certain Mission schools for technical education. Then some industrial and agricultural schools were opened up. More schools were built in areas not effectively served by the Missionaries to avoid duplication of services or clashes with Missionaries, who were not in favour of secular control of education. By 1926, a notable number of Africans had completed Primary education and could even proceed to Secondary School.

In colonial Kenya, Missionary education had three main features:

- ❖ It was elementary. Subjects taught included Religion, writing, reading, Hygiene and Arithmetic.
- ❖ It was industrial and technical in approach.
- ❖ It was Denominational, purposed to inculcate doctrines of a particular church in the learner.

OBJECTIVES OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

- To impart agricultural skills in order to promote white Settler farming.
- To train Africans in technical skills such as Carpentry and Masonry.
- To train Africans as Catechists in order to spread Christianity.
- To impart basic literacy.
- To train Africans to be honest and obedient.

Among the Missionary groups that participated in the provision of education in colonial Kenya were:

- The church Missionary society (CMS).
- The church Of Scotland Mission (C.S.M).
- The Africa Inland Mission (AIM).
- The Holy Ghost Fathers.
- The Consolata Fathers.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

From 1900-1920, Missionaries established village schools, which were later transformed into elementary schools. A Two-Tier system evolved, which comprised two stages i.e.:

(a) That which covered Standards 1-4, whose curriculum included Writing, Arithmetic, reading, Religious Education and Hygiene.

That which dealt with Standards 5-7, which emphasized on acquisition of technical skills such as Carpentry, Metalwork and Masonry. This was meant to provide semiskilled manpower for the colonial government and settlers.

The 1908 Fraser Commission recommended a racially segregated system of education. In 1918, this commission made the following far-reaching recommendations to the government:

- Provision of technical education to Africans.
- Maintenance of racially segregated schools.
- More cooperation between the colonial administration and the Christian Missionaries.
- Grants in aid for Mission schools.

In 1924, the Phelps Stokes commissioners toured Kenya to identify African educational needs. The commission made the following recommendations:

- Uniform system of education in all government and Mission schools.
- Enhancement of sufficient training of teachers and related personnel by establishing colleges.
- Building of schools in rural areas.

Therefore, schools were established for Africans by the Local Native Councils in 1924, free from Missionary or Government control. Among such schools were: Kagumo, Kisii, Kakamega and Machakos.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education was the exclusive right of Europeans, meant to eliminate African & European competition for jobs and to limit African political awareness.

Due to African pressure, Protestant Missionaries set up the first African secondary school (Alliance) at Kikuyu in 1926, while the Catholics established Mang'u in 1930. Secondary schools for Whites included:

- Prince of Whales (Nairobi) school,
- Duke of York (Lenana) School,
- Kenya Girls High School, etc.

Schools for Indians included: The Asian Railway School and Government Indian schools in Mombasa and Nairobi. Community-based secondary schools such as Allidina Visram and the Arya Samaj foundation of the Ismailia were developed. In 1953, Hospital-Hill became the first multiracial school in Kenya.

Up to the 1950s, there virtually was no higher education for Africans. The colonialists claimed that Africans were not yet mature enough to pursue higher education.

Between 1940-1963, trends in African secondary education were influenced by many factors such as the following:

- African soldiers returning from service in the second World War talked of and demanded advanced education in Kenya, having seen its benefits wherever they had been.
- African nationalists mounted pressure on the colonial government to give more and better education to Africans to produce local skilled manpower, necessary at independence.
- The establishment and success of Kakamega, Kisii and Kagumo schools, which by 1945 had outshone the endeavours of Mission schools in Examination results.
- African demand for Secondary education outside Mission control after 1945.
- African demand for a better higher education and a college similar to Makerere.
- In response to these demands, the government increased the number of secondary schools to twelve by 1957. Africans who could afford advanced studies proceeded to Makerere. This process went on until after 1960 when the Higher school Certificate (HSC) course was decentralized from Makerere college to the local secondary schools.

Unlike Africans, European children got adequate education. The colonial government spent a lot more money on European education than that of other races.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Before 1949, University education was only offered abroad, which made it scarce for Africans. Racial discrimination prevented African students from getting overseas government scholarships, bursaries or loans.

In 1938, Peter Mbiu Koinange became the first indigenous Kenyan to receive University education by obtaining a Masters degree in education at Columbia University in the United States of America.

University education opportunities for Africans in Kenya improved after 1949 following the establishment of Makerere University, which was linked to the University of London and produced its first graduates in 1953.

In 1954, the Royal Technical College (Now Nairobi University) was started. Like Makerere, it was admitting students from all over east Africa. It started offering degree courses in 1961. That same year, it was renamed the Royal College Nairobi. It became a university college in 1963.

The University College (Dar Es Salam) was established at the same time as the Royal Technical College of East Africa.

In 1963, Makerere, Dar Es Salam and Royal College Nairobi were merged to form the University of East Africa. They however separated in 1977 when the east African Community collapsed. As a result, each of the three became a fully fledged university, which greatly increased the number of Kenyan University students.

THE ROLE OF AFRICANS IN PROVISION OF EDUCATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

- They taught in the “Bush” schools that were set up by the Missionaries.
- They started independent schools and colleges e.g. Githunguri Teachers college.
- They raised money through the Local Native Councils and established schools.
- They started schools to protect certain African cultural practices like circumcision and Polygamy.
- They demanded quality education.
- The Africans who had converted to Islam taught in the Madrasa.

HEALTH

The following measures were adopted by the government to promote health in colonial Kenya:

- ✓ Protection of Christian Missionaries in their Health Promotion activities.
- ✓ Provision of finances to eradicate Malaria and other diseases.
- ✓ Enactment of Health Ordinances such as the Public health Ordinance of 1921.
- ✓ Establishment of the Development and Research Authority (DARA) for improvement of health services.
- ✓ Establishment of the Bureau of Medical Research in 1949.
- ✓ Establishment of public health centres and hospitals.

THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN HEALTHCARE

Initially, medical services in colonial Kenya were meant for Europeans only since they concerned themselves with diseases that affected Europeans such as Plague, Malaria and Sleeping Sickness.

In earnest, medical services started with the merger of the railways and protectorate medical services in 1903. In 1907, Doctor J W Arthur of the Church of Scotland set up a medical mission at Thogoto as the C.M.S started medical work at Buxton High School in Mombasa. In 1909, A R Barlow opened a Mission hospital in Nyeri.

MAIN OBJECTIVES OF ESTABLISHING HEALTH CENTRES IN COLONIAL KENYA

- (a) Eradication of diseases such as Smallpox, Malaria and Sleeping Sickness.
- (b) Training of medical personnel to handle Western medicine.
- (c) Improvement of health and hygiene for Africans and Asians in towns.

Following a medical report by Professor William J. Simpson, focus was centred on sanitary conditions in east Africa and more government support for medical services. However, the First World War broke out before the implementation of the report.

During the First World War, many Africans died of Typhoid Fever, Malaria, Dysentery, Influenza and the 1918 famine. To arrest this situation, the colonial government, with the support of Missionaries, undertook training of Africans as medical helpers. Medical training centres such as Thogoto, Kikuyu, Chogoria, Meru, saint Lukas Kilifi and Alliance Medical College were set up.

In 1921, the Medical department, empowered by the Public Health Ordinance, assumed responsibility over and embarked on using preventive rather than curative measures in the whole country besides providing for the building of a new medical school.

In 1949, the Bureau of Medical Research was set up as an agency of the East African High Commission. In 1951, what is now Kenyatta National Hospital started training female nurses, supported by well wishers and mobile clinics. Medical facilities and health education in rural areas grew and expanded rapidly. By 1962, there were over 100 rural health centres in the country.

AFRICAN INITIATIVE IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH

At first, Africans disliked and feared Western medicine, particularly its way of operative treatment. For example:

- ✓ when the government introduced vaccination campaigns, some Africans saw it as a form of torture and went into hiding. They had to be induced with food or other attractive European goods in order to accept it and similar treatment.
 - ✓ Africans were not willing to be trained as nurses due to their superstitious beliefs e.g. the taboo against touching a dead body.
 - ✓ The existence of traditional medicine men endowed with a wealth of knowledge in herbal medicine undermined Western medical and healthcare programs.
- Soon, Africans realized the importance of European medicine and started cooperating with the government in its Healthcare programs such as inoculation measures.

MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE THE HEALTH OF AFRICANS IN KENYA

- ✓ construction of dispensaries and other Child-Welfare centres.
- ✓ Addressing people on Hygiene and prevention of diseases.
- ✓ Introduction of Western medicine to cure diseases like Leprosy and Yellow fever.
- ✓ Introduction of vaccines to prevent diseases.
- ✓ Training of medical personnel to provide health services.
- ✓ Demolishing structures that harboured rats, especially in urban centres.
- ✓ Dissemination of information (spreading of education) on the control and treatment of diseases like Malaria, Plague, Smallpox, Typhoid fever and Dysentery, which were great killers.

- ✓ Money for medical care, obtained from local taxes and rates through the Local Native Councils.

HOW AFRICANS PROMOTED THE HEALTH SECTOR IN COLONIAL KENYA

- ✓ They provided medication in the rural areas as the African medicine people provided services.
 - ✓ African orderlies were trained in Mission stations, especially at the Church of Scotland Mission in Thogoto.
 - ✓ Some other Africans were trained by the government as medical orderlies.
 - ✓ Africans cleared bushes, killed rats and drained swamps as part of compulsory community work.
 - ✓ African Chiefs were instrumental, especially in the construction of dispensaries and other Child-Welfare centres as well as addressing people on hygiene and prevention of diseases.
- In spite of all these, many people relied and still depend on traditional medicine as a significant alternative or complement in health provision.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

The following economic developments took place in colonial Kenya:

- ✓ Transport and communication systems were developed e.g. the construction of railways and roads.
- ✓ Settler farming, which promoted agricultural production for export and local consumption.
- ✓ Africans were encouraged to grow some cash crops such as cotton and later tea and coffee.
- ✓ Introduction of money and establishment of the banking industry to facilitate economic transactions.
- ✓ Development of local and international trade and commerce.
- ✓ Establishment of food processing industries, which promoted the expansion of agricultural activities.
- ✓ Exploitation of mineral resources in the country e.g. soda Ash in Magadi and gold in Kakamega.
- ✓ Development of urban centres such as Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu.
- ✓ Introduction of exotic breeds of livestock.
- ✓ Development of the Tourism industry e.g. establishment of game-reserves and parks.
- ✓ Establishment of research stations and centres to improve farming methods and livestock breeds.
- ✓ Development of the fishing industry through use of better fishing methods.
- ✓ Establishment of cooperatives and farmers associations.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA (1919-1963)

The long journey to political freedom in Kenya started in 1895 soon after Kenya was declared a British Protectorate. It was due to European colonial domination that Kenya experienced diverse problems. Even after 1920 when Kenya became a British colony, the Africans pressed for a quick return to basic human freedom and political independence.

African nationalists established several political associations to express their grievances against all malpractices that came with colonial occupation. After 1940, these associations broadened their membership base and became national rather than ethnic organizations.

After 1945, Africans actively took part in trade unionism, coupled with radical nationalism, whose emergence and magnitude was well manifested in the Mau Mau war.

EARLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN KENYA UPTO 1939

Name the political organizations that were formed in Kenya by 1939. (Outline the early political organizations in Kenya by 1939).

- Kikuyu Association.
- East African Association.
- Young Kikuyu Association.
- Kikuyu Central Association.
- Kavirondo Tax payers & welfare Association.
- Ukamba Members Association
- Coast African Association.
- Taita Hills Association.
- The Young Kavirondo Association.

State the common grievances of early political organizations in Kenya by 1939.

- Land alienation.
- Forced labour.
- Taxation.
- The “Kipande” system.
- Better wages for Africans.
- Quality education and better working conditions for Africans.
- The onslaught on valued African customs like Polygamy, Female Circumcision and traditional African religious practices.
- Racial discrimination, especially in provision of social facilities like housing, health and education.

Explain the characteristics of early political organizations in Kenya. (Explain the features of political organizations formed in Kenya before 1939.)

- Most were led by Mission-educated young men like Harry Thuku, Jonathan Okwiri and Jimmy Mwambichi.
- They got material and moral support from Asians.
- They were confined to one or two ethnic groups, though formation of the East African Association was an indication of the desire towards regional cooperation.
- They had similar grievances such as Land alienation, forced labour and taxation.
- They had limited membership.
- They were regarded by many Africans as a preserve of the educated elites.
- They did not demand political independence but better living conditions and an end to European economic exploitations.

Explain why many African political associations emerged in the interwar period (1919 to 1939). (In what ways did the interwar period contribute to African political awareness? Or:

Explain how the First World War facilitated/led to political awakening in Africa. Or: In what ways did the First World War contribute to African political awareness?)

- African participation, especially in the first World War.
- Many Africans realized that they shared numerous interests and problems as they met and compared their experiences.
- A sense of unity was created among Africans as they met and interacted in war zones.
- On seeing the Europeans wounded, crying and suffering like them, Africans discovered that the White man was not very different from them.
- Unlike their White counterparts, African ex-soldiers neither benefited in terms of land allocation nor received the compensation promised as a reward for taking part in the war.
- The “Kipande” system, which was introduced in 1920, was used to force Africans to provide labour to the European settlers, sometimes without pay.
- Very short notice was given for the change of currency from the Indian Rupee to the Shilling in 1921, which hurt Africans most.
- With the change of Kenya’s status from a protectorate to a colony in 1920, the Africans began to see every move by the colonial government as an attempt to politically entrench the settlers.

3. Discuss the formation and demands of early political organizations in Kenya by 1939. (Discuss African political activities in Kenya by 1939. Or:

Analyse the political organizations that were formed in Kenya by 1939.)

THE KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

This was formed in 1920 under Paramount Chief Kinyanjui WA Gathirimu and Chief Koinange WA Mbiu. Its demands or grievances were:

- Return of Agikuyu land taken by Europeans.
- An end to further African land alienation.
- Abolition of the “Kipande” system, which had just been introduced through the Native Registration Ordinance.
- Increase rather than the proposed reduction of wages after the First World War when the Rupee was replaced by the Shilling.

Apart from its two founders, other members of the Kikuyu Association included:

- Josiah Njonjo,
- Philip Karanja,
- Matthew Njoroge,
- Waweru Wamahiu,
- Waruhiu Wa Kung'u.

The Kikuyu Association mainly comprised African chiefs loyal to the colonial administration but who were concerned about its above-mentioned grievances. Because of its mild approach, its impact was not felt. But soon, it attracted many Christian converts and urban residents in Nairobi such as Harry Thuku and Abdala Tairara.

However, Thuku and his followers disagreed with the leaders of the Kikuyu Association because of Thuku's radical views against the colonial government, prompting his founding and formation of the Young Kikuyu Association, which was later renamed the East African Association.

THE YOUNG KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

Name the founder-members of the Young Kikuyu Association.

The Young Kikuyu Association was pioneered by:

- Harry Thuku,
- Abdala Tairara,
- Mwalimu Hamisi,
- Muhamed Sharif.

The Young Kikuyu Association was greatly inspired by the Young Baganda Association in Uganda and adopted a radical approach, probably because it was led by young men.

State the demands/grievances of the Young Kikuyu Association.

- Return of African land.
- Better working conditions for Africans.
- Reduction of taxes.
- Withdrawal or improvement of the "Kipande" system.
- Title deeds for land holders.
- Increase rather than reduction of Africans' wages.
- Better living conditions for both employed and unemployed Africans.

The Young Kikuyu Association attracted members from different communities such as the Agikuyu and the Akamba, especially in Nairobi.

THE EAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

Name the members of the East African Association.

From 1921, the Young Kikuyu Association enjoyed membership of the Ugandans, Malawians and Tanzanians. It was therefore renamed the East African Association in order to accommodate all communities and religions and promote unity among Africans. Among its members were:

- Johnston Kamau (Jomo Kenyatta),
- Norman Mboya,
- Abdala bin Asumah,
- Kibwana bin Kombo,
- Jesse Kariuki,
- Joseph Kang'ethe,

- Harry Thuku,
- George Samuel Okoth,
- James Mwathi,
- Z.K Sentogo,
- Maitei Ole Mootian,
- Muhamed Sheikh,
- Melange Ole sempele.

The association was well organized. Harry Thuku was also supported by the Indians, who supplied him with a car, enabling him to travel nationwide, especially to Kisumu, and helped him politically by publishing memoranda written by the East African Association addressing African grievances. Thuku tried to develop contacts with the Pan African Movement and even sought help from the colonial office in London, which cost him his Government job. He instead took advantage of this by travelling and politicising his ideas in different parts of Kenya.

Thuku and the East African Association gained unparalleled popularity in the early 1920s. His influence was so great that the colonial government had to organize political campaigns in different parts of central Kenya and to counter his influence.

What were the demands of the East African Association?

- Return of land taken from Africans by White Settlers and the colonial government.
- Revocation of Kenya's colonial status by the British.
- Provision of better education for Africans.
- Organization of Legico elections on a Common Roll for all races.
- A Wage increase for African urban labourers.
- Abolition of the Hut tax, which was exclusively paid by the Africans.
- An end to forced labour.
- Abolition of the "Kipande" system.

Alarmed by the radical approach adopted by the East African Association, the colonial government ordered Thuku's arrest and detention at what is now Nairobi Central Police station, next to Norfolk hotel. This triggered tension between the colonial police and Thuku's supporters, which led to the massacre of many Africans. Thuku was deported to Kismayu as his colleagues (Waiganjo and Mugekendi) were banished to Lamu. The East African Association was then banned.

Explain the impact of Harry Thuku's arrest and deportation by the colonial government in early 1920s.

- Africans in Kenya realized that the colonial government was determined to maintain an iron rule in Kenya.
- African political parties that succeeded the East African Association became even more radical in their approach.
- The Governor of Kenya (General Edward Northey) was recalled to London in June 1922 for mishandling the Thuku affair.
- Because of his determination, Thuku was hailed by African Kenyan communities as the undisputed flag bearer of Kenyan nationalism prior to formation of later political parties

THE KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

Name the founders of the Kikuyu central Association.

The Kikuyu Central Association was formed in 1924 from the remnants of Harry Thuku's East African Association. Among its founders were:

- Joseph Kang'ethe,
- Jesse Kariuki,
- Henry Gichuru,
- Job Muchuchu,
- James Beuttah.

The colonial government regarded these founders and others of their like as extremists. It closely monitored their activities.

The Kikuyu Central Association was formed at Kahuhia in what is now Murang'a, with Joseph Kang'ethe as its president.

What were the objectives of the Kikuyu Central Association?

- Return of land taken from the Agikuyu by the settlers.
- Reduction of taxes
- An end of racial discrimination.
- Lifting the ban on cash crop cultivation among Africans.
- Release of Harry Thuku.
- Appointment of a well-educated Paramount chief elected by the majority of the Agikuyu.
- Establishment of a secondary school, training facilities for hospital workers and a girl's school.
- An end to the compulsory demolition of houses condemned as unsanitary by the colonial officials.
- Translation of all colonial laws into Gikuyu language for all members of the community to understand them.
- Revocation of the 1915 Crown Land Ordinance, by which all Africans had been made tenants on their own land at the will of the Crown.
- Abolition of the "Kipande" laws.

The Kikuyu Central Association presented its demands to the governor, who agreed to them when he visited Murang'a in 1925.

In 1927, KCA moved its headquarters from Murang'a to Nairobi for more and better contacts with the Agikuyu elite and more Africans in Nairobi. This was fruitful when Kenyatta became KCA's secretary-General, taking over from James Beuttah.

Kenyatta strived to strengthen and broaden KCA, e.g. by starting a Party newspaper called "Muigithania" (Conciliator), which was instrumental in reviving the cultural values of the Agikuyu, most of which were under constant Christian Missionary attack.

Identify the demands of the Kikuyu Central Association that Kenyatta presented to the Hilton Young Commission

The Hilton Young Commission was set up to look into the question of federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. On behalf of KCA, Kenyatta presented the following demands to this commission:

- Appointment of African representatives to the Legislative Council.
- Introduction of free primary school education for Africans by the government.
- Abandoning of proposed East African federation, which K.C.A felt would have made the White settlers too powerful in the village.

- Provisions of secondary and higher education for the handicapped.
- Granting of title deeds to Africans as a guarantee against any further land alienation.
- Abolition of the “Kipande” law.
- Release of Harry Thuku.

In the late 1920s, conflict ensued between KCA and Christian missionaries over the Agikuyu Female Circumcision tradition. All supporters of the practice were expelled from their Missions, giving impetus to the Independent churches and school movements in central Kenya.

In 1929, KCA sent Kenyatta to London: Britain, to present Agikuyu grievances to the colonial office. Kenyatta was accompanied by Pamenas Mukiri. The Land issue was high on KCA’s campaign agenda.

KCA also helped Agikuyu elders in preparing evidence to the Kenya Land Commission in 1931 and continued to defend and fight for African welfare until 1940 when it was banned alongside Ukamba Members Association and the Taita Hills Association.

KAVIRONDO TAXPAYERS WELFARE ASSOCIATION

This emerged as the Young Kavirondo Association at Ludha in Central Nyanza in December 1921. It was founded mainly by Luo and Abaluhya mission-educated men.

Name the founders of the Young Kavirondo Association.

- Jonathan Okwiri,
- Simeon Nyende,
- Benjamin Owor,
- Reuben Omulo,
- Ezekiel Apindi,
- George Samuel Okoth,
- Mathayo Otieno,
- Joel Omino,
- Jolmeo Okaka.

These founders held a meeting that called itself The Voice Of The People, at which they discussed the various issues affecting the African communities.

Explain the demands of the Young Kavirondo Association.

The demands of the Young Kavirondo Association were similar to those of the East African Association except for the following additional:

- A separate Legislative Council for Nyanza Province, with an elected African President. They therefore wanted self government for Nyanza.
- Establishment of more government schools in Central Nyanza.
- Creation of Paramount Chiefs for central and southern Nyanza just like Paramount Chief Mumia of Wanga in the then North Nyanza.

At a meeting with Governor Edward Northey at Nyahera in Kisumu, which was organized by the Nyanza Provincial Commissioner: Owen in July 1922, governor Northey pointed out to Young Kavirondo association representatives that he would authorise the closing down of labour camps in the region and reduce taxation and forced labour, but that the revocation of the Crown Colony status of Kenya was out of the question.

To prevent the Young Kavirondo Association from turning into a radical organization, Archdeacon Owen spearheaded change of its name to Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association and its main objectives from political grievances to social concerns such as better houses, food, clothing, education and hygiene. The Association's main focus eventually changed to welfare matters such as campaigns for the digging of pit latrines, killing of rats and keeping compounds clean in order to eradicate sleeping sickness, Malaria and other diseases. The association adopted a new but radically different constitution, which was approved by the colonial government.

In 1931, the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association split up into Abaluhya and Luo factions. While the Luo remained under and observed the leadership of Archdeacon Owen until 1944, The Abaluhya faction formed the North Kavirondo Central Association, which maintained close links with the Kikuyu Central Association, for Abaluhya were unhappy about the Kakamega Gold Rush of the 1930s and the then KCA was created mainly to stop any further land alienation for European use without compensation.

By 1944, the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association had lost most of its political form since most of its top leaders had already been co-opted into the colonial administration. Jonathan Okwiri was made chief while Benjamin Owor and Simeon Nyende were made members of the Local Native Council in central Nyanza. This led to the Association's extinction that very year.

UKAMBA MEMBERS ASSOCIATION

Name the founders of Ukamba Members Association.

Ukamba Members Association was formed in 1938, spearheaded by:

- Samuel Muindi Mbingu,
- Elijah Kavula,
- Isaac Mwalonzi,
- Simon Kioko,
- Ali Kilonzi,
- James Mwanthi,
- Muhamed Sheikh.

Its main purpose was to fight for land and other issues that affected the Akamba. Leaders of Ukamba Members Association (UMA) were locally educated and were employed as either teachers or civil servants. They were greatly assisted by the Kikuyu Central Association, which introduced them to Asian lawyers like Madan, who helped them write memoranda to the colonial Kenya Government and to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London.

What were the grievances of Ukamba Members Association? (State the demands of Ukamba Members Association.)

- The destocking policy adopted by the colonial government.
- Loss of their land to the Europeans.
- Seizure of their livestock by the colonial government for sale to the meat plant at low prices.
- Taxation.
- Forced labour.

By the 1930s, there was a pressing need for grazing land, which was scarce since most arable land was already in European hands. This led to overstocking and soil erosion in areas inhabited by the Akamba.

To correct the situation, the colonial government introduced various measures, including destocking. The colonial government seized and sold Akamba livestock to the Lebigs meat processing plant below the market price.

Under Muindi Mbingu, UMA organized a protest match against these colonial measures. The protest was staged in Nairobi and lasted for six weeks and was ended when the government agreed to talk about and conceded to Akamba demands at a meeting in Machakos.

In September 1938, the colonial government had Muindi Mbingu arrested and deported to Lamu. UMA was proscribed alongside the Kikuyu central Association and the Taita Hills Association at the beginning of the Second World War.

COAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

This was formed in 1943, influenced by Arabs and Asians, who had already formed the Coast Arab Association and the Indian Congress.

Name the founders of the Coast African Association.

The Coast African Association was pioneered by:

- Noah Mwanasele,
- Muhamed Bin Mwichange,
- E W Timothy,
- H G Banks,
- Muhamed Bin Omar,
- Enoch H G Harrison,
- Francis Hamisi,
- Ronald Ngala.

2. What were the grievances of the Coast African Association?

The Coast African Association emerged when various Coast African political leaders teamed up and presented the following grievances against the colonial government:

- Replacement of uneducated chiefs with educated Africans in the local Native Council.
- Appointment of African colonial officials.
- Elevation of Shimo La Tewa School to a high school.
- Basic literacy and numeracy, through which adult Africans could pursue and acquire Western education.
- Use of taxes collected from African traditional drinks for improvement of African facilities.
- A revocation of land allocation to Arabs and Asians, who owned large tracts of land at the expense of the Mijikenda.
- Representation of the association and the Coastal peoples in the Legico.

Unlike other groupings, the coast African Association sent memoranda to the government, probably to avoid punishment. The association established a newspaper: The Coast African Express, through which it articulated its grievances.

In 1955, the association began to disintegrate and suffered Leadership wrangles following the departure of Francis Hamisi and Ronald Ngala, who joined the Mombasa African Democratic union and the Legico.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

What were the achievements of the Coast African Association? (Explain the successes of the Coast African Association.)

- Improvement of education facilities.
- Elevation of the Shimo La Tewa School.
- Appointment and representation of the Mijikenda in the Legico.

TAITA HILLS ASSOCIATION

This was formed in 1939 and was closely modelled on the KCA and UMA organizational styles.

What were the grievances of Taita Hills Association?

Among the concerns of Taita Hills Association were:

- Equal political status of the Taita in relation to other subjects.
- Land alienation, whereby all fertile Taita land was occupied by European settlers, who converted it into coffee plantations.
- Forced labour, whereby the Taita were forced to work on European coffee plantations and ferry the coffee harvests over long distances for very low wages.
- Colonial destocking policy, through which the government intended to reduce livestock in the Taita hills region.
- Forced migration of the Wadawida to Samburu to create room for the white settlers.
- Introduction of the “Kipande” system.
- Taxation, especially Hut and Poll tax.

Name the founders of Taita Hills Association.

Among the founder-members of Taita Hills Association were:

- Woreshe Kolandi Mengo,
- Jimmy Mwambichi,
- Paul Chumbo.

Taita Hills Association drew its membership from all over Taita District. The association adopted the use of protest letters to the colonial government.

Explain the reforms that were adopted by the colonial government in response to continued agitation by Taita Hills Association.

The coast Provincial Commissioner considered Taita Hills Association an association of agitators and recommended that it be changed into a welfare association.

Due to continued agitation, the colonial government changed its mind through the following reform measures:

- It shelved its plan of moving the Wataita from their ancestral land in the hills to the plains.
- It reverted the Taita Reserve boundaries and reduced the land initially carved out for European settlement.
- It stopped the destocking measures among the Wataita.

Identify the setbacks encountered by Taita Hills Association. (What problems did Taita Hills Association face in its struggle for freedom?)

In spite of its achievements, the Taita Hills Association experienced many problems such as the following:

- It failed to attract prominent personalities in Taita.
- Some African groupings in the region e.g. the Wataweta and Wagisiga were reluctant to join it.
- Arrest and deportation of its leaders to Nakuru.
- It was banned or proscribed alongside other groups.
- Detention of its leaders in Kapenguria.

Explain the achievements of early political organizations in Kenya.

In spite of the many challenges they encountered, early political parties in colonial Kenya realized many achievements such as:

- Political education to the African communities through political rallies. The masses were enlightened on various injustices committed by the colonial government and on how to stop further exploitation and repression.
- They communicated the communities' feelings to the colonial government through publications, memoranda and speeches.
- They defended African cultures against further erosion by European Missionaries.
- They re-awakened the masses by making them conscious of the political situation in the country.
- They fought for workers' welfare in the absence of formal trade unions by demanding better wages as well as living and working conditions.
- They publicised the grievances of the Africans to the international community. For example, Jomo Kenyatta presented the grievances of the Africans to the British public.
- They helped promote wider nationalism by forging intercommunity relations in the struggle for freedom.

(b) Explain the problems experienced by early political organizations in colonial Kenya.

Political organizations formed in Kenya between 1919-1939 found themselves in many difficulties such as:

- Harassment and arrest of their members by the colonial government, which demoralized them.
- Political wrangles among the members.
- Lack of administration and political experience among the leaders.
- Financial problems due to land alienation, taxation and poor working conditions.
- Disunity since most organizations were ethnic based.
- Eventual banning of these organizations by the colonial government in 1940.

THE EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT CHURCHES & SCHOOLS IN KENYA

State the main reason for emergence of Independent Churches and Schools in Colonial Kenya.

- Independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya emerged as an expression of African protest against European colonial interference with African traditional economic, political, social and cultural organization.

(b) Explain the factors that led to emergence of independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya. (Explain why independent churches and schools emerged in colonial Kenya. or:

What factors facilitated emergence of independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya? or:

Explain the basis/reasons for emergence of independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya.)

- African displeasure with the Westernizing influence of Christian Missionaries, who taught against African customs such as Polygamy and Female Circumcision.
- African perception of Mission education as inadequate since it mostly prepared Africans for junior government or job positions, most of which were manual.
- Colonial domination and exploitation, characterised by payment of taxes, the “Kipande”, forced labour and racial discrimination in the provision of social services.
- African perception of European Missionaries as agents of the wider colonial system.
- African desire for leadership in their own churches, for they lacked say in the Mission churches, where European Missionaries were major decision makers.
- Independent churches were started by Africans who claimed to have received divine calling e.g. John Owalo and Elijah Masinde.
- African dissatisfaction concerning Missionary interpretation of the Christian scriptures. For instance, the Holy Spirit church split from mainstream churches on this account.
- Lack of accommodation for traditional African expression of worship such as dancing and drum-beating in the Mission churches.
- To sensitize the Africans on their rights and the evils of colonialism.
- To have control over what was being taught in addition to provision of wider educational opportunities for Africans.

Identify the areas/places in Kenya where independent churches and schools developed.

Independent churches and schools developed in areas that felt the impact of colonial rule more substantially such as:

- Kikuyuland,
- Luhyialand,
- Luoland.

State the characteristics of independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya.

(What were the features of independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya?)

- ✚ Their leadership was African.
- ✚ They valued Christianity and Western education, but were against the Westernizing Missionary influence.
- ✚ They accommodated African cultural values.
- ✚ They worked closely with African political associations.

Name the independent churches that emerged in colonial Kenya.

Independent churches that emerged in colonial Kenya include:

- The African Orthodox Church,
- African Independent Pentecostal Church,
- “Nomiya” Luo Church,
- Dini Ya Roho,

- Christian Universal Evangelical Union,
- Dini ya Msambwa,
- Joroho Church in Ugenya.

Describe two independent school movements that emerged in colonial Kenya.

- ✓ The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA), which was closely associated with the African Independent Pentecostal Church and was prominent in Murang'a, Nyeri and Embu.
- ✓ The Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA), which was closely linked to the Kikuyu Central Association and was against all forms of cooperation with the Europeans. It was strong in Kiambu and was affiliated to the African Orthodox Church.

THE INDEPENDENT CHURCH MOVEMENT IN NYANZA

Describe the independent churches that emerged in Western Kenya region during the colonial period.

- "Nomiya" Luo Mission, which was the first independent education and religious movement.
- The Christian Universal Evangelist Union, which was set up in 1938 by Ismael Noo, who was a teacher and preacher from Sakwa in Central Nyanza.
- Dini Ya Roho, which was founded among Abaluhya in 1927 after splitting from the Friends African Mission in Western Kenya. Its members believed in baptism by the Holy Spirit and emphasized speaking in tongues as well as open confession of sins.
- Joroho church, which was founded by Alfayo Odongo Mango in 1932 among the Luo, particularly of Ugenya.

Analyse Independent Church Movement activities in Nyanza.

"NOMIYA" LUO MISSION

This was the first independent education and religious movement in Kenya. It was started and led by John Owalo, who received wide education and experience from several mission schools. He started as a Roman Catholic, then joined the Scottish Mission at Kikuyu and later the CMS schools at Maseno and Nairobi.

In 1907, Owalo is said to have had a vision in which he was directed by God to start his own religion. He therefore founded the "Nomiya" Luo Mission in 1910. "Nomiya Mission" means 'the Mission that was given to me' or 'the mission that I was given'.

Owalo denied the divinity of Jesus, though he accepted that Jesus was a prophet and a son of God. According to the beliefs of his mission, Owalo supposedly lived in heaven with God's angels.

Within a few years, Owalo had built his own primary school, the first Independent school in Kenya. He aimed at establishing a secondary school free from Missionary interference. He demanded African representation in local councils.

Disturbed at Owalo's "rebellion", the CMS missionaries at Maseno investigated but could not stop his movement. Even Ainsworth: the Nyanza provincial Commissioner could not prevent Owalo from starting his own mission.

Owalo and his movement was a good illustration of African Christian determination to run their own churches and schools and their right to reject or accept some of the White man's teachings.

THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSAL EVANGELIST UNION

This church was set up in 1938 by Ismael Noo, who was a teacher and preacher from Sakwa in Central Nyanza. Noo was originally connected with the Anglican Church of Maseno.

Following the Revival movement in Uganda but which had reached the Anglican Church in Maseno, many Africans from Nyanza and Western Kenya were converted, with Ismael Noo as their leader. This movement insisted on Salvation by the Blood of Jesus and on public confession of sins.

Most of Noo's followers were women, particularly second and third wives of unsaved and polygamous husbands, who left their homes and went to live in Noo's home to the disappointment of their husbands, who accused Noo and his followers of having immoral relations with their wives and daughters, a fact that was found to be untrue.

In 1948, at a big convention at Nyabondo in Nyakach, Noo broke away from the Anglican church and concentrated on his own Christian Universal Evangelical Union, which he led up to his death in 1960.

THE INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL KENYA

Missionary and Settler presence in Kenya was more pronounced in the Central region than any other part, probably due to its proximity to Nairobi: the headquarters of the colonial government in Kenya.

European condemnation of traditional African practices and values such as Polygamy, female circumcision and consumption of traditional beers among other factors, sparked off the formation of many independent churches and schools in central Kenya in 1929.

KIKUYU INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

What was the main reason for establishment of Kikuyu independent schools?

- To acquire numeracy and literacy skills without being Europeanized.

Identify examples of Kikuyu independent schools established during the colonial period in Kenya.

- ✓ That built at Gaithieko in Kiambu in 1913.
- ✓ One at Githunguri, which was registered with the District Commissioner in 1925.

What was the main reason for establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association?

- ✓ To coordinate and ensure efficient running of the many independent schools that had emerged in the Murang'a, Embu and Nyeri areas.

What were the responsibilities of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association?

- Establishment and maintenance of more schools.
- Mobilization of finances for teacher training programs

Analyse the development/establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools

Association.

- ❖ The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association was established in 1934 to coordinate and ensure efficient running of the many independent schools that had emerged in the Murang'a, Embu and Nyeri areas.
- ❖ Though initially unhappy with the Independent Schools idea, the colonial authorities realized the seriousness of Kikuyu elders and welcomed the African efforts, though

they urged for better management and emphasized registration of such schools with the District Officer. By 1936, there were 34 independent schools and 3984 pupils.

- ❖ Through KISA's encouragement, similar schools emerged in the Rift Valley among the Agikuyu squatters.
- ❖ In 1938, KISA leaders named their church The Independent Pentecostal Church. Their influence spread over Kikuyu land, the main urban centres in the region and in the Rift Valley.
- ❖ Unfortunately, KISA was banned alongside other Agikuyu organizations after the declaration of the State Of Emergency in 1952.

Explain the problems encountered by the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA). (What factors undermined the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association? or:

What obstacles/setbacks did the Kikuyu Independent schools Association encounter? Or:

State the weaknesses of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association.)

- ❖ Inadequate funds to support the large number of pupils and schools.
- ❖ Inadequate training for many of the teachers.
- ❖ Lack of proper management skills among KISA leaders.
- ❖ Rivalry from Mission churches.
- ❖ Disagreement among KISA leaders, with some demanding return Of the money and land they had donated from the independent Churches and schools.

Discuss/analyse the development/establishment of the Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association.

- The Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association also emerged as a result of the Female Circumcision stand-off.
- It advocated pure Agikuyu customs and values, unpolluted by Mission churches and Western traditions. Indeed, the term "Karing'a" means "Pure". It also spoke against land alienation and population pressure in Kiambu.
- By 1952 when it was banned alongside other African organizations, Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association had spread over central Kenya, rift Valley and Moshi and Arusha in Tanzania.
- The emergence of many independent schools necessitated the training of teachers to run them. In 1939, the Kenya Teachers Training College was established at Githunguri in Kiambu, with Mbiu Koinange as its first Principal, aimed at providing teachers for the Kikuyu independent Schools. It was however closed down alongside other independent schools during the Mau Mau war.

Explain the problems faced by independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya.

- Perpetual shortage of funds as they depended on African support.
- Competition from Missionary churches and schools for followers.
- Constant harassment from both the Missionaries and the colonial government.
- Leadership squabbles as all the founders wanted to be recognized as top role players.
- Lack of trained personnel for efficient running of the institutions.

Most founders of the independent churches were mission-educated and worked closely with Mission churches at some point before starting their own to retain their African cultures.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS & MOVEMENTS AFTER 1945

The period after 1940 witnessed more radical demands for better conditions and for full political independence in Kenya.

Explain the factors that promoted the struggle for Kenya's independence.

- ✓ African acquisition of Western education. The educated elite were aware of their rights and began to agitate for political independence.
- ✓ The experiences of the World Wars, which promoted political determination for independence. The ex-servicemen uncovered the myths of European superiority during the war as the Whites died just like the Africans.
- ✓ Bitterness of the ex-servicemen when the colonial government failed to fulfil promises to compensate them with land. The wars had exposed them to warfare and they were ready to fight for their rights.
- ✓ Independence of India, Pakistan, Ghana, Ethiopia and Liberia, which aroused great confidence among Kenyan Africans.
- ✓ The Atlantic Charter, signed by the British Prime Minister (Winston Churchill) and the US President (Franklin Roosevelt) in 1941, which entitled all subject peoples to self-determination.
- ✓ The spirit of Pan Africanism, spearheaded by Afro-Americans, which called for African unity and political liberation.
- ✓ New attitude in Britain towards colonial empires after the Second World War. The Second World War negatively affected the European economy, which made the European taxpayers unwilling to sustain the colonies and therefore became keen on decolonization.
- ✓ Emergence of the USA and the former USSR as the two super powers in the world after the Second World War, which stimulated decolonization as these new World powers did not support colonialism.
- ✓ Establishment of the United Nations Organization after 1945, which boosted African nationalism as the UN urged member countries to grant independence to the colonies.
- ✓ The Labour party, which came to power in Britain after the Second World War, favoured decolonization.
- ✓ The activities of the Mau Mau, which made the British realize that the Africans needed independence.
- ✓ The Trade Union movement in Kenya, which mobilized workers to fight for their rights. In the absence of political parties following the declaration of the state of emergency in 1952, the unions provided a forum for political agitation.
- ✓ National political parties such as KANU and KADU, which inspired nationalist leaders to champion the course for Kenya's independence.
- ✓ Nationalist leaders like Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya, who provided political leadership to the masses.

- ✓ Constitutional reforms such as the Lyttelton Constitution, the Lennox Boyd Constitution and the Lancaster House Conferences, which provided for increased African representation in the Legico

Identify the African political parties that struggled for independence in Kenya.

- The Kenya African Union (KAU).
- The Kenya African national Union (KANU).
- The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION

The Kenya African Union (KAU) started in 1944, following the nomination of Eliud Mathu by the colonial government to the Legico. It represented a cross section of Kenyans. 1. 1. 1. (a) What were the aims of the Kenya African Union (KAU)?

- ❖ To help Mathu in his new task of representing African interests in the Legico.
- ❖ To coordinate African nationalist activities.
- ❖ To pressurize for constitutional reforms for Africans.
- ❖ Improved conditions for African workers.
- ❖ To provide a multi-ethnic organization for the advancement of African interests.

Name the interim officials of the Kenya African Union. (Name the officials who led the Kenya African Union after its establishment.)

- ✚ Harry Thuku,
- ✚ Francis Hamisi,
- ✚ Albert Owino,
- ✚ James Gichuru,
- ✚ John Kebaso,
- ✚ Simeon Mulandi,
- ✚ Harry Ole Nangurai,
- ✚ S.O Josiah,
- ✚ F.M Ng'ang'a,
- ✚ Jimmy Jeremiah,
- ✚ J.B Otiende,
- ✚ S.D Jakaya.

James Gichuru became its president from January 1945 after the resignation of Harry Thuku, who could not cope with the radical views of its radical members, who were using the association to demand political independence.

Due to colonial government suspicion, particularly about its name that was said to have military connotations, the party changed from the Kenya African Union (KAU) to the Kenya African Study Union (KASU), which also changed its purpose to educating people on public affairs, thus making it a kind of debating society.

In 1946, KASU reverted to its original name: the Kenya African Union, having dropped all pretence of being a study union. This meant a return to and refining of its purpose and objectives.

What were the demands of the Kenya African Union?

- Abolition of forced labour.
- Self government for Africans.
- More seats for Africans in the Legico.
- Free and compulsory education.

- Equality in wages and salaries among all races.
- Improvement in the living conditions of Africans.
- Abolition of the “Kipande” system.

In 1947, Kenyatta, who had return from his fifteen-year stay in London, was elected President of KAU after Gichuru stepped down. This was a great boost to KAU because Kenyatta’s return in 1946 meant the beginning of mass nationalism.

Name the other leaders of KAU under Kenyatta. (Name the officials that worked with Kenyatta in leading the Kenya African Union)

- W.W.W Awori,
- Ambrose Ofaa,
- Muchohi Gikonyo.

Even after Kenyatta’s take-over, KAU operated through Hook and Crook, undergoing and overcoming diverse problems.

Explain the problems that KAU faced.

- In 1947, there emerged a major stand-off between the radicals (who advocated forceful acquisition of independence) and the moderates (who favoured the use of peaceful constitutional reforms). Kenyatta stepped in and reconciled the two groups. He himself favoured moderation.
- A short while later, KAU’s Nairobi branch was taken over by radicals such as Fred Kubai, Bildad Kagia and Paul Ngei, who demanded the removal of moderates from the executive committee. Kenyatta however insisted that the party leadership had to be multi-ethnic, with its secretary from western Kenya and other parts of Kenya represented in the executive committee. Therefore, when the National Delegates Conference met in 1951, a multi-ethnic executive committee was elected, with Jomo Kenyatta as President while J.D Otiende became Secretary General. Paul Ngei was Assistant Secretary General as Harry ole Nangurai became Treasurer.
- Between 1948-1950, KAU had serious financial problems, which slowed down its programs and even led to closure of its IBEA Nairobi Offices due to failure to pay the rent. To arrest this situation, Harry Ole Nangurai donated an office at Kiburi house along what is now Kirinyaga road to the party.
- The Nairobi branch, which was led by Fred Kubai, J.M Mungai and Bildad Kagia worked closely with the members of the Mau Mau movement in Nairobi, which caused a lot of tension between the radicals and the moderates.
- After 1951, the activities of the radicals increased following the British colonial secretary’s refusal to meet KAU representatives i.e. Mbiu Koinange and Achieng’ Oneko, who had prepared a memorandum on the Land question. However, KAU’s membership continued to expand all over the country, with new offices opened in Kisumu, Maragoli and Mombasa.
- In 1952, KAU rallies outside Nairobi were banned as a result of a big political meeting in Nyeri, which was addressed by Kenyatta, Ngei, Kagia and Oneko and was attended by Dedan Kimathi: the Mau Mau movement leader, who startled the colonial government.
- In 1952, most KAU leaders were arrested following the declaration of the state of Emergency by the new governor to Kenya, who was horrified by the murder of chief Waruhiu wa Kung’u as well as attacks and destruction of settlers and their property in the Mau Mau uprising that spread over rift valley and Central provinces.

- In 1953, Walter Odede and Joseph Murumbi took over KAU leadership as acting president and acting Secretary respectively. But Odede was later arrested while Murumbi fled to Bombay in India. That same year, KAU was banned by the colonial government.

Explain the achievements of the Kenya African Union (KAU).

- Moral and material support to the Mau Mau freedom fighters by some members.
- Guidance and political support to Eliud Mathu: the African representative in the Legico.
- Foundation and establishment of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which ushered Kenya into political independence.
- Active Mau Mau liberation wars.

Explain the factors that undermined African nationalist activities in Kenya between 1939-1963.

- ✚ Disunity among African nationalists. Some advocated violence while others favoured non-violent means.
- ✚ Inadequate funds and other resources to manage the struggle.
- ✚ Ignorance about rights due to illiteracy.
- ✚ Denial of Mass Media access.
- ✚ Discrediting (smearing) of nationalists by the government through the mass media.
- ✚ Lack of cooperation from all communities in Kenya.
- ✚ Restriction of people's movement when the state of Emergency was declared.
- ✚ The banning of all political parties e.g. during the Second World War and the State of Emergency, which was a total blow to the struggle.

THE MAU MAU UPRISING

The Mau Mau uprising was organized and staged mostly by young men who had undergone circumcision in the 1940s, some of who had participated in the Second World War. It was referred to by various terms other than Mau Mau. It was sometimes called the Land-and-Freedom Army or the Forty Group. The term Mau Mau is attributed to a Kikuyu phrase: "Uma Uma", which means "Get out, Get out". The Anagram Mau Mau was used to conceal the message from non-members while urging members to flee on spotting colonial soldiers. Mau Mau activity was both in the rural and urban areas, Nairobi and Nakuru included. It mainly spread over Rift valley, Central and Nairobi regions among others.

Explain the causes of the Mau Mau war. (Explain the factors that led to the Mau Mau war. Or:

Explain the reasons for the Mau Mau uprising).

- ✓ Land alienation, due to which Africans were pushed to the reserves.
- ✓ Exploitative economic policies of the British such as forced labour, low wages, the "Kipande" system and taxation.
- ✓ Condemnation of African cultural practices such as female circumcision, Polygamy and consumption of traditional African beer.
- ✓ Poor living and working conditions in urban areas and in white settler farms.
- ✓ Denial of further constitutional reforms.
- ✓ Colonial brutality like the killing of Africans over minor offences.

- ✓ The brutal eviction of African squatters from the Olengruoni scheme and forceful settlement in the semi-arid Yata region of Machakos.
- ✓ Racial discrimination against the Africans with regard to education, wages, housing and medical services.
- ✓ Unemployment due to racial policies.
- ✓ Brutality of colonial chiefs and police.
- ✓ Bitterness among the ex-soldiers of the Second World War due to lack of compensation. They formed the "Forty Group" ("Anake A forty") to fight the government and get their rights.
- ✓ It was a war of independence.

Explain the course/process of the Mau Mau war.

- The ex-servicemen formed a large group of unemployed and disgruntled people, ready to join other nationalists in demanding reforms.
- The ex-servicemen were joined by KAU extremist nationalists, who were dissatisfied by the slow progress of the constitutional reforms.
- In 1946, a secret movement was formed, aimed at realizing its objectives through violence against the Europeans and their African loyalists. Members of the movement were recruited through traditional oath-taking practices. It was this secret movement that later became known as the Mau Mau.
- In 1951, the government outlawed the Mau Mau movement, causing Mau Mau leaders to shift from Nairobi into the Aberdare and Mount Kenya forests, from where they conducted guerrilla warfare.
- The colonial government declared a state of emergency in 1952 following the murder of senior chief Waruhiu Wa Kung'u by the freedom fighters for his collaboration with the colonial government. Kenyatta and other KAU leaders were arrested, charged and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Armed forces were mobilized to help suppress the movement. More reinforcements were also brought from Britain. KAU was banned in 1953.
- The declaration of the state of emergency was followed by mass arrests of the Kikuyu, who were then herded into protected villages in order to control their movement. The remaining leaders of the Mau Mau movement were either captured or killed by government forces and agents. Among such leaders were Waruhiu Itote and Dedan Kimathi.
- Confusion and disagreement among the freedom fighters weakened the Mau Mau movement. The state of emergency was not lifted up to 1960. However, the fighters continued in small groups which were hard to trace or suppress.

Explain the factors that facilitated the Mau Mau movement. (What factors favoured the Mau Mau uprising?)

The Mau Mau uprising was favoured by many factors such as:

- ❖ Oathing, which helped the fighters seal their commitment to the struggle.
- ❖ Hit-and-run (guerrilla) tactics, which made it difficult for the British to suppress the rebellion.
- ❖ Massive support from the civilian population, who supplied the fighters with food, weapons and information about movement of British soldiers.
- ❖ Courage and high resourcefulness of Mau Mau leaders such as Dedan Kimathi, Stanley Mathenge and General China.

- ❖ The Natural forests of Mount Kenya and the Aberdare ranges, which provided good hide-outs for the fighters.
- ❖ Fighter access to swords, guns and ammunition, some of which were home-made as others were seized from European settlers and British forces.

Explain the problems that Mau Mau fighters faced. (Explain the setbacks encountered by Mau Mau fighters. Or:

Explain the factors that undermined the Mau Mau movement.)

- ✚ Lack of transport and communication facilities.
- ✚ Cold temperatures in the Aberdare and mount Kenya forests, which caused some of them to suffer from diseases.
- ✚ Frequent attacks by wild animals.
- ✚ Lack of proper fighting equipment.
- ✚ Anxiety due to the brutal retaliation by the British forces, who were better equipped.
- ✚ Disagreements and divisions among the freedom fighters.
- ✚ Occasional infiltration of spies into the movement, who at times exposed their military strategies.
- ✚ Lack of proper coordination, which prevented them from developing a well organized strategy to direct all fighters. This dealt a devastating blow to the movement.
- ✚ Disjointed recruitment process, whereby some fighters were not fully dedicated to the movement's course since they were coerced into joining it.

Explain the impacts/effects of the Mau Mau uprising. (What were the results of the Mau Mau war?)

In spite of its ferocity, the Mau Mau war had an impact that envisages negative and positive consequences.

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

- Many deaths, particularly on the African side.
- Depletion of both Kenyan and British resources.
- Declaration of the state of Emergency in Kenya in 1952.
- Restriction and banning of African political party activities.
- Removal of the Agikuyu, Aembu and Ameru from Nairobi among other forms of bitterness caused to them.
- Establishment of Emergency villages, particularly in Central province, to alienate the civil society from the Mau Mau fighters.
- Subjection of people to misery and suffering in concentration camps such as Hola and Manyani.
- Suspicion and rivalry among the Agikuyu, Aembu and Ameru communities, which were divided into two camps i.e. the Government loyalists and Mau Mau supporters.

POSSITIVE EFFECTS

- Attention and concern from the British citizens and the international community on events in Kenya.
- The war speeded up the march to independence.
- Reduction of settler power and influence.
- Colonial government accommodation of nationalist demands. It was ready to grant more constitutional reforms to the Africans in the 1950s.
- Land reform and consolidation measures, e.g. the Swynnerton plan of 1954.
- Resettlement of Africans in the countryside.

- Political reforms, which eventually led to lifting of the ban against African political parties in June 1955. However, these parties had to be District-based.

Explain the role of women in the struggle for Kenya's independence. (Explain the contribution of women in the Liberation struggle in Kenya.)

In Africa, particularly Kenya, women were the backbone of resistance against colonial invasion and were crucial in social, economic and political development.

The following are examples of women who played a forefront role in the anticolonial struggle in Kenya:

- In 1908, the elderly Kitutu prophetess: Moraa, rallied the Abagusi of Kitutu, Nyaribare and Bonchare against the British.
- In 1911, Siotune Wa Kithuke mobilized the Akamba to protest against British colonialism through a dance called Kilumi, (a traditional dance performed by medicine men to ward off evil spirits). She gathered and urged the people neither to pay taxes nor to provide labour. As a result, she was arrested and deported to Kismayu.
- In 1913, Agiriama women, especially Mekati Lili Wa Menza, mobilized and administered oaths to the Kaya elders in order to instil confidence and unity in the community against the British. It was not until 1915 that the British managed to crash the resistance. Mekati Lili was arrested and deported to Kisii to ensure that she did not inspire further resistance in the community.
- In 1922 on Harry Thuku's arrest and detention at what is now Central Police station, the crowd, which largely comprised women such as Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru, surged towards the cells where Thuku was held to push for his release. Nyanjiru was among those massacred by the colonial police at that moment.

Explain the involvement of women in political associations in Kenya. (How were women involved in political associations in Kenya?)

- When Harry Thuku founded the East African Association in 1921, he drew a lot of support from African women.
- When Thuku was arrested and detained at the Kingsway (central) Police Station in March 1922, the crowd that surged outside the police station remained passive until Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru instantaneously challenged them to push towards the cells where Thuku was being held.
- In 1924, the Kikuyu Central Association in present-day Murang'a enlisted support from many members, particularly women, for its financial and moral footing.
- From the 1920s, most women identified with the issue of female circumcision as there was an attempt by Protestant missionaries to ban it, which was seen as a plot to undermine the integrity of the Agikuyu woman. Many women and their husbands abandoned the Mission churches and withdrew their children from Mission schools.
- Women largely contributed to the establishment of independent churches and schools, especially in Central Kenya after the Female Circumcision saga.
- In the 1930s, some Agikuyu women formed the Mumbi Central Association, which was exclusively for women but worked closely with the Kikuyu Central Association.
- Although men dominated the senior positions in the Kenya African Union, the party enjoyed the support of many women nationalists such as Sarah Sarai, who was detained in 1952 due to her participation in the nationalist activities in the Ziwani African location in Nairobi.

- The success of the Mau Mau movement, which was a major factor in the struggle for independence, is attributed to women.
- Women were appointed to the Legico. For instance, Jemimah Gichaga was the first woman to be nominated to the Legico after the Mau Mau war. In 1960, Priscilla Abwao was also nominated to the Legico and was the only woman in the African delegation that participated in the First Lancaster House Conference in London.

Explain the role of women in the Mau Mau movement.

In the absence of men, who had gone into forests to fight the colonialists, the colonial chiefs mobilized women and children in constructing access roads and terraces, collecting water and firewood for colonial soldiers and other forms of communal labour. When the Mau Mau uprising started, African women got actively involved in and contributed to the movement in the following ways:

- ✚ They spied for the Mau Mau movement in Nairobi and other urban and rural centres.
- ✚ They endured Dawn-to-Dusk curfews and starvation in villages encircled with barbed wire and ditches.
- ✚ Some, such as Marshal Muthoni from Nyeri, Nduta Wakore, Elizabeth Gachika and Wambui Wagarama participated directly in the resistance movement, fighting alongside their male counterparts in the forests.
- ✚ Women endured detention and confinement in Concentration camps due to their active participation in the liberation struggle.
- ✚ Women mainly organized and coordinated the rural networks as they supplied other fighters' needs.
- ✚ Most of the women concealed information about and refused to betray the Mau Mau fighters despite their subjection to forced labour, rape, physical torture and other forms of inhuman treatment by colonial agents.
- ✚ Women supplied the fighters with food, medicine, guns, ammunition and other provisions.
- ✚ They participated in the oath-taking ceremonies, some as chief oath-taking administrators.
- ✚ They composed songs to mobilize support for the Mau Mau and to ridicule the home guards and other colonial agents.
- ✚ They mobilized men and women to join the Mau Mau.

At independence in 1963, women were still key role players in Kenya's political development. For instance, Grace Onyango was the first postcolonial Mayor of Kisumu while Jemima Gichaga was the first woman in Kenya to be nominated in the Legico.

THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL KENYA

What are trade unions? (What is a trade union?)

- ✚ Trade unions are associations of workers, purposed to improve their members' welfare through collective bargaining.

Identify the concerns of trade unions. (What matters do trade unions deal with?)

- ❖ Better pay,
- ❖ Recognition of normal working hours,
- ❖ Respect for public holidays,
- ❖ Compensation in case of injuries.

3. Explain why there were no African trade unions in Kenya up to 1914.

- Majority of Kenyan Africans were illiterate and lacked the knowledge to run workers' unions.
- The Migrant Labour system could not allow for the establishment of such unions.
- The colonial government fought African Kenyan attempts to form workers' organizations.

From the 1920s, African political associations served as the main channel for airing African grievances against the colonial system.

In the 1930s, provoked by tragic accidents where some road constructors died but were not compensated, masons, labourers and other artisans of Mombasa met and proposed establishment of a trade union named Trade Union Committee of Mombasa.

Indians were instrumental in establishment of trade unions in Kenya since, unlike the Africans, the Indians had more experience with workers' organizations.

In 1935, Makhan Singh: one of the trade unionists, advocated multiracial trade union membership. It was in this respect that the Kenya Indian Labour Trade union (which was previously known as the Indian Trade union) changed its name to Labour Trade Union of Kenya. It later became the Labour Trade Union of East Africa after it attracted membership from all over east Africa.

THE AFRICAN WORKERS FEDERATION

In January 1947, the striking African workers of Mombasa decided to form a union, which they named the African Workers Union. The 1947 strike is reported to have paralyzed work in various government and other sectors like offices, banks, hotels, docks and railways. The workers continued in spite of numerous police and military reinforcements sent from Nairobi.

Identify the pioneer leaders/officials of the African Workers Federation

The African Workers Federation was born on the actual day of the strike, with:

- Muhamed Kibwana as president,
- Mwangi Macharia Secretary,
- Mbaruk Kenze Treasurer,
- Chege Kibachia Executive officer.

A committee of twelve members was also appointed to assist the elected officials in their work.

What were the grievances of the African Workers Federation? (Explain the demands of the African Workers Federation.)

In a letter to the East African Standard newspapers on 21st January 1947, the union outlined the workers' grievances that led to the strike, which are illustrated in the following demands:

- ✓ Respect for African workers, wherever they were employed.
- ✓ A salary increase due to the high cost of living.
- ✓ Elimination of the deliberate strategies used by employees to confine workers in their places of work.
- ✓ Equal pay for equal work, regardless of race.
- ✓ Payment of sufficient allowances to cater for African wives and children.

A trade disputes tribunal was soon established to look into the African grievances in Mombasa. It was led by Mr Justice Thacker and included Hope Jones, F.T Holden, V C Merrit, A H Noor Muhamed and J Silus. The African Workers

Federation was represented at the tribunal by Chege Kibachia, Fred Kubai, John Mungai, Willey George and S Osore.

Alarmed by Kibachia's activities, the colonial government arrested and detained Kibachia in Baringo and repatriated his A W F colleagues from Mombasa to their respective reserves,, where their activities were closely monitored.

What were the achievements of the African Workers Federation? (Explain the successes of the African Workers Federation.)

- Mobilization and unity of workers from different communities in fighting for better wages.
- Education of workers about their rights.
- Introduction of the concept of collective bargaining among the workers in Kenya.
- Improved living and working conditions for workers.
- Better wages and salaries for workers.
- Change of Government attitude towards Labour unions.
- Exposure of Kenyan African workers' grievances to the international community.

THE KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

Identify the measures taken against African workers following the declaration of the state of Emergency in 1952.

- ✓ Deportation,
- ✓ Detention,
- ✓ Repression,
- ✓ Communal or Forced labour.

Because of such measures, trade union membership dropped and needed reactivation. Various small African trade unions united to form the Kenya Federation of Registered trade Unions (KFRTU) following the enactment of the Trade Unions ordinance in 1952.

Name the officials of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU).

- ✓ Mwachigi Karanja as President,
- ✓ Agrey Minya as Secretary General,
- ✓ S. Ondiege,
- ✓ Elkana Okusimba,
- ✓ Silus Okeya,
- ✓ David Jomo,
- ✓ S. Osore,
- ✓ James Wainaina,
- ✓ Dickson Sambili.

Name the African trade unions that united to form the Kenya Federation of Registered trade Unions (KFRTU) in 1952.

KFRTU affiliates included:

- The Kenya Local Government Workers Union,
- Domestic and Hotel Workers Union,
- East African federation of building and construction Workers union.

What were the grievances of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU)?

KFRTU fought for the rights and better living conditions of all Africans during the Emergency and campaigned against:

- ❖ Low wages,
- ❖ Poor workers' conditions,
- ❖ Arrest and detention of Trade Union leaders,
- ❖ Forceful emigration of the Ameru, Aembu and Agikuyu from Nairobi,
- ❖ Increased prices for tea and bread,
- ❖ Poor housing for its workers,
- ❖ The continuation of the State of Emergency.

In 1953, the Kenya Local Government workers union, of which Tom Mboya was Secretary, joined the KFRTU, after which elections of the federation were held.

Identify the officials of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU) after its 1953 election.

- ✓ David Jomo: President,
- ✓ Stephenson Obwaka: vice President,
- ✓ Tom Mboya: Secretary General,
- ✓ Daniel Ng'ethe: Treasurer,
- ✓ John Opio: Assistant Treasurer.

In 1955, KFRTU changed its name to Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL). The Kenya Federation of Labour had close links with members of the proscribed Kenya African Union, which alarmed the government and the white settlers. The government also feared Tom Mboya, who travelled widely and established links between KFL and other international trade unions, which he used to articulate the African grievances about colonial oppression in Kenya. Mboya's efforts led to affiliation of KFL with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and helped to check the excesses of the colonial government, which sought to improve its image in the international community.

In February 1956, KFL mobilized its members and supporters both locally and internationally to petition against cancellation of its registration as threatened by the Registrar of Societies. In April that very year, the Registrar reassured KFL that their licence was not threatened.

Explain the role played by the Kenya Federation of Labour in the campaign for workers' welfare and the independence of Kenyans in general.

- It educated African workers on their rights.
- It prepared some African nationalists for leadership roles in the struggle for independence, e.g. Tom Mboya and Martin Shikuku.
- It kept the spirit of African nationalism alive, especially after the banning of KAU during the Mau Mau uprising.
- It helped improve the working and living conditions of African workers.
- It articulated African grievances in the absence of political parties.
- It helped secure international support for the course of African nationalism. For instance, it highlighted the horrible conditions created for Africans by the state of emergency to ICFTU and the International Labour Organization.
- It created a collective bargaining power for all workers.

Therefore, KFL championed workers' interests and motivated nationalism among Africans during the struggle for Kenya's independence.

Explain the role/importance of trade unions in colonial Kenya.

- ❖ Improvement of wages and working conditions by organizing strikes, Go-slows and Sit-ins, which compelled employers to review the workers' terms.
- ❖ Introduction of the concept of collective bargaining, whereby workers raised complaints as a group rather than as individuals.
- ❖ Minimization of victimization.
- ❖ Better conflict regulation and resolution.
- ❖ Regional cooperation. Unions in east Africa worked together for the good of workers in the region.
- ❖ Education of workers about their rights through seminars and public meetings.
- ❖ Development of a responsible work force concerning policy matters.
- ❖ Promotion of cooperation between employers, employees and the government through consultation. This was necessary for efficiency, productivity and the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes.
- ❖ Promotion of the struggle for independence as they were used as political forums when political parties were banned in 1952.
- ❖ Provision of a training ground for national leaders like Tom Mboya, Fred Kubai, Bildad Kaggia, Makhan Singh and Martin Shikuku.

Explain the problems encountered by trade Unions in colonial Kenya. (Explain the factors that undermined trade unions in colonial Kenya. Or: Explain the setbacks to trade unions in colonial Kenya.)

- ❖ Inadequate funding as they relied on mere contributions from the workers.
- ❖ Constant wrangling among trade union leaders.
- ❖ Harassment by both the white settlers and the colonial government.
- ❖ Ethnic considerations rather than competence concerning choice of leaders.
- ❖ The Migrant nature of the African work force, especially in the initial years of colonialism.
- ❖ Inefficient running due to poor leadership.
- ❖ Fear of victimization in the pioneer years.
- ❖ Ignorance of workers on the role of trade unions.
- ❖ Inadequate trained manpower to run the unions.

Even today, trade unions like the Kenya national Union of Teachers (KNUT) and the Central Organization of trade Unions (COTU) play an important role in advancing the welfare of workers.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA

Explain the factors that led to decolonization in Kenya and other African countries after World War 2.

Decolonization in Kenya and other African countries after the Second World War was a result of many factors such as:

- ✓ The experiences of the Exe soldiers, which encouraged demand for more political rights.
- ✓ The Pan African Movement, which pressured the colonial powers to grant political independence to their subject peoples.
- ✓ Frequent revolts and violence used by the colonized peoples against the colonizers.

- ✓ Realization by the colonial powers that colonies were becoming too expensive to run.
- ✓ Reluctance by tax payers in the colonial powers to finance colonial empires.
- ✓ Constitutional reforms in the colonial powers on one hand and in the colonies on the other.

AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGICO

Name two Kenyan Africans that were appointed to the Legico in 1944 and 1946.

Due to KAU and other African demands, Eliud Mathu and Benaiah Ohanga were appointed to the Legico in 1944 and 1946.

(b) Identify four categories of membership to the Legico in Kenya by 1948.

By 1948, the Legico comprised:

- Four Africans,
- Eleven Europeans,
- Five Asians
- Two Arabs.

State the recommendations of the 1955 East African Royal Commission.

By 1954 when Oliver Lyttelton, the British Secretary for colonies, visited Kenya, it was clear that the Mau Mau could not be defeated without solving the grievances that led to its outbreak. That's when need to involve the Africans in the administration of and reduce settler influence in Kenya was realized. Therefore, in 1955, the East African Royal Commission came up with a report that called for:

- ❖ An end to racial segregation.
- ❖ Increased involvement of Africans in the colonial administration.
- ❖ The opening of the Kenya highlands, which were until then exclusively used by white settlers to the disadvantage of all the races.

(b) Apart from the 1955 East African Royal Commission, identify other reports that were issued around 1955.

- ✚ The Swynnerton Plan of 1954, which recommended the consolidation and registration of African land.
- ✚ The report on African wages and the Ligbury Commission on civil service, both of which recommended better pay for African workers.

THE LYTTELTON CONSTITUTION

Explain the proposals/recommendations that were made by Oliver Lyttelton when he visited Kenya in 1954. (What were the recommendations of the Lyttelton constitution?)

- Creation of a multiracial society where all races would share political power.
- Formation of a multiracial council of ministers representing the three races i.e. Europeans, Asians and Africans.
- Representation of Africans and Asians by members with executive power over their ministries.
- Inclusion of one African, two Asians and three European among the unofficial members of the new council. B.A Ohanga: the first African to be appointed Minister was the African unofficial member. He became Minister for Community development and African Affairs in 1954.
- That elections be held in 1956-1957, with eight constituencies allocated to Africans.
- That each race elects their own representative to the Legico. However, other than race-pegged rules for participation, voting qualifications for Africans were based on

income, property and education, which limited the number of African voters registered by the time of the election.

Explain how the colonial government responded to Lyttelton's recommendations,

- It relaxed its policy on African political activities in 1955.
- It lifted the ban on African political organizations, though it restricted their functions to the District rather than National level and
- maintained prohibition on political organizations in central Kenya.
- Established the advisory council,

An advisory council was established by collaborators in central Kenya to discuss government policies.

Identify the political associations that were formed after the ban on African political organizations was lifted.

African nationalists in regions where the ban was lifted formed their associations, such as:

- Argwings Kodhek's Kenya African National Congress (KANAC), which was later named or known as the Nairobi District African Congress (NDAC),
- Tom Mboya's Nairobi People's Convention Party (NPCP),
- D Mwanyumba's Taita African Democratic Union (TADU),
- John Kebaso's Abagusi Association
- John Keen's Maasai Front.

Name the nationalists who formed the African Elected Members Organization.

In March 1957, the first African elections to the Legico were held, after which African elected members of the Legico formed the African Elected Members organization (AEMO). These were:

- Tom Mboya,
- Masinde Muliro,
- Oginga Odinga,
- Laurence Oguda,
- Ronald Ngala,
- Daniel Arap Moi,
- Bernard Mate,
- James Muimi

Oginga Odinga was its chairman and Tom Mboya its Secretary.

State the demands of the African Elected Members' Organization (AEMO).

- ✚ Condemnation of the Lyttelton constitution for providing fewer elected members than nominated ones.
- ✚ Condemnation of the domination of the Legico by Europeans.
- ✚ That every African of age 21 and older be allowed to vote, regardless of education or income.
- ✚ That registration of voters be done on a common roll, allowing for all races in every constituency to compete as opposed to the race-pegged voting.
- ✚ An end to the State of Emergency.

THE LENNOX BOYD CONSTITUTION

What were the recommendations of the Lennox Boyd constitution?

When Sir Allan Lennox Boyd: another British Secretary for colonies, visited Kenya in 1958, he proposed:

- ❖ An increase of Legico seats for Africans by six, making them 14, equal to those of Europeans.
- ❖ Increase of African Ministers from one to two.
- ❖ Introduction of a multiracial representation in the Legislative Council by providing for twelve specially elected members (four from each of the three races).

However, the AEMO rejected all those proposals after the proposals were perceived to give white settlers an advantaged position over the Africans in Kenya. AEMO was sued for criminal libel and its members were fined 75 pounds each. AEMO also called for the unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta.

In 1959, Michael Blundel: the leader of the settlers resigned his Ministry Of Agriculture position to form the New Kenya party. He was backed by 46 non-African members of the Legico. In response, the European radicals formed the United Party under the leadership of Captain Briggs.

One of the European radicals' demands was abolition of the Legico and its replacement with regional assemblies in order to preserve the 'white' highlands as one regional assembly for the exclusive benefit of the Europeans, aimed at thwarting the intended colonial government move to open up the highlands for all races from 1959.

What were the demands of the Kenya Independent Movement?

Under Oginga Odinga, tom Mboya and Gikonyo Kiano, the radical members of the AEMO formed the Kenya Independent Movement, which opposed multiracialism and was exclusively open to African membership. Their demands included:

- Convening of a full constitutional conference to discuss Kenya's future.
- The release of Kenyatta.

THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCES

THE FIRST LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE (1960)

This was convened in January 1960 at Lancaster House in London by Ian Macleod: The then British colonial Secretary and Sir Patrick Rennison: the then Governor of Kenya.

State the main purpose of the first Lancaster House Conference (1960).

- ✓ To find solution to the volatile political situation in Kenya.

State the decisions/resolutions that were made at the First Lancaster House Conference (1960)

Following a lot of negotiation, a number of compromised decisions were made at the First Lancaster House Conference as follows:

- The twelve elective seats in the Legico would remain intact.
- There would be 33 open seats in the Legico to be vied for on a common roll.
- There would be another twenty reserved seats: ten for Europeans, eight for Asians and two for Arabs.
- The composition of the Council of Ministers would be altered to incorporate four Africans, three Europeans and one Asian.

The conference failed to give the African politicians a responsible government.

Explain the impact/results of the First Lancaster House Conference.

- Four of the elected African members of the Legico now accepted ministerial positions reserved for Africans.
- KANU beat KADU and other political parties in the first General Elections along party lines held in 1961.
- Ronald Ngala formed a Minority KADU government in coalition with European and Asian members after KANU gave Jomo Kenyatta's release as their condition for agreeing to form a government.
- Kenyatta was released on 21st August 1961.
- Kariuki Njiri offered his Murang'a constituency seat to Kenyatta, enabling Kenyatta to join the Legico.

THE SECOND LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE (1962)

This was held in February 1962 at the same venue as the first Lancaster House Conference, presided over by Reginald Maudling: the then Secretary of State for Colonies, to draw an independence constitution acceptable to both KANU and KADU and to reconcile their differences.

At the Second Lancaster House Conference, the KANU delegation was led by Kenyatta while KADU was led by Ngala.

Explain the difference between KANU and KADU during the second Lancaster House Conference (1962).

- KANU advocated a strong unitary government while KADU favoured a federal constitution.

Explain the decisions/agreements arrived at during the second Lancaster House Conference (1962).

Since the difference between KANU and KADU could not be solved, formation of a coalition government was suggested to accelerate the transition to independence.

Therefore, the Second Lancaster House Conference settled for a federal constitution as follows:

- ✓ Kenya would comprise six regions, each retaining considerable internal powers.
- ✓ Central government would consist of a national Assembly comprising two chambers i.e. the Senate and the House of Representatives.
- ✓ The Prime Minister and the cabinet would come from the party with a majority of seats.
- ✓ The Senate would have 41 members (one from every district) while the House of Representatives would comprise 117 members, with twelve specially elected and one Attorney General.
- ✓ Each province would have an Organization of Elected Members.

Explain the problems that bedevilled Kenya in spite of the agreements made at the second Lancaster House Conference (1962). (explain the problems that Kenyans faced as they prepared for the 1963 elections).

In spite of these agreements, Kenyans prepared for elections with many complicated problems such as the following:

- ✓ The Coastal Arabs living within the sixteen kilometre coastal strip wanted to break away and join Zanzibar since Britain had leased the strip from the Sultan of Zanzibar.
- ✓ Some parts of what is now North-Eastern Province threatened to either form their own government or join Somalia.

- ✓ Paul Ngei had formed the African People's party (A P P) to safeguard the interests of the Akamba and was suspicious of the government that would be formed after the presumed elections.
- ✓ There were very few skilled Africans to take up the many vacancies left by Europeans since the colonial government neglected and disregarded African education.

However, elections were held in Kenya in May 1963 and KANU won majority (73) seats against KADU's 31 in the House of Representatives and was therefore invited to form the government. Its leader: Jomo Kenyatta became Kenya's first prime Minister. On 1st June 1963, Kenya attained responsible self government. On 12th December 1963, Kenya attained full independence. On 12th December 1964, Kenya was declared a Republic, with an executive President. The Queen of England ceased to be Kenya's head of state. Jomo Kenyatta was Kenya's first President.

Identify the parties that emerged to steer Kenya into political independence and sovereignty after the Lancaster House conferences.

- ✓ The Kenya African National Union (KANU),
- ✓ The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU),
- ✓ The New Kenya Party,
- ✓ The African People's Party (APP).

POLITICAL PARTIES

THE KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

Analyse the formation of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

- The Kenya African National union (KANU) was formed on 27th March 1960 at Kirigiti in Kiambu during a meeting convened by ex KAU leaders i.e. James Gichuru and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Jomo Kenyatta, who was still in detention, was elected its president in absentia.
- Formation of KANU resulted from the First Lancaster House Conference of January 1960, which was attended by all members of the Legico from Kenya, Africans included.
- Following the reluctance of the colonial government to register KANU with Kenyatta as President, another meeting was convened in May 1960 where James Gichuru took up KANU's presidency on an acting capacity, with Oginga Odinga as his deputy, Tom Mboya as Secretary General and Arthur Ochwada as assistant Secretary General. Ronald Ngala and Daniel Arap Moi were elected Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer in absentia since Ngala was in the USA while Moi was in London attending a Commonwealth Parliamentary association course.
- Under the guidance of Mwai Kibaki and Tom Mboya, a comprehensive KANU constitution was drafted. However, Ngala and Moi turned down their appointment when they returned, for their views had not really been represented at the meeting.

What were the main objectives of KANU?

The main objectives of KANU at its formation were:

- ❖ Political independence for Africans in Kenya.
- ❖ National unity through a unitary national constitution under one central government.
- ❖ A society based on African socialism.
- ❖ Eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease.
- ❖ Return of all the African land.

- ❖ Release of all political detainees.
- ❖ Unity with liberation movements in other African countries to end imperialism and colonialism in Africa.
- ❖ Good neighbourliness in the east African region.

Explain why Jomo Kenyatta's membership of KANU after his release from detention boosted the party.

- ✚ He was viewed as the natural leader of the Africans in Kenya, which made most Africans to get allied with KANU.
- ✚ His long imprisonment had given him the status of a political martyr in the eyes of the Africans.
- ✚ He spoke eloquently, which added to KANU's popularity.

Explain the role of KANU during the struggle for independence in Kenya.

- It mobilized and united Africans in the struggle for Kenya's independence.
- It provided political education to Kenyan Africans.
- It participated in the Constitutional talks in London in 1962 where the Independence constitution was formulated.
- It won the Independence Election of 1963, becoming the Ruling party, with Kenyatta as Prime Minister.

CHALLENGES FACING KANU IN ITS CAMPAIGN FOR KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE

Explain the challenges/problems that KANU faced in its struggle for Kenya's independence. (Explain why some nationalist leaders were dissatisfied with KANU.)

- It was argued that the party was too radical.
- It was too urban-oriented.
- It was too much dominated by the majority ethnic groups (the Kikuyu and the Luo), leaving minority groups threatened and suspicious of it.
- It suffered from inadequate funding.
- Its operations were undermined by the colonial government.
- Alleged lack of transparency in the running of Party affairs, particularly elections.
- A growing rift among the leaders over Party ideologies, with some advocating a unitary system of government while others favoured a federal (Majimbo) system.
- Split within the party, with some members decamping to form the Kenya African Democratic Union and others the African people's party.
- Harassment by the colonial government.
- Inadequate support, since most Africans were ignorant of Party politics.
- Hostility from the White settlers, who feared losing their assets if the party rose to power.
- Opposition from KADU, which comprised smaller tribes that advocated a Federal government.

THE KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION

What was the main reason for formation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)?

- Fear of Kikuyu and Luo supremacy, especially in KANU.

Name the communities that members of KADU mainly came from. (Name the communities whose leaders constituted KADU.)

Leaders of KADU were mainly from Minority communities such as:

- The Kalenjin,
- Abaluhya,
- The Maasai,
- The coastal communities.

Identify the leaders/founder members of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

- Ronald Ngala: its President,
- Daniel Arap Moi: its Chairman,
- Masinde Muliro: its Vice president,
- Martin Shikuku: its Secretary General,
- Justus Ole Tipis: its treasurer.

Analyse the formation/operation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) as a political party.

- ✓ Just like KANU, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) draws its foundation from the First Lancaster House Conference, where the colonial government authorised the formation of countrywide political parties.
- ✓ KADU was formed in 1960 to avoid Kikuyu and Luo dominance in the political arena.
- ✓ Unlike KANU, KADU favoured a Federal (Majimbo) system of government. When the two parties visited Jomo Kenyatta at Lodwa, where Kenyatta was detained, Kenyatta tried but failed to persuade them to unite. Each hoped Kenyatta would join them on his release from prison.
- ✓ In the first General elections held along party lines in May 1961, KANU won majority seats, followed by KADU, while other parties garnered the remaining seats. However, KADU teamed up with Michael Blundel's New Kenya Party and formed a Coalition government after KANU refused to form a government as long as Kenyatta was still in prison. Ronald Ngala became the Leader of Government Business and Minister for Education.
- ✓ In 1962, KANU and KADU formed a coalition government while awaiting the 1963 General Elections. Ngala became minister of State in charge of constitutional Affairs.
- ✓ In the 1963 General Elections, KADU was defeated by KANU and therefore became a major opposition party. But in 1964, KADU was disbanded and its members joined KANU after being persuaded by Oginga Odinga and President Jomo Kenyatta.

Analyse/discuss the achievements of KADU. (Explain the successes of KADU in its four years of operation.)

- ✓ It united the smaller Kenyan communities.
- ✓ It mobilized Africans against colonial domination.
- ✓ It contributed enormously to the formulation of the Independence constitution in the Second Lancaster House Conference.
- ✓ It provided political education to and enlightened Africans.
- ✓ It helped ensure checks on the KANU government for the short period it was in the Opposition.
- ✓ It formed a coalition government in 1961 with Michael Blundel's New Kenya Party when KANU declined to form a government unless Jomo Kenyatta was released from prison.

Explain the problems encountered by KADU as a political party. (describe the setbacks that Kadu contended with as a political party.)

- Persistent lack of funds.
- Its manipulation by the colonial government.
- Pressure from their rivals: KANU, who wanted KADU to decamp and merge with them.
- Illiteracy among the majority of its members, leaving the top leaders with too much responsibility over Party affairs.
- Rivalry among its senior officials.
- Suspicions that certain ethnic groups were dominating the party.

THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

The African People's Party (A P P) was founded by Paul Ngei and was one of the political parties that emerged in Kenya after the Second Lancaster House Conference in February 1962, which provided for a Federal constitution with a strong central government, which in turn allowed for six regions,, each with a considerable power in line with KADU's demands.

Paul Ngei, just like the Somali and the coastal Arabs, feared Akamba interests would not be catered for by either the KANU or KADU government.

In the 1963 General Elections, A P P and other minority parties came third after KANU and KADU respectively. After Kenya became a Republic in 1964, both A P P and KADU disbanded and joined KANU

CHAPTER 6

RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

What is nationalism? (Define nationalism).

- Nationalism is the desire for independence and self determination among a group of people. Or:
- It is the feeling of national pride, patriotism and belonging towards one's country.

Briefly describe the rise/development of nationalism in Africa.

- In Africa, Nationalism was a gradual process that resulted from the determination of various communities to get rid of the oppressive colonial rule to which they were subjected.
- The Resistance movement that spread all over the African continent at the beginning of colonialism such as the Maji-Maji rebellion in Tanganyika, the Chimurenga war in southern Rhodesia, the Nandi uprising in Kenya and the Mahdist Revolt in Sudan were part of early African Nationalism.
- After the Second World War, there was an upsurge of fresh nationalism all over Africa, spurred by a wide range of factors.

Explain the factors that contributed to rise of nationalism in Africa. (What were the reasons for nationalism in Africa?)

- Subjection of Africans to cultural discrimination by the colonial order, which dismissed African customs as being Primitive and barbaric.
- Accompaniment of colonialism by economic exploitation of the African communities, who were thrown out of their land by European settlers.
- The Urban environment, within which various communities interacted and exchanged feelings on the colonial menace. Although many urban centres such as Mombasa, Lagos and Dar Es Salam existed before colonialism in Africa, they expanded after colonial invasion.
- Imposition of many taxes like Hut tax, poll tax and Breast tax on African communities.
- Racial segregation, with which colonialism went hand in hand since facilities and other amenities were provided along racial lines all over Africa.
- African resentment of colonialism as it interfered with their political institutions, because colonial officials appointed chiefs in place of traditional rulers such as councils of elders in the decentralized societies.
- The Western education provided mostly by the Christian Missionaries, exposed Africans who acquired literacy and numeracy skills to the History of Europe and the USA.
- Pan Africanists such as Marcus Garvey and W E B Dubois, who made the Africans, realize that they shared common problems, which provided basis for national unity.
- The United Nations organization, which stressed the need for political independence of all subject peoples as one way of obtaining global peace.
- Participation of many Africans in the First World War as carriers and combatants. The experiences acquired in the war had a profound impact on the ex-soldiers.
- The spread of Leninist and Marxist ideas after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in the former Soviet union, which ushered in a Communist era. This soon made an impact on some of the African elite for communists attacked colonialism, which they considered to be part of imperialism, whose main aim was the economic exploitation of the weaker parts of the world.

- The Second World War, during which African combatants gained a lot of international exposure as they went to and fought in Burma, Ceylon, Israel, England, Egypt and Ethiopia.
 - Asian nationalism, which predated African Nationalism as Asia had a longer history of European imperialism compared to Africa, which greatly motivated African nationalists.
- Africans reacted differently towards their respective colonizers in spite of their subjection to exploitation, humiliation and political oppression. Thus nationalism was not uniformly expressed along the African continent.

NATIONALISM IN GHANA

Name the European communities that had dominated Ghana by the 18th century.

- The Portuguese,
- The Danes,
- The British,
- The Dutch.

It was the Portuguese who named Ghana the Goldcoast in reference to Ghana's vast gold deposits.

Analyse/describe the rise/development of nationalism in Ghana.

- Nationalism in Ghana began in 1868 when the Fante Confederation was initiated in response to British imperialism.
- In 1897, the African elite and the chiefs united and formed the Aborigines Rights Protection society: the pioneer modern nationalist organization, mainly to guard against the alienation of African land by the British in the Goldcoast.
- In the 1930s, J.B Danquah and other Western-educated Africans who were unhappy with the colonial order launched the Goldcoast Youth Conference to awaken the youth to the economic and social needs of Ghana. They demanded political rights and an end to social and economic injustice.
- In response to the demands, the government embarked on revision of the constitution to increase African representation in the Legico. The new constitution provided for eighteen African representatives in the Legico, of which thirteen were to be drawn from among the chiefs while five were popularly elected. This was totally rejected by the African communities as the chiefs were regarded as mere instruments of colonial control. It was for this reason that the United Goldcoast Convention was established in 1946, led by J.B Danquah.
- Under Danquah, most of the African elite, some of who were lawyers, journalists, teachers, and businessmen and who spearheaded political activities in the Goldcoast, invited Kwame Nkruma in 1946 to come and organize the United Goldcoast Convention. They had realized that none of them could get enough time to fully attend to the party. Nkruma was the best choice among the African elite who would be entrusted with party affairs because he had completed his Graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia: USA and a Law degree in England and had participated in the 1945 Pan African Congress in Manchester: England, which afforded him enough political experience in addition to his academic qualifications.

Explain the factors that facilitated/boosted growth of nationalism in Ghana. (What factors led to growth/rise of nationalism in Ghana? Or:

Explain the factors that influenced nationalism in Ghana in the 1940s.

- Meagre profits received by farmers from the sale of cocoa to European firms.
- Lack of employment, particularly for the large group of young people who had attained primary education.
- Selective granting of trading licences to the Europeans while Africans did not get any.
- Existence of a smaller group of Africans who had attained higher education and who could articulate the grievances of their people very well, such as Kwame Nkruma, J.B Danquah, Akuffo Addo and Ako Adjayi.
- Exposure of the soldiers by the ex-servicemen in the Gold Coast to the experiences of African War Veterans from other parts of the African continent, which gave them confidence in dealing with the colonial authorities in the Gold Coast.
- High taxes charged particularly on Africans by the colonial government.
- Poor remuneration and other unfulfilled promises by the colonial government, particularly to the ex-servicemen.
- Shortage of education opportunities.

Analyse the political/nationalist activities that characterised the year 1947-1948 in Ghana.

- The year 1947-1948 was characterised by widespread political activity in the Gold Coast by Africans opposed to the colonial government.
- The government responded by arresting Nkruma and his colleagues, popularly known as the Big Six and banished them to different parts of the Gold Coast in the hope of silencing them.
- Nkruma was sent to the north of the country. However, this only made Nkruma even more popular among his people.
- In 1949, Nkruma broke ranks with the senior members of the United Gold Coast Convention because most of the older members of the party were conservative and did not want confrontational politics, yet Nkruma advocated a radical approach. Nkruma founded the Convention People's Party (CPP).
- Through Nkruma's innovative approach, the C.P.P became vibrant and popular, especially among the youth. Nkruma introduced a flag and party salute in addition to party slogans and songs chanted and sang.

In what ways did Kwame Nkruma advocate positive action during the struggle for Ghana's independence? (Explain how Kwame Nkruma facilitated positive struggle for Ghana's independence)

Nkruma advocated positive action against the colonial government through:

- Legitimate political action. Criminal indulgence was not allowed.
- Newspaper and educational campaigns to enlighten the public on their rights.
- Constitutional application of boycotts, strikes and non-cooperation, based on the principles of absolute non-violence as was the case in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi on non-violent resistance.

Discuss the political developments/activities that led to Ghana's independence.

- In 1950, Nkruma started a newspaper: The Accra Evening News, which he used to expound CPP views. That same year, he was arrested and charged with incitement, for which he was imprisoned.
- In elections held in February 1951, Nkruma secured a Land-slide victory while still in prison. He was therefore released and became the leader of government business in the new cabinet.

- In fresh elections called in 1954, CPP again defeated other contenders. That same year, a new party: The National Liberation movement (NLM), a majority of whose members were of Asante origin, emerged. Members of NLM were uncomfortable with Nkruma for two main reasons:
- ❖ Nkruma came from a little-known small ethnic community in southern Ghana. Many NLM leaders were Asante chiefs who favoured a Federal system of government as opposed to Nkruma's unitary system.
- ❖ Nkruma's ideas were radical unlike those of the conservative traditional leaders.
- In July 1956, elections were called, mainly due to NLM's opposition. CPP again won. This time, the British government accepted the results and granted Ghana political independence under the leadership of Nkruma in 1957. The country's colonial name: Goldcoast was dropped in favour of Ghana.

Explain the role of Kwame Nkruma in the struggle for independence in Ghana. (In what ways did Kwame Nkruma facilitate/contribute to the struggle for Ghana's independence?)

- He participated in the 1945 Manchester Pan African Congress in England, where African nationalists agreed to go back to their countries and lead the struggle for liberation.
- On his return to the Goldcoast in 1946, he became Secretary General of the United Goldcoast Convention (UGC).
- He founded the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949.
- He united farmers, the elite, students and businessmen in the struggle against the British in the Goldcoast.
- He and the CPP used positive action, which involved non-violent strikes and political meetings, against the British.
- In 1951, he and the CPP won the elections and formed the first African government before independence.
- He led the Goldcoast to independence in 1957.

Ghana was the first African country to achieve independence. Under Nkruma, Ghana played an important role in inspiring other African countries to fight for political liberation. Indeed, President Nkruma declared that the independence of Ghana would be meaningless unless the rest of Africa was freed from the yoke of colonialism.

Explain how Kwame Nkruma inspired other African countries to acquire political independence.

- He convened two Pan African conferences in Ghana in 1958 to unite other African countries against colonial oppression.
- He encouraged liberation movements all over Africa with material support and ideas.
- He helped Patrice Lumumba, who was having problems with Belgians in present-day Democratic Republic of Congo.
- He was a fervent supporter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

NATIONALISM IN MOZAMBIQUE

Together with Angola, Mozambique was considered a Portuguese colony even before the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. The Portuguese settled in Mozambique during the European Exploration, mainly interested in the Gold trade in Sofala at the Mozambican coast.

Being the poorest of the European powers, Portugal valued her colonies immensely since they provided the Portuguese with a sense of imperial power, economic base and equality with other European powers.

In what ways did the Portuguese benefit from Mozambique before 1900? (Explain how the Portuguese benefited from Mozambique before 1900).

Prior to 1900, Portugal benefited from Mozambique in the following ways:

- The Portuguese acquired mineral resources such as gold from Mozambique. Gold trade flourished in Sofala at the Mozambiquan coast.
- Portugal forced Africans to pay taxes and other forms of tribute.
- The Portuguese got cotton and other cash crops from Mozambique.
- Portugal enjoyed a prestigious status due to ownership of colonies in Africa.

Explain the factors that contributed to growth of nationalism in Mozambique.

Nationalism in Mozambique stemmed from the African grievances against the Portuguese such as:

- Arbitrary replacement of traditional leaders by Portuguese administrators.
- Lack of respect for African cultures among Portuguese settlers.
- Displacement of Africans as Portuguese settlers took their land.
- Cruel treatment of Africans by the Security police. For instance, any political unrest was ruthlessly crushed.
- Heavy taxation levies against the Africans.
- Portuguese imposition of many restrictions on Africans, which limited their freedom of expression and intellectual advancement.
- Forced labour, characterised by bribing of upcountry chiefs to supply labourers, who were treated like slaves.
- Portuguese practice of racial discrimination.

Analyse the growth/development of nationalism in Mozambique. (Discuss nationalism in Mozambique).

- Nationalism in Mozambique began in the 1940s and 1950s, by which time many Mozambiquans had travelled to some African nations like South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya. It was the small group of the privileged, who benefited from Western education offered by missionaries and who even proceeded to Portugal for higher education that formed the pioneer group of African politicians, who demanded an end to repression and economic exploitation among the Africans.
- The Mozambiquan Makonde Union (MANU), which was founded by the Makonde people of Capo Delgado province in early 1960, was the first formal political association to mobilize Africans in Mozambique. The colonial government took drastic measures against Africans, forcing them to engage in Underground activities.
- In 1962, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania invited the different liberation groups in Mozambique to relocate and set up their headquarters in Dar Es Salam, where he promised to give them support. He also encouraged them to merge. It was with such encouragement that the associations united and formed the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO), with Eduardo Mondlane Chirambo as its first president. Having been educated in Portugal, South Africa and the USA, Mondlane managed to link up with the Mozambiquan political movements in exile.
- From 1964, FRELIMO embarked on a full-scale war against the Portuguese in different parts of the country, which put the Portuguese in an awkward position as they had

assembled most of their reinforcements and troops along the river Ruvuma on the northern boundary between Mozambique and Tanzania. Aware of nationalists in Tanzania, Portuguese forces anticipated attacks mainly from the northern region.

- FRELIMO targeted Portuguese military bases, communication and transport lines and other valuable installations. Attacks extended from the Capo Delgado province to Zambezia, Tete and other north-western regions, forcing the Portuguese to station their troops all over the country.
- In 1974, there was a Coup-De-Tat in Portugal, which was provoked by the heavy expenditure of the Portuguese government in fighting colonial wars. After the coup, the new Portuguese rulers signed an agreement with FRELIMO and handed over power to the Africans in 1975. Samora Machel became the first president of independent Mozambique.
- By the time of the coup in Portugal, FRELIMO was registering military successes over the north and central regions of Mozambique.

Explain why the Liberation movement won the war against colonial rule in Mozambique.

(Explain the reasons for success of the war against colonial rule in Mozambique. Or:

Explain why African nationalists were successful in their struggle against colonial rule in Mozambique. Or:

Explain the factors that favoured FRELIMO in the war against the colonial government in Mozambique.)

Various factors favoured FRELIMO in the war against the colonial government in Mozambique. These included:

- Its strategy of attacking Portuguese forces, compelling the Portuguese government to post troops all over the country.
- Support of the nationalists from communist countries such as the former USSR, Czechoslovakia and China.
- FRELIMO's collaboration with the Freedom fighters from Zimbabwe, who even fought together against Portuguese bases in Mozambique.
- Many Africans joined the nationalist war.
- Elimination of ethnicity among the nationalists through mingling of people of different ethnic origins in the same fighting units.
- Good vegetation cover and narrow footpaths, especially in the Nyassa, Capo Delgado and Tete regions, which were heavily forested, making Mozambique ideal for guerrilla warfare.
- Nationalist recognition of the role of women in the Freedom struggle.
- FRELIMO forces were fighting on their own terrain among fellow Africans, who supported them.
- FRELIMO's system of administration in the liberated areas, which wooed more people to support the guerrillas.
- FRELIMO's friendliness to the local people.
- Hosting of and provision of training, finance and other resources to the guerrillas by independent African countries through the OAU's Liberation committee.
- FRELIMO's cultivation of their own food to relieve the burden of supplying the forces with food.
- Use of Portuguese Language, which helped the nationalists to communicate effectively in spite of their different ethnic backgrounds.

Describe the challenges/difficulties encountered in the liberation movement/struggle in Mozambique. (Explain the factors that undermined nationalism in Mozambique.)

Despite their advantage over the colonial forces, the nationalists in Mozambique encountered various problems in their war, such as:

- Competition from rival fighter movements such as the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO).
- Internal divisions due to ideological differences and selfish ambitions among some of the nationalists.
- The assassination of FRELIMO leader: Eduardo Nondlane by means of a Parcel bomb in 1969.
- The official position of the church in Mozambique, which branded FRELIMO as a terrorist organization.
- Portuguese adoption of cruel methods in fighting the sympathizers of African nationalists.
- Severe shortage of basic needs i.e. food, clothing, soap and medicine, particularly in the forests when the war began.
- The Apartheid regime in South Africa and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U D I) regime in Zimbabwe, both of which combined forces with the Portuguese to fight the nationalists in Mozambique.

NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Why was nationalism in South Africa more complex than elsewhere in Africa?

- Unlike other African countries that were colonized by one specific European power, in South Africa, both the British and the Boers (Afrikaners) had imperial interests.
- The existence of valuable mineral deposits made the European powers more aggressive in their efforts to control wealth in South Africa.

Name the communities/groups of people that occupied South Africa by 1900.

Nationalism in South Africa can be understood by analysing the experiences of various groups that occupied the territory i.e.:

- The British,
- The Afrikaners,
- Indians,
- Coloureds,
- Indigenous Africans.

Describe three types of nationalism in South Africa in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Basically, there were three types of nationalism in South Africa in the first two decades of the twentieth century. These were:

- Afrikaner Nationalism, which emerged in late 19th century among the Dutch-speaking settlers (Afrikaners) against British political control over South Africa.
- British nationalism. On realizing the economic potential of South Africa, particularly after the discovery of gold and diamonds, the British wanted to take full control of South Africa, which culminated in strained relations and fighting between them and the Boers, causing the Boers to retreat farther into the interior, though still pursued by the British. Eventually, both the British and the Boers gave diplomacy consideration, allowing for elections/voting as the best way of decision-making. When the Nationalist party won one such election in 1948, South Africa fell under Afrikaner influence and domination. The party introduced the

Apartheid (segregationist) policy against the Africans and other nonwhites and advocated a program of total European supremacy.

- African nationalism. In South Africa, African nationalism began in the 17th century when the Boers occupied the Cape of South Africa, adopting a racist attitude towards the indigenous Africans, who strongly resisted such interference with their political freedom and economic resources.

Discuss the development of nationalism in South Africa. (Analyse the background of nationalism in South Africa).

- In the 18th century, there were bloody wars between the Boers on one hand and the Xhosa and Ndebele on the other. The crude weapons of the Africans were no match for the sophisticated ones of the Boers.
- In the 1870s, the Zulu, under their leader: Cetewayo, fiercely resisted the British, who had arrived in South Africa during the Napoleonic wars in the 19th century in search of a military base, but who stayed on and occupied large areas of South Africa after diamonds were discovered in the Transvaal region in 1866 in order to amass the mineral wealth. The British therefore clashed with both the Africans and the Afrikaners. Although the Zulu accepted annexation to the British Empire in 1887, African resistance was not completely wiped out.
- In 1906, the Zulu, under chief Bambata, rose against British rule, but they were unsuccessful. Bambata was captured and sent into exile.
- When the Afrikaners took political control of South Africa from the British following the creation of the Union of South Africa from 1910, Africans lost all political freedom. That was when the roots of indigenous African nationalism were laid.

Describe/explain the factors that contributed to rise of African nationalism in South Africa.

- Founding of independent churches.
- Formation of new local organizations e.g. the Orange River organization.
- Great exploitation of African labourers. Labour regulations and laws were extremely discriminative against the Africans.
- Promotion of national consciousness by African elite such as Reverend John Dube, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, etc.
- Christianity, which was introduced quite early in South Africa and which upheld ideas that encouraged Africans to fight for equality.
- The development of large urban centres, which created an enabling environment for close inter-ethnic relations among Africans, enabling them to counter the Afrikaner racist policies.
- Alienation of Africans from their land by the Afrikaner government, rendering most Africans dependent on Afrikaner employment on the very farms taken from them.
- Participation of many Africans in the Second World War, which exposed them to democratic ideals as they fought alongside the Europeans and discovered that there were no major differences between African peoples and Whites.
- Pan Africanists influence, evident in South Africa as early as the 19th century.
- Racism, which was enshrined in the 1948 Apartheid law and which convinced Africans that only political freedom would save them from further humiliation.

Describe the methods used by African nationalists to fight for political liberation in South Africa.

- They organized political parties such as the A N C and the Pan African Congress to champion their grievances.
- They made use of trade unions to press for better working and living conditions.
- They organized Protest marches, defiance campaigns and demonstrations.
- They would occasionally use military force.
- They also employed diplomacy, in an attempt to get the government's attention and that of the international community. On many occasions, the A N C contacted the OAU and the United Nations organization to force the unjust regime to grant them freedom.
- Nationalists who were arrested or detained often went on hunger strike to press the government to grant them political independence.
- They used the Print media such as pamphlets and newspapers to highlight the injustices of the Apartheid regime.
- Church leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak led the fight against Apartheid.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Name the founder-members of the African National Congress.

- Pixley Kaizaka Seme.
- Reverent John Dube.
- Thomas Mapikela.
- Walter Rubusana.
- Solomon Platy.
- Sam Makgatho.

Name the leaders of the African National Congress during the struggle for Political liberation in South Africa.

- A.B Xuma,
- Nelson Mandela,
- Walter Sisulu ,
- Oliver Tambo.

Analyse/explain the rise/development of the African National Congress. (Discuss the activities of the African National Congress during the struggle for political liberation in South Africa.)

- The African National Congress (ANC) was one of the earliest political organizations in South Africa. It was founded in 1912 and was first called the South African Native Congress (SANC), a name by which it was known up to 1923 when it changed to African National Congress.
- Its first president was Reverent John Dube. By 1923, leading African nationalists included Seme D.D Jabavu and Reverent Dube.
- ANC favoured non-violent resistance: a method borrowed from Mahatma Gandhi of India. It endeavoured to promote unity among the African communities.
- In 1943, the A N C's Youth League was formed, ushering in a more exclusive form of nationalism as the league adopted militant actions to achieve national liberation. It emphasized the inalienable right of the Africans to the African continent. Although it embraced the cooperation of the Indians and the Coloureds, the league maintained that Africans must lead in the struggle.
- From 1940-1949, A.B Xuma was the national President of the A N C. Xuma encouraged Africans to use mass action against the racist policies of the government.

- In 1949, the league adopted a militant program of action, which outlined direct tactics such as strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience against the Apartheid regime. As a result, there was violent confrontation between A N C and the government in 1952 in Wit Waters Rand, Kimberley and Eastern Cape. That year, Albert Luthuli became President of A N C, ushering an important milestone in the Organization's growth, because, under Luthuli, A N C became very popular among Africans.
- Together with the South African Coloured People's Organization and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, A N C convened the Congress Of The people in 1955, which adopted a Freedom charter. But within that very period, a split occurred within A N C between supporters of the multiracial sentiments of the charter and those who emphasized exclusively African nationalism and solidarity.
- In 1959, those who emphasized exclusively African nationalism formed the Pan African Congress party (PAC), under Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, who believed that Apartheid had to be fought with all means available to the Africans, including the use of violence.
- In 1960, Albert Luthuli and Sobukwe announced a nationwide campaign against the Pass laws, since such laws discriminated against Africans. In response, the Apartheid regime adopted very harsh measures against Africans. A good example is the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, where even children were shot and killed by the regime's police. African political activity went underground, with Nelson Mandela forming the fighting wing of the A N C: Umkhonto Wesizwe (spear Of the Nation) as PAC formed a similar fighting wing called Popo. As political activity intensified among the Africans, the government adopted even harsher measures.
- In 1963, the apartheid police discovered an underground headquarters of African resistance at Rivonia near Johannesburg. Mandela, Walter Sisulu and several other ANC and PAC members were arrested, convicted and condemned to Life imprisonment for organizing a violent movement against the government. Many A N C and P A C members went into and conducted their activities from exile. Many African nationalists were killed by government forces while others were arrested and detained, even when there was no evidence against them. The frustration experienced by African nationalists in the 1960s was so great that the liberation struggle appeared to be facing an eminent end.

Discuss/explain the role of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement in the struggle for political liberation in South Africa.

- In 1969, Steve Biko: a black Medical student, decided to form an all-black movement that would spread the philosophy of Black consciousness since all other forms of political expression were outlawed. Biko believed that the Black of South Africa needed to develop confidence in their own capacities.
- Biko at first expressed these views through Students' organizations, but gave up after realizing that the multiracial National Union Of south African Students discriminated against African students.
- In July 1969, Biko and other African students formed the South African Students Organization, which was an All-Black organization. To broaden the influence of the South African Students organization, Biko organized a series of meetings with religious and cultural leaders of Black Organizations and spread the concept of Black Consciousness among the Black community throughout south Africa.
- As a result of the movement, many students demonstrated against the Apartheid regime, protesting the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in schools.

- In 1976, over 360 school children were killed as thousands were arrested all over South Africa. Biko was arrested and died in Police custody in 1977. He was most probably tortured to death while in custody. That same year, all the Black Consciousness organizations were banned and their leaders imprisoned. The two most widely read Black newspapers i.e. The Will and weekend World were also banned and their editors imprisoned.

Describe the three chambers in a newly constituted eighty-eight member Assembly provided for by a constitutional Amendment to the House-Assembly, as stipulated by PW Botha in 1983.

In 1983, South African Prime Minister: P.W Botha introduced a constitutional amendment to the House-Assembly, which provided for three chambers in a newly constructed eighty-eight member assembly as follows:

- Fifty were to sit in the White chamber.
- Twenty-five were to sit in the Coloured chamber.
- Thirteen were to sit in the Indian chamber.
- Each chamber was only allowed to deal with matters affecting their own ethnic groups.
- Matters of national concern had to be tackled by a joint meeting of the three chambers.

The aim of this new arrangement was to divide Black nationalists by giving the Coloureds more political privileges. Such isolation of political resentment only helped increase political upheavals in the 1980s, compounded by the activities of the underground African political groups such as A N C, which attacked government installations among other targets, to express their disapproval of this new constitution.

Discuss/explain the activities/developments that led to political liberation in South Africa.

- More radical organizations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was supported all over South Africa, and the national front (N.F) which was joined by municipal workers and churches.
- The churches in South Africa also had a hand in the struggle against Apartheid. In 1984, Bishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent resistance and opposition against Apartheid.
- The Africans turned the funerals of those killed into rallies of spearheading their war against Apartheid. The atrocities of the Apartheid regime against Africans were so terrible that they could not go unnoticed within the international community. The Insecurity in the Southern African region threatened foreign investment, causing the USA and Western European countries to appreciate the fact that there could be no lasting peace in South Africa as long as the Apartheid policy was still in force.
- In 1985, the U S Congress voted for economic sanctions against the Apartheid regime, causing many U S cooperations to terminate their South African operations. This cut huge inflow of foreign exchange into South Africa. South Africa began to experience difficulties in repaying her foreign debts.
- Due to mounting international pressure and the pain of economic sanctions, the South African President: P.O Botha was forced out of office in 1989 because of his hard-line policies. He was replaced by the more moderate Frederick De Klerk. That same 1989, de Klerk released Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners. Nelson Mandela remained in prison after he refused to denounce violence as a method of the struggle for freedom.

- In 1990, De Klerk lifted the ban on all antiapartheid movements, including the A N C, PAC, The South African Communist party and 33 other organizations. He then released Nelson Mandela, who had spent twenty-seven years in prison.
- In 1991, some of the most oppressive racist laws like the International Organizations Act of 1960 which was used to ban ANC and PAC were repealed.
- Events moved and changed so fast that multiracial elections were scheduled for April 1994.
- With the lifting of the ban on African political parties, African nationalism took a new turn. ANC enjoyed majority support throughout South Africa while Inkatha Freedom Party (I.F.P) under Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi enjoyed overwhelming support in Zululand. This caused a lot of conflict and confusion.
- IFP called for the postponement of the April 1994 elections so that contentious issues were first sorted out. Many international mediators, including former US Secretary of state: Henry Kissinger as well as Lord Carrington of the U.K intervened but failed to avert or thwart this political stalemate.
- On 19th April 1994, a Kenyan diplomat: Professor Washington Okumu, convinced Buthelezi and his IFP supporters to take part in the elections.
- The all-race elections were held as scheduled. Nelson Mandela and the A N C won by a land-slide. Shortly later, Nelson Mandela was sworn in as President of the new South Africa.
- The sanctions placed against South Africa during the Apartheid era were lifted and South Africa rightfully joined the Commonwealth, the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African unity (now the African Union).
- When A N C once again won the 1999 elections, Mandela handed over power to his deputy: Thabo Mbeki. This was seen by observers as an important milestone for Democracy in Africa. The relatively peaceful elections and the smooth transition of power was an indication that democracy had finally found another home in Africa.

Explain the role of Nelson Mandela in the struggle against Apartheid.

- He was one of the founder-members of the A N C Youth league.
- In 1952, he was elected Deputy President General of A N C.
- He was one of the organizers of defiance campaigns against the Apartheid regime.
- He used his experience as Lawyer to defend many Africans who got into problems.
- He was among the nationalists who in 1955 formulated the Freedom charter, which declared that South Africa belonged to all races in the country.
- In 1960, he formed Umkhonto Wesizwe (Spear of the Nation) to fight for African independence.
- He travelled outside South Africa to solicit support from other countries.
- In 1964, he was jailed for life due to his alleged subversive activities. He was confined in the Robben Island up to his release by President Frederick De Klerk in 1990.
- In 1994, Mandela made history when he was elected first Black president of a democratic South Africa.
- In 1999, he voluntarily handed over power to the next President: Thabo Mbeki, unlike many African leaders who cling on to power. He gave Democracy a right direction in South Africa.

Discuss/explain the problems encountered by nationalists in South Africa. (Discuss/explain the factors that undermined nationalist activities in South Africa. Or:

Discuss/explain the setbacks encountered by African nationalists in South Africa.)

Many were killed by the Apartheid regime for fighting for their political rights.

- Many were harassed, arrested and detained.
- Many were forced to flee the country and seek refuge in other African states like Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Kenya and Tanzania.
- The political parties they formed were outlawed, e.g. the A N C and P A C among others.
- African newspapers were banned while the journalists were harassed for reporting on Apartheid.
- Trade unionists and other African leaders were perpetually intimidated by Security agents.
- The Apartheid regime confined Africans to the Bantustans (equivalents of Reserves in Kenya) based on their ethnic communities in order to separate African communities.
- Pass laws were used to curtail Africans' freedom of movement to stop them from taking part in the struggle for liberation and to make it easier for Europeans to acquire cheap African labour.

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CHAPTER 7

LIVES & CONTRIBUTIONS OF KENYAN LEADERS

The road to Kenya's independence involved serious commitment and struggle by Kenyans to liberate their country from colonialism. Some were prepared even to risk their own lives for freedom. They outstandingly featured in Kenyan politics during the struggle for independence and contributed to national development after Kenya's independence.

Kenyan nationalists i.e. Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga, Ronald Ngala and Daniel Arap Moi are remembered for the role they played in the struggle for Kenya's independence and development. They emerged from humble beginnings, but, due to colonial exploitation, they were involved in politics of their tribesmen. This provided a base upon which they became nationalist leaders.

JOMO KENYATTA

Discuss the early life of Jomo Kenyatta.

- Jomo Kenyatta was born some time between 1889-1895 of Agikuyu parents of the Magana clan at Ng'enda ridge in Gatundu division of Thika district, Central province of Kenya. His Father was Muigai and his mother Wambui. In Kenyatta's childhood, his father died, leaving Kenyatta and his mother under the care of Ngengi: Kenyatta's uncle.
- As a young boy, Kenyatta went to live with his grandfather: Kung'u Wa Magana at Muthiga near Kikuyu. There, Kenyatta was influenced by Agikuyu culture and customs on one hand and Christianity and Western Education on the other. Kenyatta's grandfather was a medicine man, which made Kenyatta interested in Agikuyu ritual and magic. Kenyatta was exposed to Christianity and Western education when he joined Thogoto Mission in 1909, where he learnt Christianity, reading, writing, agriculture and carpentry. At Thogoto, he was registered as Kamau Wa Ngengi. There, he met other inquisitive young men such as Musa Gitau. He completed his elementary schooling in 1912.
- In 1915, Kenyatta was circumcised in the Gikuyu tradition. A year later, he was baptised as Johnston Kamau Wa Ngengi.
- After his elementary school, Kenyatta went to Nairobi. By the standard of that time, he was a very educated man. He worked in various places during the First World War. For example, in 1916, he worked in a sisal farm.
- When the British imposed forced recruitment of able-bodied Africans into the army, Kenyatta went to live with his Maasai relatives to escape the forced recruitment. There, Kenyatta was employed by an Asian trader as a clerk. This Asian's company was supplying meat to the British army.
- At the end of the First World War, Kenyatta returned to Nairobi and worked as a Storekeeper in a European farm. By this time, he had already bought himself a bicycle, which added to his fame and prestige. He was a fashionable urban young man, fond of wearing a bearded Maasai ornamental belt: "Kinyata", which determined the name he later adopted: Kenyatta.
- In 1920, Kenyatta got married to Grace Wahu. Between 1921-1926, he worked in the Nairobi Municipal Council's water Department as a Stores clerk and Metre reader at a salary of 550sh

per month, which enabled him to build a good house on a piece of land that he had bought at Dagoreti near Nairobi. He also paid for his brother's education at Thogoto Mission school.

Analyse Jomo Kenyatta's political career.

- In 1924, Kenyatta joined the kikuyu Central Association, of which he became Secretary, charged with the responsibility of translating, drafting letters and dealing with correspondence.
- In 1928, he became editor of KCA's newspaper: "Muigui Thania" (Conciliator), in which he articulated the Agikuyu culture and urged people to take their children to school. He supported his people's stand on female circumcision and opposition to the Missionaries. The paper was printed by an Asian-owned press, which shows Kenyatta's ability to work with people of diverse backgrounds.
- In 1928, Kenyatta accompanied KCA officials to the Hilton Young commission. The following year, he was sent by KCA to Britain to present African grievances to the colonial Secretary in London. He also articulated KCA grievances on taxation, land alienation, African education and representation in the Legico.
- In 1931, Kenyatta went back to England, accompanied by Parmenas Mukiri to present KCA grievances before the Joint Select Committee on closer union of East African countries and managed to convince the colonial government that Africans did not support the idea of an east African federation.
- From 1932-1933, Kenyatta studied political Science and Economics at Moscow University, where he was invited by George Padmore: a Pan Africanist from Trinidad. In 1933, Kenyatta's studies were counselled due to Padmore's disagreement with the Russians. He returned to Britain to pursue studies in Anthropology and Economics at the University College: London.
- In 1936, while pursuing his studies in London, Kenyatta joined other Black nationalists in condemning Italian invasion and aggression against Ethiopia. He became the Secretary of the International friends of Abyssinia Organization (IFAO), whose aim was to denounce the Italian action.
- In 1938, Kenyatta published his book: Facing Mount Kenya, which talked about Agikuyu culture to compliment his earlier one on the Phonetic and Tonal structure of Gikuyu.
- While in England, Kenyatta travelled to other European countries such as Germany, France and Russia and got exposed to their ways of life. He also met nationalists from India and Nigeria, who inspired and transformed him into a nationalist. He expressed his views in an article titled 'give Back our Land', which was published by a British communist paper: The Sunday Worker.

What role did Jomo Kenyatta play in Pan Africanism? (In what ways did Jomo Kenyatta contribute to Pan Africanism?)

- ✚ He was one of the founder-members of the International Friends of Abyssinia Organization, which condemned the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia.
- ✚ Alongside others, he set up the International African Service Bureau in 1937 to propagate Pan Africanism.
- ✚ Through the rallies he addressed in London, Kenyatta attacked British colonial policies in Kenya such as the Carter land Commission and the Destocking policy among the Akamba in 1938. He also supported the formation of the Taita Hills Association.
- ✚ Since the British were against political agitation during the Second World War, Kenyatta's activities were slowed down. He settled down as a farmer in Storington: West Sussex where he met and married Edna Clarke.
- ✚ Together with other Pan Africanists such as W E B Dubois and Kwame Nkruma, Kenyatta helped in organizing the 1945 Pan African Congress in Manchester, which adopted the slogans

“Freedom now” and “Africa for Africans”. He then returned to Kenya in 1946 to fight for independence. Other Pan Africanists also returned to their home countries for the same purpose.

Explain the role of Jomo Kenyatta in the struggle for Kenya’s independence.

- ❖ In 1947, he took over the Presidency of the Kenya African Union after James Gichuru stepped down in his favour.
- ❖ He conducted rallies all over Kenya to foster nationalism. He adopted a non-violent approach and strived to unite moderates and radicals.
- ❖ In 1952, he and KAU leaders like Bildad Kagia, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, Achieng’ Oneko and Kung’u Karumba were arrested and imprisoned for their alleged involvement in the Mau Mau, whose activities alarmed the British Government, although Kenyatta was not the leader of the Mau Mau and had publicly condemned the kind of violence adopted by the Mau Mau leaders. He was sentenced to serve a seven-year jail term with hard labour. His detention however turned him into a national hero.
- ❖ In 1959, he completed his prison sentence, which he served in Lokitaung in North-western Kenya, but remained restricted at Lodwa, where he was joined by his wife: Ngina and his daughters: Jane and Christine.
- ❖ In 1960, Ambu Patel: a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, Oginga Odinga and elected members of the Legico mobilized public support in the campaign for Kenyatta’s release. Indeed, Ambu Patel formed the Release Jomo Committee for this purpose.
- ❖ In 1960, Kenyatta was elected in absentia as President of KANU. KANU won the January 1961 elections, but declined to form a government until Kenyatta was released. Kenyatta was finally released in August 1961 and was taken to Gatundu, where he received a Hero’s welcome. Again, James Gichuru stepped down in Kenyatta’s favour as president of KANU.
- ❖ Kenyatta joined the Legico as member for Fort Hall (Murang’a) constituency after Kariuki Njii stepped down for him. In 1962, he attended the Second Lancaster House Conference in London: U.K, to discuss constitutional amendments.
- ❖ On 1st June 1963, Kenya attained internal self government (Madaraka), with Kenyatta as Prime Minister. On 12th December 1964, Kenya became a republic (Jamhuri), with Kenyatta as Kenya’s first president. Kenyatta assured the White settlers that they could stay and live peacefully with Africans in Kenya.

KENYATTA’S ROLE IN NATION BUILDING

What role did Jomo Kenyatta play in nation building? (Explain the role of Jomo Kenyatta in nation building).

- Through his effort, KADU and the African People’s party joined KANU in 1964 for enhancement of national unity, thus setting pace for national development rather than political wrangling.
- He initiated the Harambe spirit, through which schools, hospitals and other facilities were established and urged Kenyans to work hard in the spirit of self reliance to eliminate the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease.
- In line with the stated objectives of the KANU manifesto, Kenyatta supported the liberation of other African countries at every opportunity.
- Under Kenyatta, Kenya supported the O A U, the ideals of the Commonwealth and the principle of Nonalignment, essential for Kenya’s upkeep within Kenya itself and abroad.

Explain the problems that Jomo Kenyatta faced as Kenya’s president. (What challenges characterised Jomo Kenyatta’s presidency in Kenya? Or:

Explain the difficulties/setbacks encountered by Kenyatta as President of Kenya. Or:

Explain the problems that Kenya faced after independence.)

In his Nation building task, Kenyatta encountered challenges characterised by problems facing Kenya after independence, such as:

- ✓ Political assassinations. Tom Mboya, J.M Kariuki and Pio Gama Pinto were killed in suspicious circumstances, causing citizens to lose confidence in the government.
- ✓ Poverty, ignorance and disease, which had to be addressed immediately.
- ✓ The Shifta menace, characterised by banditry in the North-eastern province and the continuous threat by the Kenyan Somali to secede to Somalia, which shifted attention from Economic development, but was successfully overcome in 1968.
- ✓ Lack of adequate funds to provide for Kenya's development needs.
- ✓ Poor transport and communication, characterised by lack of a good road network.
- ✓ KADU's campaign for a federal (Majimbo) rather than a unitary system of government.
- ✓ Shortage of manpower since the colonial education policy left Africans less equipped for skilled employment.
- ✓ A split within KANU, which led to a Break-away by radical leaders such as Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kaggia and Achieng' Oneko, who formed the Kenya People's Union (KPU) due to Kenyatta's compromise with the Whites over land, agreeing to safeguard their property and interests in addition to buying and then subdividing European farms through land-buying companies.

In 1977, Kenyatta suffered a mild heart attack. He died peacefully in his sleep while in Mombasa on 22nd august 1978. In a State burial ceremony attended by several heads of states, Kenyatta was laid to rest at a mausoleum at Parliament buildings in Nairobi.

TOM MBOYA

Analyse/discuss the early life of Tom Mboya.

- Thomas Joseph Mboya was born to Leonardus Ndiege and Marcela Awuor: both Luos from Rusinga Island in Nyanza province of Kenya on a settlers' sisal estate in Kilimambogo near Thika, where his father worked, on 15th august 1930.
- Mboya attended Donyo Sabuk primary school before proceeding to saint Mary's Yala, where he sat for his Junior Secondary School examination in 1945.
- He joined the Holy Ghost College in Mang'u in 1946, from where he obtained the African Secondary School Certificate. He lacked school fees and could not continue with higher education.
- He then undertook a sanitary Inspectors course at the Royal Sanitary Institute in Kabete, from where he graduated in 1950 and where he had been elected President of the students Council, an experience that later influenced his political career.
- In 1951, Mboya was employed as a Sanitary Inspector by the Nairobi municipal council. Here, Mboya was exposed to European racism against Africans, which triggered his interest in the Trade union movement. He soon became Chairman of the Kenya Inspectors Association.
- In 1953, Mboya married his first wife: Ogweni, with who he begat a daughter: Rosemary Alakie, but with who he separated in 1954. In 1961, he married Pamela Odede, with who he had four children.

Explain the role played by Tom Mboya in the Trade Union movement.

Because Tom Mboya began working during the Emergency years, he entered politics through the Trade Union movement, because political activities were banned.

- In 1951, Mboya joined the Nairobi African Local government Servants Association (NALGSA), of which he became Vice president in 1952. This was a Staff Welfare association, but Mboya hoped to transform it into a Trade union.
- In the very 1952, the Kenya Federation of registered Trade unions was formed to coordinate Trade union activities. Mboya became its Secretary General and managed to triple its membership by persuading staff associations to register as trade unions. Mboya affiliated KFRTU to the International confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in the USA and the British Trade Union Congress (BTUC). Because of such links, the colonial government in Kenya could not ban trade unions in the country.
- In 1953, Mboya became secretary General for the Kenya Local Government Workers Union (KLGWU), which was an Umbrella organization of all local government workers unions in Kenya. He used this position to argue for fair treatment of indigenous Africans and to protest against mass arrests, detention and torture.
- Mboya championed the formation of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour and the Uganda Trade Union. He attended seminars on the education of workers in Switzerland, Brussels and London, during which he met Jawaharlal Nehru: the leader of the Indian Trade Union congress, apart from acquiring ideas on organization of similar seminars. He demanded the release of detained trade unionists and political leaders.
- In 1954, Mboya won a government scholarship to study at Ruskin College: Oxford, United Kingdom, but he deferred the course to 1955 due to his commitment in trade unionism.
- In 1955, the Mombasa dock workers called upon Mboya to mediate in their strike, which threatened to undermine activities at the dock. He won for them a 33% pay-rise and improved working conditions.
- In October 1955, Mboya joined Ruskin College: Oxford, to study Economics, Political and Industrial Relations. During his stay in Britain, he wrote an article titled: The Kenyan Question: An African Answer, which boosted awareness of the Kenyan situation and the need for democracy. The article received overwhelming international attention.
- On completing his studies, Mboya was sponsored by the American Committee on Africa to visit the USA, where he was received by unionists such as George Meaney of the African Federation Of labour Congress And industrial Organization (AFLCIO). He gave public lectures on African grievances in Kenya and secured scholarships for Africans from different countries to study in US universities.
- Because Mboya was very organized, with high intelligence, hard work and other personal abilities, he was appointed to various advisory boards and committees. For instance, in 1958, he was made the Chairman of East, Central and southern area Committees of the international Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). He also became Chairman of the All Africa People's Conference (AAPC).

Explain how Tom Mboya's involvement in the Trade Union Movement influenced his political career.

- ✚ In 1952, Mboya joined the Kenya African Union (KAU), of which he became Treasurer before it was banned by the government and its leaders detained.
- ✚ On his return to Kenya from studies in Britain, he participated in and won election to the legislative Council in 1957 as member for Nairobi East constituency. He and seven other elected Africans formed the African Elected Members organization (AEMO), which opposed the Lyttelton and Lennox Boyd constitutional reforms and of which he became Secretary.

- ✚ In 1958, on Kwame Nkruma's advice, Mboya formed the Nairobi People's Convention Party (NPCP), which ran a newspaper: Uhuru. It lasted for three years and merged with KANU in 1960.
- ✚ Mboya closely worked with Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in forming the Pan African Freedom movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) to coordinate and speed up the liberation movement in the region.
- ✚ Mboya was one of the delegates to the 1960 First Lancaster House Conference, which agreed on the formation of a national political party, paving the way for the emergence of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), of which Mboya became Secretary General.
- ✚ In 1962, Mboya attended the Second Lancaster House Conference, purposed to draft Kenya's Independence constitution. He chaired the committee in charge of drafting KANU's views at the conference.

Explain the role of Tom Mboya in nation building. (Discuss Tom Mboya's contribution in nation building in Kenya.)

- ❖ As Minister for Labour in the coalition government of KANU and KADU in 1962, Mboya drew the Labour Relations charter to regulate relations between employers and employees.
- ❖ As Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Mboya was involved in constitutional amendments in 1963, by which Kenya became a Republic in 1964.
- ❖ As Minister for Planning and Economic development, Mboya drafted and published the Sessional paper nO.10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya. He also produced the 1966 and 1970 development plan for Kenya.
- ❖ As Secretary General for KANU, Mboya organized the 1966 Limuru conference, which organized fresh KANU elections and resolved the conflict between radicals and moderates in KANU. It replaced the position of Vice President with seven Vice Presidents: one from each of the six regions and one from Nairobi. It was purposed to remove Oginga Odinga from the post of Party Vice president.
- ❖ Mboya took advantage of the contacts he made with U S President: J.F Kennedy and the funds he raised through the American Students Foundation in 1959 to organize students airlifts to the USA for further studies. Through the scheme, over 2000 students were trained.
- ❖ In 1963, Mboya published an autobiography titled Freedom and after, in which he expressed great optimism for the future of Kenya.
- ❖ On 5th July 1969, tom Mboya was shot dead outside a Chemists shop on what is now Moi Avenue, allegedly by Nahashon Njenga.
- ❖ Mboya's death strained relations between the Agikuyu and the Luo due to suspicions that the government was privy to Mboya's assassination. Indeed, as Kenyatta addressed a crowd in Kisumu that same year, his motorcade was pelted with stones and rotten eggs, leading to bloody reprisals and to the arrest and detention of Oginga Odinga, Achieng' Ouko and other Luo leaders. The Kenya People's Union was banned.
- ❖ Some of Mboya's speeches are contained in a book titled The Challenge Of Nationhood, which was published after Mboya's death.

RONALD NGALA

Assess the early life of Ronald Ngala.

- Ronald Gideon Ngala was born in 1922 at Gotani in Kilifi district of the Coast province of Kenya. His Father: Vidzo Wan gala, moved to and settled at Vishakani near Kaloleni, where he worked for a mission as a carpenter and where Ronald was baptized.
- In 1930, Ronald joined Saint John's school: Kaloleni, from where he proceeded to Shimo La Tewa School and the Alliance High school, from where he proceeded to Makerere University in Uganda for a Diploma course in Education.
- On completion of his training, Ronald went back to and taught at Saint Johns and then Mbale Secondary school in Taita before he proceeded to Bristol in Britain for further studies.
- In 1949, Ngala wrote a book on the Giriama culture. In 1952, he became head teacher for Buxton School, which later became Mombasa Industrial Training Centre. He then became supervisor of schools in Mombasa in 1957.

Analyse/assess Ronald Ngala's political career. (Explain the role of Ronald Ngala in Kenya's political arena.)

- ✓ Ronald Ngala's political career began when he joined the Coast African Association (C A A), which was formed in 1943 and through which the coastal Africans could air their grievances.
- ✓ In the 1950s, Ngala was appointed member of the Mombasa African Advisory Council, which was formed to represent African interests on the Mombasa municipal Board. He was able to meet other coastal politicians such as Francis Hamisi, who later inspired him to join politics.
- ✓ In 1955, Ngala and others formed the Mombasa African Democratic Union (MADU). In 1956, Ngala assisted in formation of the Kilifi African People's Union (KAPU).
- ✓ In 1957, Ngala was elected alongside seven others to the Legico. He represented the Coastal rural constituencies. He then became Treasurer of the African Elected Members Organization (AEMO), which demanded further representation, reduction of Voter requirements and that elections be conducted on a One Man One Vote basis.
- ✓ Alongside Tom Mboya, Ngala was sent to London to press for further constitutional reforms from the British government, which led to the Lennox Boyd Constitution, which provided for the increase of African representation from eight to fourteen and for special membership in the Legico, with four members for each race.
- ✓ Unsatisfied with the proposals made by Lennox Boyd in 1957, Ronald Ngala, Jeremiah Nyaga, Bernard Mate, Daniel Arap Moi, Masinde Muliro and Taita Arap Toet resigned from the (AEMO) and joined Masinde Muliro's Kenya national party (KNP), which, being multiracial, embraced Arab and Asian members of the Legico and accepted the idea of having nominated seats. Gikonyo Kiano, Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya and other members of the AEMO formed the Kenya Independent Movement (K I M), which rejected the multiracial concessions of KNP and the idea of having nominated and special seats in the Legico.
- ✓ With Ngala's influence, members of both K I M and KNP met in Kiambu on 19th November 1959 as members of AEMO to forge a united front to represent African interests in what became known as the First Lancaster House Conference in London in 1960.
- ✓ In 1960, Ngala was elected in absentia to the post of Treasurer in the KANU party, but he declined the appointment when he returned and argued that KANU was dominated by large ethnic groups i.e. the Agikuyu and the Luo. Shortly later, at a meeting in Ngong', Ngala and other leaders formed the Kenya African Democratic union (KADU). Among KADU's affiliate district based groups were: the Mombasa African District Union, the Abaluhya Political Union, the Kalenjinn Political Alliance and the Maasai United Front.

- ✓ In the first Lancaster House Conference of 1960, Ngala represented KADU, advocating a Federal (Majimbo) constitution. Led by Mboya, KANU favoured centralization of power on the Presidency.
- ✓ After KANU won the 1961 elections but declined to form the government due to Kenyatta's continued detention, Ngala formed the government, supported by Michael Blundel and his New Kenya party. Later that year, Ngala was appointed the Minister for Education. He became the leader of Government Business. In 1962, at the Second Lancaster house conference, where Ngala led the KADU delegation, It was resolved that Kenya adopt a Federal (Majimbo) constitution with a strong central government. In the 1963 elections held under this new constitution, KANU won. Ngala became the leader of the opposition and M.P for Kilifi constituency.
- ✓ Persuaded by Oginga Odinga and other colleagues, Ngala disbanded KADU in 1964. He was appointed Minister for cooperative and social services in 1966. Later, he was made Minister for Power and Communication.
- ✓ On 25th December 1972, Ronald Gideon Ngala died in a road accident near Konza. Interestingly, the position of Leader of Government Business that was held by Ronald Ngala in 1961 was held for three months in 1998 by his son: Noah Katana Ngala. Ronald Ngala played a significant role in shaping the politics of the Coastal region during the colonial period.

OGINGA ODINGA

Discuss the early life of Oginga Odinga.

- Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was born to Mama Opondo Nyar Magolo and Mzee Odinga in 1911 at Nyamira Kang'o village, Sakwa Location in Bondo district of Nyanza province of Kenya.
- In 1926, Oginga began his formal education at Maranda Primary school, where he sat for the Common Entrance examination in 1929. from 1930-1934, he attended Maseno Intermediate school. There, he became a school Prefect. With his friends from neighbouring clans, Oginga formed the Coast Boys Association to assist in setting and marking examinations.
- In 1935, he joined Alliance High School in Kikuyu. Two years later, he proceeded to Makerere University College in Uganda, from where he graduated in 1939 with a Diploma in Education.
- On his return to Kenya, Oginga was assigned a Teaching job at Maseno School between 1940-1942. He later became the Head teacher of Maseno Veterinary school from 1943-1946.
- At Maseno, Oginga worked with Europeans and resented (opposed) racism. He dropped his Christian name Adonijah in favour of Ajuma. In fact, he insisted that his children be baptised in church, but with African names. In 1947, Oginga resigned from Maseno Veterinary School to venture into business.

Discuss Oginga Odinga's socioeconomic pursuits. (Explain Oginga Odinga's socioeconomic contribution to development in Kenya.)

While Kenyatta viewed political power as the avenue for economic strength, Oginga Odinga felt the need for Africans to attain economic power, which would then give them political standing. That was why he ventured into business to enable him to fight against White domination.

- ✓ In 1945, Oginga and four others founded the Bondo Thrift Association (which was later renamed the Luo Thrift and Trading Cooperation (LUTATCO)) to raise funds for starting a business in order to break the European and Asian Economic monopoly in Kenya. Under Oginga's chairmanship, LUTATCO built shops and posho mills and traded in foodstuffs, fish, hides and skins. They even owned Ramogi press, which was first based in Nairobi, but was later moved to Kisumu and published newspapers such as Nyanza Times, radio Posta, Sauti Ya Muafrika, Mumenyereri and a Luo publication called Ramogi, which advanced anticolonial sentiments and

was edited by Achieng' Oneko: Oginga's student at Maseno, who became a prominent Kenyan nationalist. The two built Ramogi House and Africa House in Kisumu in 1956.

- ✓ To improve the welfare of his Luo people, Oginga Odinga formed the Luo Union: a welfare organization for Luos living in urban areas, which in 1953 merged with other small locational and Clan associations to form the Dala Moro Luo Union of East Africa, still with Oginga Odinga as Patron. At this point, Oginga was the undisputed hero of the Luo community. His admirers referred to him as Jaramogi, which means Son of Ramogi, Ramogi being the mythical ancestor of all Luo.
- ✓ In 1954, Councillor Ambrose Ofafa of Nairobi (a Luo from Alego) was assassinated by Mau Mau warriors, allegedly for being a collaborator. The British urged the Luo to join Agikuyu home guards and kill the Agikuyu masses in revenge, but Oginga went to Nairobi and urge the Luo to understand the course of the Mau Mau war and avoid killing fellow Africans. He urged the Luo to raise funds to build a Memorial for Ofafa. He personally travelled across major east African towns raising funds for the building of the Ofafa Memorial Hall in 1957, which became the headquarters of the Luo Union.

Assess Oginga Odinga's political career. (Explain the role of Oginga Odinga in Kenya's political arena.)

- From 1947-1949, he was elected member of the Central Nyanza district Council.
- When Jomo Kenyatta visited Kisumu in 1948, Oginga Odinga urged the Luo to join KAU, which Kenyatta had reorganized.
- In 1956, Oginga was elected Central Nyanza representative to the Legico, joining seven others from various parts of Kenya. He then became Chairman of the African Elected Members organization (AEMO).
- By the end of 1958, he and other leaders of AEMO together with Asian members of the Legico and one white member, formed the Constituency Elected Members Organization (CEMO), which demanded further constitutional reforms and the release of Jomo Kenyatta. They sent a multiracial delegation to London to resolve the constitutional stalemate. The government promised a new constitution later in 1959.
- That same 1959, there was a split in the AEMO. Masinde Muliro, Daniel Arap Moi, Bernard Mate, Taita Arap Toet, Jeremiah Nyaga and Ronald Ngala formed the National party of Kenya, which was later joined by all Asian and Arab members of the Legico. Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya and Gikonyo Kiano formed the Kenya Independence Movement (KIM), with Oginga Odinga as President, Mboya as Secretary and Kiano as Chairman.
- In 1960, after the first Lancaster house Conference, Oginga Odinga and other members formed the Kenya African national Union (KANU), of which Oginga was vice President. Oginga travelled to Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, the USSR and other Eastern European countries, which created an ideological rift within KANU as Oginga was accused of being a Communist agent.
- Under the coalition government agreed on at the Second Lancaster House Conference of 1962, Oginga Odinga became minister for home Affairs.

Discuss the importance of Oginga Odinga in postcolonial Kenya.

- Between 1964-1966, President Kenyatta appointed Oginga Odinga to the posts of Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs as a reward for Oginga's and Luo support during the struggle for independence.
- Soon after, Oginga Odinga and other radicals disagreed with Kenyatta and his colleagues over Kenyatta's Land policy as they demanded immediate compensation of the Mau Mau fighters, free

land for the landless, nationalization of some companies and active trade unionism. But Kenyatta and other moderates wanted gradual change from colonialism to independence, including making agreements for large scale settler farms to be bought by the government, from which landless Africans would buy them. Kenyatta and his colleagues hoped that by so-doing, they would get the much needed foreign aid from and establish close ties with the West. They also agreed that Trade unions be controlled by the government for the well being of the employees.

- In mid 1964, it was rumoured that Oginga Odinga, whose detractors had branded a communist, was planning to seize and take over control of the government with the assistance of communist sympathizers while the Prime Minister (Kenyatta) was away and that he was smuggling Communist arms into Kenya, which Oginga dismissed as propaganda, owing to the fact that the arms in question were imported from Britain with the knowledge and authority from Kenyatta and the then Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- Due to attacks and pressure from the US Ambassador to Kenya and Oginga's own colleagues, Oginga was kicked out of his influential position during KANU's 1966 Annual Delegates Conference at Limuru, when the post of the party's vice president was abolished and replaced with seven vice presidents representing six regions and Nairobi. Oginga then resigned as Kenya's vice President and Minister for Home Affairs.
- That same 1966, Oginga and 29 other members of parliament resigned and formed an opposition party: the Kenya People's Union (KPU), which contested 28 of the 29 vacant seats in a little general election that was called that year, but won less than ten seats, making it difficult for KPU leadership to expand the party's membership in addition to the fact that KANU was out to undermine KPU.
- Oginga published his book "Not yet Uhuru", in which he wanted Kenyatta to know that the Europeans still wanted to rule Kenya from behind the scene and reiterated that it was time for Kenyans to manage their country, to produce wealth and avoid dependence on foreign aid.
- KPU was proscribed in 1969 after Oginga Odinga, Achieng Oneko and its other members were detained when Kenyatta's motorcade was stoned at a gathering in Kisumu due to Luo anger over Tom Mboya's death and Kenyatta's hostile speech against Oginga Odinga, at which thirteen people were killed and many others injured when the president's Security personnel opened fire against the mob.
- After Oginga's release in 1971, hurdles were put against him by the government, which made it difficult for him to return to active politics. He even bought a new Life Membership of KANU in order to participate in the 1974 general elections, but was still disqualified on the basis that he had not demonstrated a genuine change of heart as required by KANU.
- Oginga embarked on reasserting himself as the leader of the Luo. Aspiring Luo members of Parliament who had Oginga's support got elected while those who opposed Oginga got little or no votes. Oginga himself took up farming and business.
- In 1980, President Daniel Arap Moi appointed Oginga chairman of the Cotton lint and seed marketing Board in addition to signing and presenting him with a KANU Life Membership card, but shortly later at a rally in Mombasa, Oginga described Kenyatta as a Land grabber, which prompted President Moi to throw Oginga back into political limbo, stating that whoever did not respect Kenyatta's leadership would not appreciate the Nyayo government.
- In 1982, there was speculation that Oginga and George Anyona were planning to form their own party, which prompted the government to swiftly amend the constitution, making Kenya a Dejure one-party state (one-party state by law). Later that same year, Oginga Odinga was put under house arrest and was restricted to his Kisumu home as pro-Odinga members of the cabinet

such as Oloo Aringo were fired after Oginga was suspected of having been involved in the August 1982 coup attempt. The restriction was lifted before the 1983 General elections.

- In 1984, Oginga tried but failed to launch and register the Ramogi development Trust (TADET), a non-political organization aimed at alleviating poverty in Luoland by giving financial assistance to the people, because the government denied it registration.
- In 1987, Oginga embarked on writing open letters to President Moi on the issue of change. He demanded more freedom and democracy and warned Kenyan leaders against blocking demands for more openness and treating Kenya as their personal property.

Explain the role of Oginga Odinga in the struggle for multipartism in Kenya.

- ✚ In the 1990s, Oginga Odinga linked up with Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, his son Raila Odinga and many pressure groups, including lawyers, the Clergy and professionals to set up a public campaign for reintroduction of pluralism in Kenya.
- ✚ In his New Year message to Kenyans in 1991, Oginga prophesied that before the year was over, the fight for multipartism would have been won. In February that same year, he announced the formation of the National Democratic party (NDP), which was denied registration on the basis that Kenya was still a Dejure one-party state.
- ✚ In August 1991, Oginga Odinga teamed up with Masinde Muliro, Martin Shikuku, Philip Gachoka, George Nthenge and Ahmed Salum Bamahriz, with whom he formed the forum for the restoration of Democracy (FORD) as a Pressure group to fight for pluralism. When the government repealed Section 2A of the Constitution in December 1991, Ford evolved into an opposition party, of which he became interim National chairman. It later split into two factions: Oginga's FORD-Kenya and Matiba's Ford-Asili.
- ✚ After the historical multiparty General Elections of December 1992, the opposition lost to KANU. Odinga became the Leader of the opposition as Moi formed the government.
- ✚ Oginga adopted the policy of Cooperation with the ruling party for national development, although his move brought about disagreements with other Ford Officials, leading to resignation of key members of the party's Executive such as Paul Muite, Gitobu Imanyara, Kiraitu Murungi and Maalim Farah). Oginga however remained in control of the party.
- ✚ On 20th January 1994, Oginga Odinga passed away. His son Oburu Odinga succeeded him as Member of Parliament for Bondo constituency.

Explain why Oginga Odinga is regarded as the father of opposition politics in the history of Kenya. (Explain the role of Oginga Odinga in opposition politics in Kenya.)

- ✚ He led the Kenya Independent Movement to oppose the multiracial concession and the idea of having special seats proposed in the Lennox Boyd Constitution.
- ✚ After independence, he opposed Kenyatta's Land policy, which was accommodative of the settlers. He teamed up with Bildad Kagia and others to demand radical changes in which land would be given to the landless, and adoption of the Nationalization policy. Kenyatta and his moderate colleagues wanted gradual changes. Oginga was viewed as a Communist, while other leaders were pursuing capitalist ideals.
- ✚ In 1966, at the Limuru Conference, after his removal from KANU's vice Presidency, Oginga Odinga resigned as Kenya's Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs. He teamed up with other dissidents and formed an opposition Party: The Kenya People's Union (KPU). The party was banned in 1969 by the Kenyatta government since it had got less than ten of the twenty-eight seats contested in the little General Election held in 1966.
- ✚ Between 1970-1990, Oginga remained critical of the government. He was put under house arrest and barred from contesting Parliamentary elections.

- ✚ Oginga Odinga is remembered for the struggle for the introduction of multipartism. In February 1991, he launched an opposition political party: the National Democratic Party (NDP).
- ✚ Together with Martin Shikuku, Masinde Muliro and others, Oginga Odinga formed the Forum For The Restoration Of Democracy (FORD) as a Pressure-group to fight for Pluralism.
- ✚ When section 2A of the constitution was repealed in 1991, FORD evolved into an Opposition party, with Oginga as its interim Chairman. FORD later split into FORD-Kenya under Oginga and FORD-Asili under Kenneth Matiba.
- ✚ In the Multiparty elections of 1992, the Opposition lost to KANU, but Oginga Odinga became the Leader of the Official Opposition in Parliament.

DANIEL ARAP MOI

Discuss the early life of Daniel Arap Moi.

- ❖ Daniel Kapkoirios Toroitich Arap Moi was born on 2nd September 1924 at Kurienguo village in Sacho, Baringo district of the rift Valley province of Kenya. He was the fourth-born child of Kimoi Arap Chebii.
- ❖ When Moi was two years old, Chebii died, leaving Moi under the care of his mother and his elder brother: Tuitoek.
- ❖ In 1934, Moi joined the African Inland Mission (African Inland Church), where he was baptized as Daniel on 20th October 1936.
- ❖ In 1942, Moi started his Secondary school Education at Kapsabet. He then joined a Teacher Training college in Kapsabet in 1944, after which he taught at Tambach Government African School. He became Head teacher of Kabarnet Government African School in 1948.
- ❖ In 1949, Moi passed his matriculation examination and became a P2 teacher. He undertook a Teachers course at Kagumo and an In-Service course at Jeans school Kabete (now the Kenya institute of Administration) in 1950. by 1955, Moi was Assistant principal for Tambach Teachers Training college in Kabarnet.
- ❖ Moi then married his wife: Lena, with who he had children. It was while at Tambach that his life and career changed.

Analyse/assess the political career of Daniel Arap Moi.

- ❖ In 1955, Daniel Arap Moi was elected to the Legico as Member for Rift Valley,, after his predecessor: J. Ole Tameo resigned for unclear reasons.
- ❖ In the 1957 Legico elections, Moi won by a land-slide against Justus Ole Tipis and soon joined others in the African Elected Members Organization (AEMO).
- ❖ In 1960, Moi was elected Acting Treasurer of KANU in absentia since he was by then attending a Commonwealth Parliamentary association seminar in Britain. He however did not take up the post when he returned.
- ❖ That very 1960, Moi teamed up with Ronald Ngala and founded the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) to challenge KANU and to defend the interests of minority tribes like the Kalenjin.
- ❖ In 1961, Moi was re-elected as M.P for Baringo North and was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education.
- ❖ In 1964, Moi became the Minister for Local Government, after which he was appointed Minister for home Affairs.
- ❖ From 1967-1978, Moi was Kenya's Vice President. In 1968, he became Leader of Government Business.

- ❖ In 1976, a group of politicians, including Paul Ngei, Jackson Angaine, Kihika Kimani, Njenga Karume and James Gichuru failed due to lack of Kenyatta's support in their move to change the Constitution in order to prevent Moi from succeeding Kenyatta.

Discuss the life/role of Daniel Arap Moi as Kenya's President.

- After Kenyatta's death in 1978, Daniel Arap Moi ascended to the Presidency of Kenya. He launched the Nyayo philosophy of Peace, love and Unity, proclaiming to follow Kenyatta's footsteps concerning the governance of Kenya. In the initial stages of his presidency, Moi gained popularity by releasing some political detainees such as George Anyona, Marie Seroney and Mashengu wa Mwachovi.
- In 1979, Moi was re-elected unopposed as M.P for Baringo North. Also, the highest honour in the Republic: The Chief of the Golden Heart (CGH) was bestowed on him by the cabinet.
- Unfortunately, junior officers from the Kenya Air force staged a coup on 1st August 1982, a culmination of the resentment that had been brewing in the 1970s. They were however defeated by the loyal officers of the Kenya Army under General Jackson Mulinge. With this, Moi's style of administration became authoritarian, marked by torture and detention of dissenting individuals without trial. Such political detainees included Gibson Kamau Curia, Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, Gitobu Imanyara and Raila Odinge.
- In response, the world Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) stopped funding Kenya, leaving Moi with no option but to allow multipartism by repealing section 2A of the constitution of Kenya in 1991 in addition to other reforms that enabled him to consolidate his power as President. The Kenya political scene was then characterised by ethnic clashes and a highly fragmented opposition, within which Moi exposed division in addition to ethnic tension all over Kenya for him to be re-elected as President in 1992 and 1997.
- Barred by the constitution to contest the 2002 Presidential elections, Moi picked Uhuru Kenyatta (a son of the first President of Kenya) as his successor, which deeply divided KANU, causing some members to break away and form or join other parties such as the Liberal Democratic party.
- On 30th December 2002, Moi peacefully handed over presidential power to Mwai Kibaki, whose National rainbow Coalition (NARC) defeated KANU in the 2002 General elections, in which he also was replaced as M.P for Baringo Central by his son: Gideon Moi, who was elected unopposed.
- In 2003, Moi stepped down as KANU's Chairman, bringing his five-decade-long political era to an end.

In what ways did Daniel Arap Moi contribute to nation building in Kenya? (Discuss the role of Daniel Arap Moi in nation building in Kenya.)

- He introduced the Nyayo philosophy of Peace, love and Unity, intended to enhance national unity and cooperation. He conducted several Harambes across the country to support needy cases e.g. the disabled and poor.
- He helped improve infrastructure by extending roads, introduction of Nyayo buses and building of airports in Mombasa and Eldoret.
- He helped improve the Agricultural sector, which is the backbone of Kenya's economy by, for instance, establishing the Nyayo Tea Zones to increase tea production.
- He launched the District focus for rural Development (DFRD), which involved local people and the identification and implementation of projects based on the priorities of the community as a means of ensuring a balanced economic development.

- In health, he helped expand medical facilities and services through building of Nyayo Wards across the country.

In what ways did Daniel Arap Moi promote/step up education in Kenya?

- ✓ His reign saw the change from the 7-4-2-3 to the 8-4-4 system.
- ✓ He helped increase the number of schools, universities and middle-level colleges by organizing Harambes to assist learning institutions.
- ✓ He introduced the Nyayo Milk program in primary schools to ease hunger among children from poor families. Unfortunately, the Free milk program could not be sustained.

In what ways did Moi win international recognition? (Why did Daniel Arap Moi gain international recognition as a great leader?)

Internationally, Moi gained recognition as a great leader in the following ways:

- He ably represented Kenyans abroad during meetings of the United Nations organization, the Commonwealth of Nations and the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union).
- He opened the Kenya-Tanzania border in 1983, hence restoring East African economic cooperation after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977.
- He helped revive the East African Cooperation in the 1990s and led Peace initiatives in East and Central Africa as well as the Horn of Africa, particularly Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia.

Explain the challenges/setbacks encountered by Daniel Arap Moi as Kenya's President. (What problems did Daniel Arap Moi face as Kenya's President? Or:

Explain the factors that undermined Daniel Arap Moi's Presidency.)

Towards the end of Moi's reign, his government was increasingly unpopular due to various weaknesses such as the following:

- Corruption, evidenced in the grabbing of public utilities and funds, e.g. the Goldenberg scandal, which involved the loss of billions of shillings from state coffers.
- A lot of poverty in Kenya due to corruption and a weakened economy, with 50% of Kenyans living below the Poverty line at the beginning of the 21st century, forcing the government to embark on Poverty Reduction programs to alleviate (arrest) the situation.
- Amnesty International and other groups accused the Moi regime for Human Rights violation. They cited torture, arbitrary arrest, the unsolved murder of Robert Ouko and that of Bishop Alexander Muge as well as tribal clashes among other cases.
- Kenya was diplomatically isolated by the donor community because of her strained relations with Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, which caused loss of revenue.
- Kenya was stripped of aid by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
- The spread of HIV-AIDS.
- The attempted coup of 1st August 1982 by junior officers of the Kenya Air force.
- Constant criticism over governance during the One-party period, which culminated in the agitation for multipartism.
- Opposition parties like FORD-Kenya, FORD-People, National Development Party and NARC rivalled his party: KANU.

Natural disasters like famine (1984 and 1993) and the El Niño rains (1997), which weakened the economy.

CHAPTER 8

THE FORMATION, STRUCTURE & FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA

What is Parliamentary Democracy?

- It is a system of government whereby the civilians elect their leaders.

Describe the system of government that was adopted in Kenya after independence.

- Kenya adopted a parliamentary government based on parliamentary democracy.
- An effective defence force was organized and put in place to maintain law and order and to protect the country from external aggression.
- The Legislature makes laws, which are implemented by the Executive.
- The Judiciary ensures that nobody violates the laws.
- The three arms of government operate on a system of checks and Balances, the Executive being subordinate to the Legislature.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN KENYA

Describe the system of election in Kenya.

- The system of election in Kenya is democratic, allowing people to choose the leaders they want to represent them every five years.
- Elections are organized and supervised by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK).
- Various methods of election are used.
- Today, Kenya is divided into 210 electoral constituencies.

Identify three methods of election in Kenya.

- The Secret Ballot;
- Acclamation;
- The Queuing system, although of late the queuing system is not used.

Describe two main types of election.

- General Elections, which are held once every five years,
- By-Elections, which involve election of new leaders to fill seats left vacant by death, resignation or annulment of the election of their occupants.
- Party elections e.g. 2003 when Musikari Kombo was elected new Chairman of FORD-Kenya following the death of Michael Kijana Wamalwa.

Identify the types of elections that fall in the General Elections category.

- General Elections constitute:
- Presidential elections;
- Parliamentary elections
- Civic elections.

Under what circumstances are general elections in Kenya held earlier than normal? (Under what circumstances could early general elections be held/called in Kenya? Or:

- What circumstances could lead to early general elections in Kenya?)
- When the President dissolves parliament (as was in 1983).

- If Parliament passes a Vote of No Confidence in the government.
- Since 1992, Kenya has had multiparty elections, whereby several political parties compete to have their candidates chosen to fill the vacant parliamentary and civic seats.
- Apart from the general elections.

Explain the importance of elections in Kenya. (State the reasons why elections are held in Kenya every five years. Or:

Identify the factors that justify elections in Kenya.)

- They help ensure that leaders deliver services and respond to or address the needs of their people.
- They help generate new ideas by offering alternative ways of running the government through different political party manifestos.
- It is a constitutional requirement that they be held every five years.
- They enable the citizens to exercise their democratic right of choosing their leaders.
- The country is run by leaders who have been picked and are confided in by Kenyans.

Describe/explain the laws that regulate elections in Kenya. (Identify/state the electoral regulations in Kenya)

- In Kenya, elections are regulated by laws passed by parliament, such as:
- The Constitution, by which Kenya is a sovereign republic and a multiparty democratic state.
- The National Assembly & Presidential Elections act, which outlines the steps to be followed in the registration of voters, nomination of candidates, polling, counting of votes and other related processes.
- The Local Government Act, which gives the procedures and rules for conducting elections for county, municipal and town councils.
- The election Offence act, which lays out election offences and the penalties for committing such offences.

State the requirements for parliamentary candidates in Kenya. (What conditions must one meet in order to be a parliamentary candidate in Kenya? Or:

What are the qualities of a parliamentary candidate in Kenya? Or:

State the basic requirements for a nominated member of parliament in Kenya.)

In Kenya, a parliamentary candidate must:

- Be sponsored or nominated by a registered political party.
- Be a registered voter in a constituency.
- Be a Kenyan citizen aged 21 years or older.
- Have been living in Kenya six months prior to the election.
- Be able to speak, read and write English and Kiswahili, with a certificate of proficiency from the Language board or a letter of exemption from the electoral Commission of Kenya.
- Nominated members of parliament must also have the basic requirements for elected members of parliament.

State the circumstances that could make one to be disqualified from parliamentary candidature in Kenya. (What factors could make one lose their parliamentary candidature in Kenya? Or:

Explain the reasons why a candidate could be prevented from vying for a parliamentary seat in Kenya.)

- If one is declared bankrupt by a court of law.
- If one is a public officer holding a public office as a civil servant or member of the Armed Forces unless he or she resigns.

- If one is sentenced to death or to a Jail term of at least six months.
- If one is convicted for an election offence.
- If one is certified to be of unsound mind.

Under what circumstances could an MP lose their seat in the Kenya Parliament? (Explain the factors that could cause a member of the Kenya parliament to lose their seat. Or: Explain the factors that may lead to loss of a parliamentary seat by an elected member of the Kenya Parliament.)

- If the member ceases to be a Kenyan citizen.
- If the member receives a six-month or longer jail term or a Death penalty from a court of law.
- If one's election is nullified on one's conviction for an election offence.
- If one is elected by the other members as the Speaker of the National Assembly.
- If one is declared bankrupt by a court of law.
- If one is found to be of unsound mind.
- If the member resigns either as an M.P or from the party by which he or she was voted into parliament.
- If the member fails to attend eight consecutive sessions during the life of a particular parliament without the Speaker's permission.
- If the member defects from one party to another.

Describe two levels at which candidates are selected to vie for seats during elections in Kenya.

- Party nominations, whereby parties select their candidates to contest elections.
- Electoral Commission of Kenya nominations, whereby party nominees are presented to the Electoral Commission of Kenya for formal nomination to contest the elections.
- On nomination, political parties and their candidates hold political meetings or organize Meet-The-People tours to sell themselves and their party-ideas to voters in their constituencies and wards through what are referred to as Election Campaigns, enabling the voters to assess the aspiring candidates and their party policies as well as strategies before deciding on who should represent them in parliament or Local Authority.

VOTER REGISTRATION

Who is a voter?

A voter is a person who is listed once in the register of voters. The register of voters is a record of persons entitled to vote at Presidential, Parliamentary and Civic elections. The names of those who have died are removed from the register of voters.

What are the requirements for a voter in Kenya? (What conditions must one fulfil in order to be a voter in Kenya?)

- One must be a Kenyan citizen, with an original Identity card or passport.
- One must be eighteen years of age or older.
- One must not have been convicted of election offences.
- One must not have been sentenced to more than twelve months imprisonment.
- One must not have been declared to be of unsound mind.
- One must not have been sentenced to death by a court of law.

Explain how voters elect their leader in Kenya. (State the steps through which voters elect their leader in Kenya. Or:

Explain the voting process in Kenya.)

On polling day, voters elect their leader of choice through the following steps:

- Each voter must present himself or herself at a polling station, usually in a school or hall within the area between 06.00AM to 06.00PM.
- Each must have the Voter's card and an Identity card, with his or her name in the register of voters.
- On producing the required documents, the voter is issued with a ballot-paper showing the names of the candidates and their party symbols.
- The voter puts his or her mark in the space provided on the Right-hand side of the Ballot paper, then slots the paper into a box.
- The Presiding officer ensures efficient and transparent counting of votes after the closure of the voting exercise, after which he or she announces the number of votes garnered by each candidate.
- Total votes from all the polling stations are tallied by the Returning Officer and the Election Officer in charge of the constituency, announcing the results per candidate.
- The Returning Officer declares the elected Constituency Member of Parliament and the Councillor of each ward within the constituency as well as the number of votes per candidate for the Presidential election.
- The electoral Commission of Kenya declares the validly elected candidates for the Presidential, parliamentary and civic elections.

Explain the factors that undermine/hinder free and fair elections in Kenya. (Explain the obstacles to free and fair elections in Kenya.)

At times, the election process does not run as smoothly as stipulated by the law due to:

- Inadequate civic education i.e. poor sensitization of voters on who can lead them effectively.
- Illiteracy among some citizens, which limits their ability to correctly mark the Ballot papers.
- Violence or chaos, which makes voter access to the voting halls difficult.
- Vote rigging, of which many aspiring candidates and their agents often complain.
- Bribes, whereby voters are swayed by incentives from individuals in order to vote for certain candidates.
- Natural calamities such as heavy rain, especially in places with poorly developed infrastructure.

Explain how free and fair elections could be ensured in Kenya. (In what ways could free and fair elections be ensured in Kenya?)

- Intensification of civic education.
- Engaging adequate Security personnel so as to check violence.
- Putting in place measures to discourage rigging or voter bribing.
- Encouraging many local and international observers to assess the elections.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA

Describe the Electoral Commission of Kenya.

- It is the body that conducts and supervises elections.
- It is subject to no other than its Chairperson, which helps ensure its independence.
- It is made up of twenty-one Commissioners, eleven of which are appointed by the President while the rest are appointed by opposition parties that are represented in parliament.
- It has a Secretariat of permanent employees, who carry out its day to day administration. The Commissioners serve for a guaranteed term of five years.

Explain the functions of the Electoral Commission of Kenya.

- Division of Kenya into constituencies, which it names and whose boundaries it marks.

- Review of civic wards, their boundaries, numbers and names.
- Registration of voters.
- Preparation and distribution of nomination papers, ballot-papers and Ballot-boxes and the required stationary.
- Supervision of voting.
- Appointment and payment of the staff at the voting stations e.g. returning officers.
- General direction and supervision of administrative conduct of both General and By-elections.
- Division of constituencies into polling areas and stations.
- Countrywide voter education.
- Promotion of free and fair elections.
- Receiving money deposited by aspiring parliamentary candidates.
- Conducting Language Proficiency tests for candidates nominated by their parties to vie for elections.
- Publishing notices of elections and nominations as well as arrangement for the printing of Ballot-papers.
- Announcing dates of elections and By-elections.
- Provision of security throughout the election exercise.
- Announcing election results.
- The electoral Commission of Kenya also performs other functions as provided by the law.

Describe/identify the officials appointed by the Electoral Commission of Kenya. (Identify the election officials in Kenya.)

- To ensure efficiency and effectiveness during elections, the Electoral Commission of Kenya appoints various categories of officials. These include:
- District Election coordinators, who handle all electoral matters at the District level and link the people within their jurisdiction with the Commission headquarters.
- Registration officers, who register voters in each constituency and issue them with Voters' cards.
- Returning officers, who organize elections in the constituency.
- Presiding officers, who are in charge of polling stations.
- Polling clerks, who assist and guide, particularly illiterate voters.
- Security personnel (Police-Officers), who assist the Presiding officer to maintain law and order during polling and vote counting.
- Counting Clerks, who sort out the ballots and then count the Ballots per candidate.
- Party agents, who represent candidates or political parties in a polling station or counting hall, ensuring that polling and vote-counting are transparent, orderly, free and fair.
- Observers, who watch over elections and write reports to indicate if the elections were free and fair.
- Explain/state the functions of:
- A Returning Officer;
- Presiding Officers.

FUNCTIONS OF A RETURNING OFFICER

- Setting up polling booths in each polling station.
- Receiving nomination papers from prospective candidates.
- Distributing Ballot-papers and boxes to all polling stations.
- Supervising the casting and counting of votes in the constituency.

- Appointing the Presiding Officers in each polling station.
- Announcing constituency election results.

FUNCTIONS OF PRESIDING OFFICERS

- Ensuring that polling is orderly, free and fair.
- Ensuring that every eligible voter votes only once.
- Help illiterate voters to mark ballot-papers.
- Seal the Ballot-boxes and transfer them to a central point for vote-counting.
- Maintain law and order at polling stations.
- Ensure impartiality in polling.

THE FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT

Analyse/explain the process of government-formation in Kenya.

- Constitutionally, a President will be elected whenever parliament is dissolved.
- After Presidential and parliamentary elections, the Chief Justice swears in the President.
- The President appoints a cabinet (government) from among the members of parliament. Members of the cabinet are also sworn in.
- To ensure continuity of government operations, the existing cabinet remains even after dissolution of parliament until a new one is formed.

Describe/explain the major tasks that are performed by the new government in Kenya.

(What are the duties/responsibilities of the new government in Kenya?)

- Ensuring socio-economic development in the country by setting up policies to improve social amenities.
- Upholding human rights and ensuring that all citizens live in peace and harmony through the administration of justice.
- Enhancement of law and order to ensure that citizens enjoy state-security.
- Organization of an effective defence force to protect the country from internal and external aggression.
- Establishment of sound foreign policies by setting up foreign embassies and high commissions to promote international cooperation.

Describe/identify the main organs/branches/arms of the Kenya government.

- The government of Kenya mainly consists of:
- The Legislature (Parliament), which is the Lawmaking organ in Kenya. It consists of the President and the National Assembly.
- The Executive, which deals with implementation of laws made by the Legislature and handles the general administration of the country, including internal and external affairs. It comprises the President, vice President, the cabinet and the civil servants.
- The Judiciary, which deals with administration of justice through the court system. It is headed by the Chief Justice and is made up of Judges, Magistrates and other judicial officers.
- Operation of these three main organs of the Kenya government is based on the policy of separation of powers, whereby each is completely independent of but compliments the others for the purpose of effective governance.

Analyse/describe the composition of the Kenya parliament.

- At present, the Kenya parliament comprises 210 elected, twelve nominated and two ex-officio members.
- Nominated members of the Kenya Parliament represent special interests e.g. the youth and the disabled.

- The Speaker and the attorney-General are *ex-officio* members i.e. members of parliament by virtue of their position in the government other than through election.
- The national assembly also has a clerk and Sergeant at Arms.
- Members of Parliament form various committees in the House and at the same time form the Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC).
- The Parliamentary Service Commission employs its own staff to take care of its administration.
- Other officers of parliament include: the accounts Personnel, secretariats, Catering, Hansard editor and Reporters, Library staff and Subordinate Staff.

Identify/state the duties of the Parliamentary Service Commission.

- Streamlining Parliament operations.
- Taking care of the welfare of members of Parliament and staff of the national assembly on issues, such as salaries, offices and equipment as well as pension.

Identify two main components of the Legislature.

- The National Assembly;
- The President.

Name/outline The Officers of the National Assembly in Kenya.

- The Speaker.
- The Deputy Speaker.
- The Attorney-General.
- The Clerk to the National Assembly.
- The sergeant At Arms.

Analyse/describe the Speaker of the Kenya parliament.

- Is an *ex-officio* Member of Parliament.
- Is elected when the House first meets after a General election and before the house proceeds with any other business.
- Is the Spokesman and Head of the National Assembly.
- When there is a tie in voting in Parliament, the speaker determines the winner, for he or she has a casting vote.
- Is accompanied by a ceremonial Mace, which rests on the table of the chamber while the Speaker is on the Chair, symbolizing the constitutional authority of the National Assembly and of the Speaker's office.

Under what circumstances could the Speaker of the Kenya parliament leave/lose office?

(What factors could cause the Speaker of the Kenya parliament to leave/lose his/her seat? Or:

What factors could lead to removal of a Speaker of the Kenya parliament from office? Or:

Under what circumstances is a new speaker of the Kenya parliament elected? Or:

What factors could lead to election of a new speaker to the Kenya parliament?)

- Expiry of his/her tenure.
- If he or she dies before expiry of his/her tenure.
- If he/she resigns from office.
- If he or she loses the basic qualifications for membership to the National Assembly.
- If a resolution of the National Assembly, supported by at least three quarters of all members, removes him or her from office.

Name the people that served as Speakers to the postcolonial Kenya parliament.

The postcolonial Kenya Parliament has had seven speakers so far, namely:

- Muinga Chokwe;

- Hamphrey Slade;
- Frederick Mbiti Mati;
- Moses Arap Keino;
- Professor Jonathan Ng'eno;
- Francis Ole Kaparo;
- Kenneth Otiato Marende.

State the functions of the Speaker.

- To adjourn sittings if the house lacks quorum.
- To receive and accept letters of resignation from members of parliament.
- To give members of parliament the chance to contribute to House debates.
- To declare parliamentary seats vacant.
- To organize or determine the business to be conducted in the House.
- To issue writs for General and by elections.
- To represent and protect the authority of Parliament.
- To make rules and issue orders for the regulation of visitors to Parliament.
- To maintain order during parliamentary debates.
- To chair the Speaker's committee, the Committee of Powers and Privileges and the Commanding Orders Committee.
- To enforce rules that govern the conduct of the House.
- To head and take charge of the National Assembly department.
- To discipline members who have violated standing orders.
- To keep and maintain the attendance register.
- To decide over House-proceedings and ensure that they are conducted in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.
- To cast a vote to break a tie.
- To preside over the swearing in of members of Parliament at the start of each Parliament.
- To receive bills, motions and parliamentary questions intended for tabling and discussion.

Analyse/describe the following parliamentary authorities/officials:

- The Deputy Speaker;
- The Clerk to the national assembly;
- The sergeant at arms.
- Leader of Government business.
- Leader of the Official opposition.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER

This:

- Must be a sitting member of the National Assembly. Therefore, he or she remains a Constituency member even after election to the post.
- Is not an ex-officio member.
- Chairs the committees of the whole House, including Library committees.
- Performs the duties of the Speaker when the Speaker is absent.
- In case both the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are absent, a member from the Chairperson's panel presides over the parliamentary proceeding.

THE CLERK TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

This:

- Is a civil servant.
- Is the chief administrator of Parliament.

- Is the chief Executive of the Parliamentary Service Commission.
- Is the procedural advisor to the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and all members of parliament.
- Is the Accounting officer of the National assembly.
- A candidate to this post must be a serving clerk.

THE ROLE OF THE CLERK TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

- Records all notices of motions, questions and other matters handed in by members.
- Acts as the Branch Secretary to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Interparliamentary Union and Union of Africa Parliaments.
- Records minutes of House-proceedings and advice members on matters of procedure.
- Supervises parliamentary staff.
- Maintains correspondence with the ministries concerning parliamentary matters.
- Serves as the Principal advisor to the Speaker and members of parliament on all the parliamentary procedures, practice, conventions and traditions.
- Controls the finances of the House.
- Prepares and safely keeps all parliamentary records in the Hansard.
- Prepares true copies of bills passed by the Assembly and then submits them to the President for Assent.
- Organizes and maintains a library for use by members.

THE SERGEANT AT ARMS

The sergeant at Arms:

- Is responsible for all ceremonies within and around Parliament buildings.
- Ensures discipline within and around Parliament buildings.
- Is the custodian of the Mace, which is the authority of the House and without which no sitting can be held.
- Enforces all orders made by the Speaker.
- Is responsible for the maintenance of Parliament buildings.

LEADER OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

- This position is adopted as a matter of tradition and does not appear in the Constitution of Kenya. Usually, the President appoints the Vice president, who is a member of the Cabinet, to serve in the position. The Leader of Government Business:
- Chairs weekly Committee meetings on procedural motions, including motions of adjournment.
- Seconds most bills moved by Ministers.
- Consults regularly with the Leader of the Official Opposition on Parliamentary issues.
- To ensure that they win the debate, the government chooses and confides in the Leader of Government Business while the Opposition party with the highest number of members rallies behind the Leader of the Official Opposition as leader of their debating team.

LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION

- The opposition party with the highest number of seats in Parliament can be the official opposition party while its chairperson becomes the Leader of the Official Opposition as provided for by Standing Order NO.2A. The Leader of the official opposition:
- Offers direction, guidance and support for Opposition leaders.
- Investigates government expenditure in consultation with the Public Accounts Committee according to the report of the Controller and Auditor-General.
- Works in consultation with members of the Diplomatic community based in Nairobi and other parliamentary delegations from abroad to Kenya on official visits.

- Describe/Explain the functions of the Legislature. (What are the responsibilities of the Kenya Parliament. Or:
- In what ways does the Kenya parliament foster good governance? Or:
- Explain the duties/obligations of the National Assembly in Kenya.)
- Making laws through debates on bills. Parliament makes, amends or repeals laws.
- Control of revenue and expenditure. Parliament considers the proposed use of public funds as set out in the estimates submitted by the government and proposals for the imposition of taxes to raise money required for government expenditure.
- The Terminative role. Parliament can pass a Vote of No Confidence in the President and the government as provided for by the Constitution, after which the government would have to resign as Parliament stands dissolved and fresh elections held to elect new members of the new government.
- To check on the Executive and the Judiciary. Parliament debates on public issues and ensures that the rights of individuals are not infringed upon through abuse of power by the Executive and the Judiciary in addition to passing laws that do not undermine the citizens.
- Serving as a bridge between people and the government. Members of Parliament explain government policies to the people and inform the government on people's views, thus providing linkage between the people and the government in their constituencies.
- Creation of Statutory bodies (parastatals) through various acts of parliament to promote social and economic growth in the country. Such bodies include Telecom Kenya, Teachers Service Commission, Agricultural Finance Cooperation, National Serials and Produce Board and, Central bank of Kenya.
- Shaping political leadership by giving direction for future national political leadership, thus serving as an institution of political recruitment, management and education.
- Promotion of good governance as parliamentarians deliberate on national and international issues affecting the nation through debates, which provide members with opportunity to challenge the government through positive criticism.
- Election of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker to preside over parliamentary debates.
- Maintenance of the national spirit by providing a forum for expression of national interests. In spite of the differences among themselves, members of parliament meet to debate on issues in Parliament.

THE PROCESS OF LAWMAKING

- Describe the process of law making in Kenya. (Under what circumstances/conditions does law making in Kenya begin?)
- Law making includes enacting of new laws or amending the existing ones.
- Lawmaking can only begin in the presence of the Speaker or Deputy Speaker amidst a quorum of thirty members in Parliament.
- A proposed piece of law is called a Bill.
- What is a bill?
- A bill is a written suggestion for a new law that is presented to a country's parliament for discussion.
- Into what two main types are parliamentary bills categorised?
- There are two types of bills, namely:
- Public bills, which deal with matters of public policy, which affect all citizens of Kenya.

- Private bills, which are intended to affect particular persons, associations or people living in a small part of the country.

Describe two types of Public bills.

- Public bills are further divided into two categories, namely:
 - Government bills, which are introduced by Ministers.
 - Private Members Bills, which are introduced by back-benchers.
- Explain the process/stages that a bill undergoes/passes before it becomes law.
- Basically, the following process is followed in lawmaking in Kenya:
 - A bill is drafted in the Attorney-General's office.
 - The bill goes to Parliament for the First Reading.
 - The second Reading, whereby the Minister in charge moves it and the principles of the bill are discussed.
 - The Committee stage, where the Bill is analysed and recommendations are incorporated.
 - The Report stage, whereby the Committee reports its considerations to the House.
 - The Third Reading, where final voting is done on it in parliament.
 - Presidential Assent, whereby, if the bill passes through the Third reading, it is presented to the President for Assent.
 - Publication, whereby, after Presidential Assent, the bill becomes law and is published in the Kenya Gazette and local dailies. It then binds all Kenyans.

Analyse/discuss the stages/process of law making in Kenya.

THE DRAFT STAGE

- Before drafting of a bill, there must be consultation among government departments and other public offices to be affected by the bill to ascertain the validity of the intended bill.
- If recommended, the bill will then be drafted by the Government Draftsman in the Attorney-General's chambers known as the Parliamentary Council.
- When the Cabinet is satisfied with the draft, it is published in the Kenya Gazette at least two weeks before its introduction to parliament in order to give the public a chance to view and criticise it and for members of Parliament to research and prepare for a debate on it in future.

THE FIRST READING

- The bill is introduced and read by the clerk to Parliament.
- The Minister in charge of the bill stands up and moves a motion on the bill.
- The bill is then passed over to the relevant departmental committee, which is a Parliamentary committee that consists of eleven members, who would go through the bill clause by clause.
- A week later, the departmental committee reports back to the House.
- Members of Parliament are then allowed to think about the bill. No debate or voting takes place since no approval or disapproval is required.
- The date for the Second Reading is fixed.

THE SECOND READING

- Seven days after the First Reading, the bill is read again before Parliament.
- The Minister in charge of the bill formally moves it by initiating debate on it.
- The bill is then seconded by another Member of Parliament, usually a Minister.
- Minute-details of the bill are discussed and amendments or improvements proposed, coupled with addition or deletion of some clauses or sections. It is at this point that the members of the house can reject a bill. It can only be passed to the next stage if it has a Majority support.

- A bill that has been rejected cannot be taken back to parliament until after six months, so that Members of Parliament and the Minister or private member from who the bill originated can reconsider their stand on it.
- The Second Reading is the most important stage in Lawmaking.

THE COMMITTEE STAGE

- At this point,
- The bill is referred to the Select Committee, which is a small group of members elected by Parliament.
- The Select Committee closely examine the bill and incorporate recommendations from the second reading.
- The select committee report their findings to the House.

THE REPORT STAGE

- The chairman of the Select Committee reports its considerations to Parliament.
- Members confirm if their proposals have or have not been taken into account.
- Parliament votes on the report, which, if accepted, proceeds to the next stage.

THE THIRD READING

- A final vote is taken.
- If approved, the bill is considered to have passed through Parliament.
- This stage resembles the Second Reading, except that debate and further amendments are limited.
- Bills are rarely defeated in the Third Reading. 1973 when the Pension Amendment Bill was defeated at such a stage was one such rare occasion.

PRESIDENTIAL ASSENT

- After passing through Parliament in the Third Reading, the bill is prepared in the form of a Draft-Act by the Clerk and the Attorney-General's chambers.
- The Draft-Act is printed by the Government Printer.
- The Clerk forwards the Draft-act through the Attorney-General to the President for assent. The bill must be accompanied by a certificate of the Clerk to confirm that it is the correct copy of the bill passed.
- If the President decides to veto (reject) the bill, he or she must write to the Speaker within 14 days giving reasons for denying it Presidential assent. This is politically risky, for it will be a must for presidential assent to be given if two thirds of the members of Parliament vote for the bill.
- After Presidential assent has been given, the bill becomes an act of Parliament.
- It is published in the Kenya Gazette and sections of it in the local dailies to publicise it to all residents in the country.
- It then becomes Law, binding everybody in the country.

PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY

- Explain the principle of Parliamentary supremacy in Kenya.
- Constitutionally, Parliament consists of the elected representatives of the people, which makes it supreme since it has the people's mandate to legislate and govern on their behalf.

Explain why Parliament is supreme. (What factors justify parliamentary supremacy?)

- Ministers have to answer questions in and account to Parliament for their activities in the ministries under their control.

- It can limit the powers of the Executive through an amendment of the constitution and can pass a Vote of No Confidence in the government.
- It makes and repeals laws.
- Bills prepared by the Cabinet have to be legislated by Parliament.
- It can terminate a President's appointment through a Vote of No Confidence.
- It scrutinizes and can therefore approve or disapprove government revenue and expenditure.
- It regulates the other arms of the government i.e. the Judiciary and the Executive.
- Explain how Parliament controls government revenue and expenditure.
- Every year, the Minister for Finance presents the budget to Parliament for approval.
- Government ministries can only get funds after Parliament has approved their expenditure.
- The Auditor and Controller General checks the expenditure of all ministries and reports to Parliament.
- The Public Accounts Committee closely monitors government revenue and expenditure.

Explain the limitations of Parliamentary supremacy. (What factors undermine/hinder Parliamentary supremacy?)

- A cabinet that is too powerful may influence decision-making in and reduce the authority of Parliament.
- Parliament cannot pass a law against people's customs and traditions, unless the people want a change.
- The application of the rule of law does not allow Parliament to pass a law that is contrary to the constitution of the land.
- The President has power to declare a State Of Emergency and side-step the supremacy of Parliament to deal with crisis.
- The application of international laws may compel Parliament to ratify a law out of necessity.
- The Local Government Act mandates the local authorities to independently make laws that affect their respective authorities.

What are the merits/advantages of parliamentary supremacy?

The following are the advantages of a Parliamentary government:

- It instils a sense of responsibility in the Executive since Ministers rise to their people's grievances as they sit and answer questions in Parliament.
- It creates harmony as the Executive and Legislature work together.
- It legitimises action taken by the government, particularly from the recommendations passed by Parliament, which represents the people.
- It is flexible as it gives people the right to choose a leader to handle a crisis, e.g. an Emergency situation.
- It allows for constructive criticism from the Opposition, thus ensuring good governance.
- It is both responsible and responsive.
- It enables Kenyans of ability and experience to prove their worth in Parliamentary debates.
- It allows ordinary citizens to participate in the governing process by electing their representatives to articulate their views on issues of national interest.
- It serves as a training ground for effective leaders.
- It allows for regular elections, during which the electorate participates either as voters or contestants.

What are the disadvantages/demerits of parliamentary supremacy?

- It can create instability for it works well in a two-party system.

- It may not be effective in times of emergency, since the head of the government has to consult with the cabinet and the Legislature.
- It weakens the Executive. For instance, it compels Ministers to spend most of their time in the Legislature instead of dealing with matters of their ministries.

THE EXECUTIVE

- Explain the main responsibility/function of the Executive arm of government.
- The Executive deals with the implementation of laws made by the Legislature. It handles the general administration of the country, including internal and external affairs.

Identify the components of the Executive arm of government

- The President,
- The Vice President,
- The Cabinet,
- The civil servants.
- The President and the Cabinet are elected members of Parliament while Civil Servants are appointed by the Public Service Commission. Constitutionally, the President and the cabinet are collectively responsible to Parliament in all things done by or under the authority of the President, the Vice President and the Ministers while carrying out their duties.

THE PRESIDENT

- In Kenya, the President is the Chief Executive, heading both the state and government. The President is elected through Secret Ballot by registered voters every five years.

Under what circumstances can Kenya's President be elected sooner or other than during general elections that are held every five years?

- If there is an emergency.
- Death of the current President.
- Resignation of the current President.
- Nullifying of elections by the High Court.
- If the President is physically or mentally incapacitated.
- If a Presidential candidate dies before or after polling and before one is declared elected as President.
- Explain the functions/powers of Kenya's president.
- Heading the State.
- Heading the Government.
- Chairing Cabinet meetings, which normally discuss policies of national importance.
- Legislative powers, i.e. addressing the National Assembly at any time and attending all meetings as a member of Parliament, though in practice, he delegates the functions of the Leader of Government business to the Vice President.
- He is Commander In Chief of the Armed Forces. It is he who appoints senior officers within the Armed Forces and receives the Oath of Loyalty pledged by all members of the Armed Forces.
- Judicial powers.
- Emergency powers. The President can deal with situations that may plunge the country into instability and insecurity.

- Presiding over national holidays by meeting and leading the people and expounding on government policy during the important national holidays like Jamhuri day and Madaraka day.
- Safeguarding and upholding the constitution by ensuring that no person or groups of persons abuse it.
- Power to call elections.
- Conferring of honours on men and women of Kenya for their outstanding achievements.
- Explain the functions/powers of Kenya's president as Head of State.
- Represents the government and the people of Kenya both at home and abroad.
- Receives credentials of foreign envoys posted to Kenya.
- Hosts Heads of foreign countries visiting Kenya.
- Makes and ratifies international agreements and treaties on important matters.
- Explain the responsibilities of Kenya's President in heading the Government.
- Has power to appoint and dismiss Ministers and all senior civil servants appointed by him.
- Allows the Ministers and Assistant Ministers to leave the country either to represent the government or to conduct private visits.
- Appoints special commissions and commissions of enquiry to look into issues of public interest, e.g. the Judicial Commission of enquiry into the Goldenberg scandal.
- State the judicial powers/functions of Kenya's President
- May pardon any person.
- May commute any punishment.
- May grant clemency to anyone who has been imprisoned or detained.
- Ensures that the rule of law is upheld throughout the country.

Identify the situations that may plunge the country into instability and insecurity.

- War,
- Internal disorder due to an attempted coup,
- Disruption in the country's economy,
- Natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods.
- Identify Honours conferred by the President on men and women of Kenya for their outstanding achievements.
- The Order of the Golden Heart of Kenya.
- The Order of the Burning Spear.
- The Distinguished Service Medal.
- The Head of State Commendation.
- Elder of the Burning spear.

In what two ways does Kenya's President exercise his power to call elections?

- The President can call elections earlier or later than five years, though Parliament has to pass an amendment to that effect.
- He can also call elections if a Vote of No Confidence in the government is passed by the National Assembly.

What are the requirements for a Presidential candidate in Kenya? (What conditions must one meet in order to be a Presidential candidate in Kenya?)

- Be a Kenyan citizen of age 35 years or older.
- Be a registered voter in a constituency.
- Not have been jailed for a period of over six months.
- Qualify as a Parliamentary candidate.

- Be an elected Member of Parliament.
- Not have been declared bankrupt by a court of law.
- Be a member of a registered political party.
- Attain 25% of votes cast in at least five provinces in Kenya.
- Be nominated by his or her party.
- Be supported by not less than 1000 registered voters.
- Not have served two consecutive terms as President.
- Be of sound mind.
- According to the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, elections are based on the principle of Universal Suffrage, whereby all adults are entitled to vote on the principle of One Man One Vote.
- Constitutionally, when the office of the President falls vacant, the Vice President takes over for the first 90 days, followed by elections, in which even the Vice President can vie for the Presidency.
- In case both the offices of the President and Vice President fall vacant, the cabinet constitutionally pick one among themselves to act as President for 90 days, during which elections must be held.

Explain the reasons for Presidential election in Kenya. (Why do Kenyans elect their President?)

- The President derives his or her power from the people, it is not a self-imposed rule.
- Kenyans mandate their President to rule the country and act on their behalf through such elections.
- The President does not go against public opinion, for he or she is responsible and accountable to the electorate.
- The people have the choice to elect a President directly, freely and fairly.
- The President has protection against legal proceedings i.e. no criminal or civil charges can be instigated against the President while in office.
- The President's salary, allowances, gratuity and pension are determined by a parliamentary resolution, which then charges the money to the consolidated fund. A constitutional amendment of 1992 limited the tenure of office for the Presidency to two five-year terms.

THE CABINET

- The Cabinet is the executive and policy-making body of the country. Its members are appointed by the President after a General election.

Identify the components of the Cabinet in Kenya.

- The President.
- The Vice President.
- Ministers.
- Head of the Civil Service, who is also Secretary to the cabinet.
- Attorney-General, who is a civil servant, but attends cabinet meetings as the legal advisor to the government.
- What conditions/qualifications must one meet/bear in order to be a member of Kenya's Cabinet? (Identify the entities that make up the cabinet in Kenya).
- Members of Parliament.
- People that the President can trust.
- People that work as a team in line with the principle of collective responsibility.

- Members who do not show disagreements in public.
- People with high level of education.
- Members from all ethnic groups and provinces, incorporating various interest-groups in the country.
- Assistant Ministers, who are appointed by the President from the National Assembly to assist the cabinet in carrying out their duties.
- The Ministers and their assistant Ministers take the oath of allegiance and cannot leave the country without Presidential permission.
- 2. (a) Identify the circumstances that could make a Minister lose their job. Under what circumstances could a Government Minister in Kenya lose their job?)
- If they are dismissed by the President.
- If the Minister ceases to be a Member of Parliament.
- If they resign or die.
- If declared bankrupt by a court of law.
- If the National Assembly passes a Vote of No Confidence in the Minister.
- The Secretary to the cabinet, who is also the head of the civil service and a Permanent Secretary in the office of the President, carries out and informs the government and the civil service on the decisions and orders of the cabinet.
- Cabinet meetings, which are chaired by the President, guide cabinet operations. The cabinet has standing committees such as Development, Foreign Affairs and Manpower committees, which deal with issues within their context of operation. It may at times hold adhoc meetings on specific but urgent issues. The Ministers are collectively responsible for the policies and administration of their ministries. Although Assistant Ministers are not part of the cabinet, they carry out ministerial duties when Ministers are not available.
- Constitutionally, the cabinet are collectively responsible to parliament for all things done by or under the authority of anyone of them. Ministers have to accept without publicly criticising cabinet decisions and government principles.
- Explain the functions of the cabinet in Kenya.
- It acts on behalf of the President when performing duties delegated by the President to the Ministers, such as appointment of Parastatal board-members.
- It advises and assists the President in governing the country.
- It formulates and prepares the budget through the Minister for finance, which is then presented to the national assembly.
- It discusses national and international issues with the President.
- It formulates government policies and programs.
- Cabinet Ministers have and deal with individual responsibilities in their respective ministries.
- It initiates and tables new and government bills in parliament.
- It supervises the implementation of government policies by respective ministries.
- It initiates Development projects by ministries in different parts of the country.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

- What is the Civil Service?
- The civil service is the system responsible for the public administration of a country's government. It implements policies or programs that the cabinet may not carry out on its own.

- Though inherited from the British colonial government, the Kenya Civil service has been modified from time to time since independence to cope with the needs of the people.

Identify the bodies/departments that are not part of the Civil Service in Kenya.

- Kenya's Civil Service consists of all the ministries, except:
- The Judiciary,
- The Armed Forces,
- Local Authorities,
- Parastatals.

What bodies/departments does the Public Service in Kenya constitute? (Identify the bodies/departments that make up the Public Service in Kenya? Or:

- What bodies/departments does the Public Service in Kenya comprise/consist of?)
- The Public Service in Kenya includes:
- Civil servants,
- Military officers,
- Parastatal employees,
- Teachers.

Explain the main role of the Civil Service in Kenya. (In What ways is the Civil service mainly important?)

- It accomplishes the functions and duties of the Executive arm of government.
- It is through the Civil Service that the Executive runs the government.
- The Head of Public Service is also the Secretary to the cabinet.

What are the characteristics of a good civil service?

- Constant and high degree of efficiency in managing the affairs of the state as well as provision of services to the people.
- Its members are impartially selected.
- Competence in their administrative work.
- Commitment to the service of the people.
- Equal service to all persons without discrimination.
- Neutrality in party politics. The constitution does not deny members of the civil service the right to belong to a party or even to vote, it restricts their active participation.

State two constitutional powers of the Public Service Commission (PSC).

- It appoints and confirms civil servants.
- It exercises disciplinary control over civil servants.
- What senior Government officers are not answerable to the Public Service Commission? (Name the government officers that are not within the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission.
- The Attorney-General,
- The Auditor and controller General,
- Ambassadors,
- High Commissioners,
- Permanent Secretaries,
- The Director of Personnel management,
- The President's personal staff.
- All these are appointed and dismissed by the President.

Name the officers that constitute/make up the Public Service Commission.

- The Public Service Commission comprises/is made up of:

- The Chairperson,
- The Deputy Chairperson,
- 15 members.
- Its members are senior government officers appointed by the President to carry out various duties. It is an independent body created by an Act of Parliament.

State two main duties of the Public Service Commission.

- It deals with promotion, transfer, interdiction, suspension, retirement and termination of the services of civil servants.
- It advertises vacancies in the country in the Kenya Gazette or in the local dailies.

)Analyse the structure of the Civil Service in Kenya.

- The civil service is headed by the secretary to the Cabinet, who is also permanent Secretary in the office of the President.
- The Ministry is run by a Minister and one or two assistant ministers. All ministers are accountable to the Secretary to the Cabinet.
- Each ministry is headed by a Permanent Secretary (P.S) as its most senior civil servant. The Permanent secretary is the administrative head of the Ministry.
- Under the Permanent secretary are Deputy Secretaries.
- Each ministry comprises small departments, which are further divided into divisions, sections and units for efficiency and for access to the ministry's services at the grassroots level.
- The Directorate of Personnel Management takes charge of the civil service. It grades, appoints, promotes, transfers, identifies and arranges training for civil servants. The Director of Personnel management is the Chief Personnel advisor to the government on all matters relating to the administration, establishment, structure and organization of the civil service.

What are the duties of the Permanent Secretary?

- Supervision and evaluation of the operations of the ministry.
- Control of the Ministry's civil servants.
- Interpretation of the policies of the ministry.
- Keeping the Minister informed of the needs and problems of the ministry.
- Being the Chief Accounting officer of the ministry.
- Being the Chief Technical advisor in the ministry.
- The relationship of civil servants with the public and the government is regulated by various cords, including the 2003 Public Order and Ethics Bill, which requires civil servants to declare their wealth to curb corruption and bring efficiency in the civil service.

Explain the functions of the civil service in Kenya.

- Explanation and interpretation of government policies to the people.
- Participation in the preparation of development plans and the budget.
- Continuity in the government. That is why, though ministers change, civil servants do not.
- Implementation of government policies and programs. They mobilize citizens to initiate and participate in development projects.
- Collection of and accounting for government revenue and expenditure.
- Maintenance of law and order throughout the country.
- Advising the minister on matters of policy.
- Offering direct services to the nation as doctors, Lawyers, engineers and accountants among other professions.
- Linking the local people with the central government through the provincial administration.

- What problems does the civil service encounter in Kenya? (Explain the problems facing the civil service in Kenya.)
- Poor terms of service. They are poorly paid for their services.
- Corruption, coupled with lack of transparency and accountability.
- Political interference.
- Job-insecurity owing to retrenchment, inadequate funds and government bureaucracy (long procedures in carrying out tasks).

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

- What is Provincial administration?
- Provincial administration is the executive organ of the Central government, based at the provinces to ensure efficiency and effectiveness.
- Analyse/discuss the structure of provincial administration in Kenya.
- Kenya comprises eight provinces, each of which is headed by a Provincial Commissioner (PC), who is appointed by the President and is part of the Executive branch of government, being a civil servant.
- Each province is divided into districts, which are headed by District Commissioners (DC), who are also appointed by the President.
- Every district is made up of divisions, which are headed by District Officers (DO), who are appointed by the President and are themselves civil servants.
- A Division is divided into locations, headed by chiefs, who are answerable to the District Officer. The chiefs are civil servants but are not transferable to other areas.
- A location comprises sub locations, which are headed by Assistant Chiefs, who are answerable to the chief.
- The sub location consists of villages headed by village-elders, who are appointed by either the Chief or the Assistant chief. The elders offer voluntary service and are not formal administrators.

Explain the functions of Provincial administration in Kenya.

- Representing the President during national holidays.
- Linking Central government and the people., thus transmitting information from the government to the people and vice versa.
- Maintenance of law and order in the province.
- Coordination of government departments to ensure efficiency in delivery of services within the province.
- Coordination of provincial development activities to enhance nation building.
- Implementation of government policies and programs.
- Interpretation and explanation of government policies.
- Transparent and accountable spending of public funds.
- Ensuring fair play and justice outside the court of law.
- What are the duties of the Provincial Commissioner?
- Personal representation of the President.
- Welcoming visitors to the province.
- Coordinating important provincial development projects.
- Ensuring that government policies are implemented.

- Supervising Provincial administration.
- Serving as a link between the people and the government.
- Ensuring security in the province, since he or she is the chief security Officer.

What are the duties of the District Commissioner?

- Representing the President at the District level.
- Coordinating District Development activities.
- Conducting civil marriages.
- Overseeing relief operations i.e. assistance to victims of floods, famine and other calamities.
- Explain the responsibilities/obligations of the District Officer.
- Heading the division.
- Interpretation, explanation and implementation of government policies within the Division.
- Coordinating Divisional development activities.
- Administering food-relief.
- Explain the duties of the following:
- Chief and Assistant Chief.
- Village Elder.

DUTIES OF THE CHIEF AND ASSISTANT CHIEF

- Identification of people to be issued with Identity cards, birth and death certificates.
- Settling minor disputes, particularly those involving inheritance, marriage and land.
- Helping in determining the estate of a deceased person in the localities.
- Coordinating development activities e.g. school and road building.
- Interpretation, explanation and implementation of government policies.

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE ELDER

- Mobilizing the village for communal work.
- Reporting offenders to the Assistant Chief.
- Informing villagers on and encouraging them to attend the Chief's Barazas.
- Hearing and settling minor disputes while referring some to the Assistant Chief for further action.

THE ARMED FORCES, POLICE AND PRISONS

- The Armed Forces, the Police and Prisons are instruments for safeguarding Kenya's security and integrity.

THE ARMED FORCES

- Colonial Kenya's defence was under the British, who established the King's African Rifles (KAR). After independence, Kenya, through the Armed Forces Act, established her own armed forces, which constitutes three main branches:

Identify three main branches into which the armed forces in Kenya are divided.

- The Kenya Army.
- The Kenya air force.
- The Kenya Navy.

- Each branch sets up its program of expansion, modernization and Africanization. Each Branch is headed by a Commander. The President is the Commander in Chief of the Armed forces.

Explain the functions of the Armed Forces in Kenya.

- Defending the country from external attacks.
- Helping in preserving security, particularly when the police are likely to be overcome.
- Nation building such as road and bridge construction.
- Entertaining the public during national holidays and events.
- International peace-keeping operations such as those organized by the UNO.
- Helping in control of locust invasion.
- Patrolling Kenya's territorial waters.
- Checking on illegal landings, departures and unauthorised fishing by foreigners in Kenyan waters.
- Provision of Emergency services such as evacuation of civilians during floods.

THE KENYA POLICE

- Analyse/describe establishment of the Kenya Police.
- The Kenya Police was created by the British as the British East African Police in the 1890s.
- It was renamed the Kenya Police in 1920 when Kenya became a colony.
- In 1953, control of the entire police force was placed under the Commissioner of Police.
- Today, the police force is under the office of the President and is considered a specialized department within the Public Service.
- The Police Officers are trained at Kiganjo in Nyeri.
- Describe the branches/constituent members of the Kenya police. (Identify the units/sections into which the Kenya police is divided.)
- The Kenya Police is divided into several units or sections, depending on the responsibilities given to them. These include:
- The Regular Police, who patrol and maintain law and order among the civilians. They deter and prevent crime.
- The Traffic Police, who control Traffic, ensuring that Traffic rules are followed.
- National Security Intelligence Service, which is concerned with state-security and identify those who may be a threat to state-peace, stability and the rule of law. It replaced the former Special Branch.
- The General Service Unit (GSU), which assists the Regular police to restore law and order and to keep peace.
- The Criminal Investigation Department (CID), whose members work mostly under cover, investigating criminal activities and arresting suspects.
- Police Air-Wing, who operate in remote areas with poor road networks such as North-Eastern Kenya. They search for dens of thief's and drug-dealers and pursue car-jackers.
- The Antistock Theft Unit, which does a lot of patrolling to prevent movement of stolen livestock.
- The Antinarcotics Unit, which tracks down drug peddlers to alleviate drug-trafficking.
- The Flying-Squad, which works with the CID officers to investigate crime and to track down suspects during highways and bank robberies.
- The Prosecution Unit, which presents cases before the court and cross-examines witnesses.

- The Kenya Police Reserve, which comprises retired volunteers and are called upon to help the police during emergency.
- Administration Police, who assist the Provincial administration to maintain law and order in their areas of jurisdiction.

Explain the functions of the Police force in Kenya.

- Conducting driving tests to aspiring drivers.
- Maintenance of law and order by arresting law breakers.
- Inspection of vehicles to ensure that they have the necessary documentation.
- Protection of life and property.
- Mounting guards of honour for local and international dignitaries.
- Detecting, investigating and preventing crime by arresting suspected criminals.
- Release of detainees on bail or on Bond.
- Prosecution of suspected criminals in courts of law.
- Liaising with the International Police (Interpol) to prevent and combat international crime.
- Control and entertainment of the public during national holidays and events.
- Helping to curb cattle rustling and related livestock theft.
- Provision of Emergency relief services during natural and other calamities.
- Promptly obeying and executing all orders and warrants lawfully issued.
- Apprehending all persons whom they are legally authorised to do so and for whose apprehension sufficient grounds exist.
- What problems does the Kenya police encounter? (Describe/explain the challenges facing the Kenya Police. Or:
- Identify the factors that undermine the work of the police force in Kenya).
- Various factors undermine the work of the Police force in Kenya, such as:
- Use of sophisticated equipment by criminals, which the police are unable to counter.
- Poor and inadequate transport and communication facilities, causing delay in police response to emergencies.
- Incompetence of some police officers due to recruitment and promotion of people with low academic qualifications as a result of nepotism and tribalism.
- Poor remuneration as well as unfavourable working and living conditions.
- Poor methods of investigation due to poor training and lack of forensic facilities, which have led to over-reliance on confessions, which are mostly obtained through trickery and torture.
- Poor relationship between the police and the public, which denies the police the vital information they require.
- Lack of transparency and accountability in the force, particularly when investigating crimes committed by fellow police officers apart from denying ordinary suspects a chance to defend themselves.
- Lack of regular in-service training for the officers in lower cadres, which has frustrated their quest for promotion and lowered their performance in public relations and human rights.
- Political interference, characterised by blind loyalty of some officers to powers outside the service and the fact that certain criminals are given immunity by powerful politicians.
- Lack of an information technology, causing the police to rely on outdated methods of record-keeping, which culminates in cases of lost files.
- The rise of terrorist activities, characterised by use of crude and indiscriminate methods by terrorists e.g. suicide bombings, which have left police forces all over the world bewildered.
- Corruption, whereby most police officers have been accused of taking bribes.

- High population in some areas, such as slums in the urban centres, which make police operations difficult.
- Frequent road accidents and congestion on roads, which add pressure to the work of the police.

What measures has the Kenya government adopted to improve Police operations?

- Introduction of professional training programs for officers.
- Acquisition of modern communication equipment and vehicles.
- Improvement in the terms and conditions of service for the police force.
- Introduction of a Public Relations officer and a police-spokesman at the police-headquarters to coordinate and disseminate information affecting relations between the police and the public.
- Introduction of Community policing, hotlines, suggestion-boxes and police-booths to help the police to get information from the public.
- Raised (higher) qualification requirements for the police-force, whereby university graduates are now employed in the service.
- Adoption of a five-year master-plan in 2003, aimed at reshaping and revamping the police-force.
- Change of name from the Kenya Police-Force to the Kenya Police Service.
- Improved surveillance to deter crime and to protect individuals and property.

THE KENYA PRISONS

- Describe two main classifications of prisons. (Into what two groups are prisons generally divided?)
- Generally, prisons are grouped into:
- Open (short-term) institutions, which hold prisoners that are convicted of less-serious crimes. They have training programs in agriculture, keeping livestock, carpentry, tailoring and so on.
- Closed (Long-term) institutions, which are for offenders convicted of serious offences, who are imprisoned for a long time in Maximum Security prisons.

Describe the categories of prisons in Kenya. (Describe the classes of prisons in Kenya).

- Classes of prisons in Kenya include:
- Principal institutions, which make up the highest level of prisons. They include Kamiti in Kiambu, King'ong'o in Nyeri and Naivasha Maximum Security prison in Naivasha.
- District 1 and 2 Prisons. These are found in various districts. They hold offenders who have committed various crimes except capital offences.
- Detention camps. These were created under the Detention Camps Act. They hold either vagrants or rural emigrants convicted of minor offences. Two major detention camps are: Nairobi Detention camp and the Mombasa Detention camp.
- Youth Institutions. These cater for offenders between 15-21 years of age. They are of two types: Borstal Institutions and Youth Corrective Training Centres.
- Extramural Penal Employment. This caters for petty offenders as a Community-based approach of treating offenders who reside in their own homes but who report to the authorities to undertake communal government activities such as building access-roads, re-forestation or working on prison farms without pay. Such offenders do not mix with other criminals in prison, since they are not isolated from their homes.

State/explain the functions of the Kenya Prisons. (Discuss/analyse the role of the Kenya Prisons.).

- confinement of prisoners convicted by the courts of law to protect public rights and freedoms.
- Watching over the behaviour of suspected criminals whose cases are still pending in law-courts.
- Carrying out court-decisions on the treatment of prisoners.
- Rehabilitation of prisoners through counselling to correct their behaviour.
- Offering diverse vocational training to make prisoners productive after completing their jail-terms.
- Providing prisoners with the necessary medical attention and other care.
- Helping in confining suspected dissidents, who are a threat to state-security.

What problems to the Kenya Prisons department face. (Describe the challenges/difficulties encountered by the Prisons department. Or:

- Identify the factors that undermine the work of the Prisons Department in Kenya.)
- Overcrowding in prisons, leading to subjection of inmates to poor living conditions, especially poor sanitation.
- Disease outbreaks due to congestion and inadequate facilities.
- Mistreatment of prisoners by prison warders.
- Inadequate medical facilities.
- Poor clothing.
- The HIV-AIDS pandemic, which has affected many prisoners.
- Poor conditions and lack of housing and other facilities for prison warders.

Explain the reforms adopted in the Kenya Prisons department. (Analyse/discuss the measures or reforms that have been undertaken to improve the conditions of the prisons and the prisoners in Kenya.)

- Direct government involvement in the affairs of prisoners.
- Provision of better food.
- Improved medical services.
- Release of Death-roll inmates, some of who had been in jail for over ten years awaiting execution.
- Provision of sufficient clothing and beddings.

Reduction of congestion in prisons.

- Efficient & better transport as new vehicles have been purchased.
- Streamlining of the hearing of cases in order to shorten the period of keeping prisoners in remand before sentencing.
- Change of name from the Kenya Prisons to the Prisons Service Department.
- Adoption of the Convict Scheme, which allows petty offenders to serve in Community projects rather than get imprisoned.

THE JUDICIARY

What is the Judiciary?

- The Judiciary is the arm of government that deals with administration of justice through the Court system.
- It is headed by
- Identify the officers that make up the Judiciary in Kenya.
- The Chief Justice, who heads the Judiciary.
- Judges,

- Magistrates, etc.

Define Law. (What is the meaning of the term Law?)

- A law is a body of rules made by people in authority to govern the conduct of members of the state for the maintenance of peace and order. Laws are enforced by the courts, who punish offenders and compensate the offended.

Describe the sources of Kenyan laws.

(Explain the origin of Kenya's judicial system.)

- Customary law, which comprises African customs and applies only to civil cases such as marriage, land and inheritance.
- Religion, i.e. belief systems such as Islamic law (Sharia), which provide moral guidance among people.
- The British Common Law, which originated from England and consists of age-old customs and judicial decisions.
- Legislation i.e. Acts of Parliament.
- Judicial Precedents e.g. rulings by the court of Appeal, which become binding to all subordinate courts.
- The Constitution, which contains fundamental (supreme) laws of the country. All other sources of law must be in conformity with the constitution (They must be constitutional).

What are the functions of the Judiciary in Kenya?

- Guarding the constitution by ensuring that laws enacted by the Legislature conform to the constitution.
- Settlement of legal disputes among individuals, or between individuals and the state.
- Approval and recommendation of children to Approved Schools for rehabilitation.
- Guaranteeing the rule of law by exercising justice as well as ensuring that all Kenyans are governed by the same law.
- Appointing guardians or trustees of estates, particularly those of deceased persons.
- Helping in the development of the law.
- Swearing in the President and other members of the cabinet before they take up their offices. The task is accomplished through the Chief Justice, who heads the Judiciary.
- Administration of justice.

Analyse the structure of Kenya's court system. (Analyse the court system in Kenya).

- The structure of the court system in Kenya is as follows, starting from the lowest to the highest level:
- The District Magistrates Courts.
- Kadhis' Courts, which are at the same level as the Resident Magistrates Courts, but they deal only with Islamic law.
- The Resident Magistrates Court, which is the second lowest in the court system, but is the highest in the province.
- The Senior Resident Magistrates Court.
- The Principal Magistrates Court.
- The Senior Principal Magistrates Court.
- The Chief Magistrates Court. This is the highest Magistrates Court.
- The High Court, to which all Magistrates and Kadhis' courts are subordinate. It is headed by the Chief Justice.
- The Court of Appeal. This is the highest court in the Judicial structure. It is also headed by the Chief Justice.

- Special Courts & Tribunals. These are established by Acts of Parliament. They handle special issues, such as industrial disputes, disputes within the armed forces and disputes over house and business rent.
- Basically, Kenya's Court-system comprises the Court of Appeal, the High Court, subordinate courts and Kadhis' courts.

Into what three categories are District Magistrates Courts divided?

- District Magistrates Courts of the First Class,
- District Magistrates Courts of the Second Class,
- District Magistrates Courts of the Third Class (which are being phased out as no officer is appointed at their level today).

Identify two main classifications/types of Special Courts and Tribunals.

- Court-Martial
- Administrative Tribunals.

Identify the courts that fall under Special Courts and Tribunals. (Identify the divisions of Special Courts and Tribunals).

- Anticorruption courts,
- The Rent-Restriction tribunals,
- The Business Premises Tribunals,
- The Children's courts,
- Court Martial,
- The Industrial Court,
- The Law Society of Kenya,
- The Public Law Institute,
- The Law Commission.

Identify/outline administrative tribunals in Kenya.

- Administrative tribunals in Kenya include:
- The Law Society of Kenya,
- The Public Law Institute,
- The Law Commission.

State three considerations that are made when/in grading courts in Kenya. (What factors are considered when/in grading Kenyan courts?)

- Kenyan courts are graded according to:
- The seriousness of the cases they handle,
- The punishment they give,
- The geographical area of operation.

Discuss the functions of either:

- The Chief Justice;
- The Attorney General.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE

- The Chief Justice is appointed by the President and is the Head of the Judiciary.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE

- Prescription of fees to be charged by the courts.
- Advisory role in the removal of the President on grounds of incapacity.
- Heading the Kenyan Judiciary.
- Swearing in the President and members of the cabinet.
- Giving directives on administration of justice in the arbitration of disputes.

- Possession of and exercising diverse discretionary powers whenever need arises.
- Chairing the Judicial service Commission.
- Exercising constitutional functions vested in the High court and in the Court of Appeal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

- Functions of the Attorney General include:
- Advising the government on matters relating to law.
- Appointment of public prosecutors as well as giving permission to prosecute on behalf of the government.
- Drafting proposed government bills.
- Protection of charitable endowments for public interest.
- Assisting the President in pardoning any person convicted of an offence.
- Advising the President on appointment of Judges of the High Court and Court of Appeal.
- Heading the Attorney-General's chambers, which draft bills and register societies.
- Handling matters concerning the Judiciary e.g. questions and budgets of the national Assembly.

Define the term Jurisdiction. (What is Jurisdiction?)

- Jurisdiction is the right or power to administer justice or to apply law.

Explain the difference between original Jurisdiction and Appellate Jurisdiction.

- Original Jurisdiction is the hearing of cases brought to a court for the first time.
- Appellate Jurisdiction is the hearing of appeals brought from a lower court.

Compare and contrast courts in Kenya.

- In Kenya, courts have either original or appellate jurisdiction.
- While some courts can only work in and hear cases of specially defined areas such as a district, others have the power to hear cases from the entire country.
- Some are courts of finality.
- Each court has specific powers and functions.

Analyse Kenya's Court Of Appeal.

- The Court of Appeal was established after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977. It is the highest court in Kenya's Judicial system and is based in Nairobi. It is the final court, against whose ruling there is no further appeal. It comprises the Chief Justice and eleven other judges referred to as Judges of the Court Of Appeal.
- The Court of Appeal is a superior court of records. Its decisions are binding as they can be referred to by lawyers in the lower courts and the High Court if necessary.
- The Court of Appeal has only Appellate jurisdiction. It has no original jurisdiction except on an application for a Stay-Off Execution pending appeal to it or contempt proceedings.
- The Internal jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal is unlimited. It even can punish for contempt of court.

Explain the powers of the Court Of Appeal in Kenya

Kenya's Court of Appeal has power to:

- Determine a case finally.
- Reward a case.
- Assess issues and refer them for trial.
- Take additional evidence or require such evidence to be taken by the court of first instance.
- Order a new trial.

Explain how the Court of appeal works.

- The Court of Appeal receives, hears and determines appeals from other courts, including the High Court of Kenya, but has no original jurisdiction.
- Appeal to the Court of Appeal against Appellate decisions of the High court and civil matters are restricted. Most civil appeals are decided by the High Court.
- The Court of Appeal cannot handle a case where the amount or value of the subject matter does not exceed 1000sh.
- No appeal cases can be heard by the Court of Appeal directly from subordinate courts.

Describe the High Court of Kenya.

- The High Court is below the Court of Appeal.
- It has unlimited original jurisdiction in civil and criminal matter.
- It was established in 1897 as Her Majesty's Court of East Africa.
- In 1902, it became known as The High Court of the East African Protectorate and was based at Mombasa.
- In 1921, a new supreme court was created and the headquarters of the court was moved to Nairobi.
- In 1964, the Supreme Court was Renamed the High court of Kenya.
- The High Court consists of the Chief Justice and up to fifty judges, all of who are appointed by the President. Although it is based in Nairobi, there are other stations in the provinces and districts in what is referred to as The Circuit System, where judges sit to hear cases. Such stations include Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Machakos, Kakamega, Nyeri, Eldoret and Meru.
- When in session, the High Court is presided over by one judge, although two or more judges may try a case in civil cases or appeals.

What are the functions of the High Court in Kenya?

- Interpretation of the constitution to determine whether the dispute is constitutional or not.
- It tries both criminal and civil cases. It particularly handles cases involving large amounts of money.
- Attending to cases from all parts of the country.
- It has power to correct mistakes made by the lower courts.
- Hearing appeals from decisions of professional disciplinary tribunals e.g. the Law Society of Kenya and the Kenya Medical and dentists Association.
- Hearing appeals from the Kadhis' courts.
- It acts as a court of appeal for cases from Resident and Chief Magistrates courts.
- It deals with election petitions.
- Describe/identify the court divisions that were created within the High Court as a result of the recommendation of the Kwach committee on the administration of justice in the Judiciary.
- Following the findings of the Kwach Committee on the administration of justice in the judiciary,

court divisions were created within the High Court. These are:

- The Family Division, which covers matters of adoption, custody of children, matrimonial property, succession of property, divorce, separation, maintenance and other cases of Family Law.
- The Commercial Division, which deals with registry of taxation. It handles matters involving banks, personal injury claims and employment contracts.

- The Criminal Division, which deals with capital offences such as treason, murder, attempted murder, robbery with violence and attempted robbery with violence.
- The Civil Division, which deals with civil matters, mainly issues involving public service.

What are Subordinate courts?

- Subordinate courts are courts subordinate to the High Court.
- Identify two categories of Subordinate Courts.
- The Magistrates Courts;
- The Kadhis' courts.
- The process at these courts avoids the lengthy and complex procedure at the High Court.

There Name/outline the classes into which subordinate courts are divided. (Identify the classes of Subordinate courts in Kenya.)

- There are nine classes of subordinate courts. These are:
- Chief Magistrates Courts.
- Senior Principal Magistrates Courts.
- Principal Magistrates Courts.
- Senior Resident Magistrates Courts.
- Resident Magistrates Courts.
- Kadhis' Courts.
- District Magistrates Courts of the First Class.
- District Magistrates Courts of the Second Class.
- District Magistrates Courts of the Third Class.

Explain how the Resident Magistrates courts operate/work.

- The Resident Magistrates Courts have criminal jurisdiction, though a Magistrates Court of the First Class cannot impose a sentence in excess of seven years imprisonment or a 20,000sh fine or corporal punishment in excess of 24 strokes of the cane. This means that if the sentence has to be severe, the case should then be referred to the High Court for appropriate action.

Identify/outline the courts that fall under the Resident Magistrates courts.

These comprise:

- The Chief Magistrates court,
- The Senior Principal Magistrates Court.
- The Principal Magistrates Court.
- The Senior Resident Magistrates Court.
- The Resident Magistrates Court.

Analyse/describe:

- The District Magistrates courts;
- Kadhis' Courts.

Name the places where Kadhi Courts are found in Kenya.

THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATES COURTS

- The District Magistrates courts were established under the Magistrates Courts Act.
- They are the lowest courts in Kenya.
- The jurisdiction of a District Magistrates court is limited to a specific geographical area. Because of this, the country is divided into Judicial Districts. Two or more administrative districts may be combined and designed as a single judicial district by the Chief Justice.
- Each District Magistrates court of whatever class exercises jurisdiction within the district allocated to it. The power to commit for trial is given to and used by subordinate courts when

a person is charged with an offence that can be tried only by the High Court or where a subordinate court before which the person is charged finds it unsuitable to try the offence. A good example of cases of this type is Murder. If there isn't enough evidence to justify sending the suspect to the High Court for trial, the Magistrate discharges the suspect.

KADHIS' COURTS

- Kadhis' court-system started with the coming of the Arabs to Kenya around nine centuries ago. In 1890, the British government gave the Muslims in east Africa an official assurance that matters concerning their religion would be protected. This was confirmed in the 1895 and 1920 agreements between the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar.
- Kadhis' courts serve as special courts that deal with Islamic law. They are headed by the Chief Kadhi and not less than three other Kadhis. Today, there are twelve established Kadhis' courts, each of them subordinate to the High Court. A Kadhi is equivalent to a magistrate of the First and Second Class and should be proficient in Islamic law.
- Kadhis' Courts are found across the country. In the former protectorate i.e. Kwale, Mombasa, Kilifi and Lamu districts, there are three Kadhis' courts. There are two Kadhis' courts covering the two administrative provinces of Nyanza and Western and nine other specified administrative districts in the Rift Valley Province. Wajir and Mandera are covered by Kadhis' Court while Nairobi, Central and Eastern provinces fall under other courts. There is one Kadhi for Garisa and Tana-River districts. Recently, five more Kadhis were appointed and posted to Hola, Bungoma, Kwale, Mandera and Nyeri.
- A Kadhis' Court may be held at any place within its area of jurisdiction.

Describe the Children's/juvenile courts.

- They are subordinate courts.
- They are presided over by magistrates.
- They offer protection or discipline to juveniles.
- Under what circumstances do Children's/juvenile courts offer protection or discipline to the child.
- If the child has neither parent nor guardian.
- If the child cannot be controlled by parents or guardians.
- If the child has a parent or guardian who does not exercise proper care and guardianship or parentage.
- If the child is falling in bad associations or is exposed to moral or physical danger.

State the powers of the Juvenile Court in Kenya.

- The Children's court may:
- Make and order absolute discharge.
- Put the young person on probation.
- Have the young person imprisoned, though this is rare.
- Order conditional discharge.
- Commit the child to a person or body it deems fit.
- Impose a fine on the offender or on their parent.
- Authorise that the juvenile be subjected to corporal punishment.
- Place the juvenile in a Remand home.

Describe the following legal institutions. (Explain how the following courts and tribunals work.)

- Anticorruption courts;
- Special courts and tribunals;

- Court Martial;
- The Industrial Court;
- The Rent-Restriction Tribunal;
- The Business Premises Tribunal;
- The Law Society of Kenya;

ANTICORRUPTION COURTS

- There also are anticorruption courts, which
- These are created to try cases involving corrupt deals or persons.
- They are administrative in nature.

SPECIAL COURTS AND TRIBUNALS

- These are established by acts of parliament.
- They handle special issues such as industrial disputes, disputes within the Armed forces and disputes over house and business rent.
- They include court-Martial and Administrative tribunals.

COURT MARTIAL

- These are convened by the Chief of General Staff and Commander of the Armed Forces.
- They are Criminal courts in their own right, with totally penal or disciplinary powers.
- They are meant to enforce and ensure discipline within the armed forces.
- Their decisions cannot be appealed against in the High Court unless they involve constitutional issues.
- They are established by Parliament through the Armed Forces Act. In Kenya, they were set up after the attempted coup of august 1982 to try soldiers of the Air-Force for their participation in unlawful activities.

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS

- An administrative tribunal is a body that is given the power of an administrative or Quasi-Judicial nature.
- Administrative tribunals are regarded as separate courts dealing with specific rights and duties.
- They are referred to as Administrative Tribunals in order to differentiate them from judicial courts.
- They are independent in their operation since they resolve specialized disputes without reference to the judicial courts.

THE INDUSTRIAL COURT

- This is established by the provisions of the Trade-Disputes Act to give judgement in trade-disputes between employers and employees and handle related issues.
- It comprises a judge appointed by the President and four other members appointed by the Minister for Labour.
- Its decision is final.

THE RENT-RESTRICTION TRIBUNAL

- These mainly determine the reasonable rent for residential houses and impose some restriction on increasing such rent.
- They settle disputes between landlords and tenants with respect to residential premises.
- They safeguard the right to property.
- They fix standard rents in relation to residential areas.

THE BUSINESS PREMISES TRIBUNAL

- This deals with disputes between property-owners and tenants in controlled business premises.
- It covers shops, retail and Wholesale stores and offices.
- It sets out reasonable tenancy standards, ensuring that property owners do not charge excessively high rents for business premises.

THE LAW SOCIETY OF KENYA

- This settles disputes among its members.
- Through the Law Institute, it deals with Consumer and environmental protection and the legal advice and legal aid scheme.
- Through the Law-reform Commission, it examines proposals for law reform, develops laws when necessary and can eliminate anomalies in laws and repeal outdated ones.
- Outline the structure of the Judicial Service Commission. (Identify/name the officers that constitute/make up/form the Judicial Service Commission.)
- The Judicial Service Commission is made up of:
 - The Chief Justice, who is its chairman.
 - The Attorney-General.
 - Two judges of appeal.
 - The Chairman of the Public Service Commission.

Identify the powers and functions of the Judicial Service Commission.

- Appointment, discipline and removal of the Registrar or Deputy Registrar of the High Court, the Chief Magistrate, senior resident Magistrates or the District Magistrates, officers of subordinate courts exercising criminal jurisdiction, the Chief Kadhi and the Kadhis.
- Advising on the appointment of judges of appeal.
- The Commission's decision is arrived at by absolute majority consensus, not by voting.

What is Judicial Independence?

- Judicial independence is the capacity of courts to perform their constitutional functions, free from actual or apparent dependence upon any persons or institutions, particularly the Executive and the Legislature.
- In what two main ways is Judicial independence important? (Explain two main purposes/reasons for Judicial independence.)
- The Independence of the Judiciary is intended to safeguard citizens from the abuse of power by the other arms of the government.
- The legal system will question excessive use of power by the Legislature and the Executive, based on a system of Checks and Balances through separation of powers.

Explain how Judicial Independence is protected in Kenya.

- Separation of the Judiciary from the other organs of the government.
- The method of appointing judicial officers. They are appointed by the President, advised by the Chief Justice and the Judicial Service Commission.
- The tenure of office for judges, which is longer than that of employees in the civil service.
- Security of Tenure enjoyed by Judges i.e. it can be terminated only when unable to perform their duties, which makes them impartial.
- The oath of allegiance, whereby appointees swear to perform duties without fear or favour.
- The fact that judges and magistrates are not answerable to the Executive.
- A separate system of command, whereby the Judiciary is headed by the Chief Justice, unlike government departments, which are headed by the Permanent secretary.

Identify the features of the rule of law.

- The rule of law demands that all individuals are governed and their disputes settled with reference to laws enacted through legislative processes established by a constitution or the law as pronounced by a properly constituted court or tribunal.

FEATURES OF THE RULE OF LAW

- Subjection of all persons to the law, be they individual or in government.
- Equality of all before the law. The law does not discriminate in its application to persons.
- Subjection of all to the same law, irrespective of their status, colour and religion. There can be no specific law for certain persons.
- No person shall be a judge in their own case. A judge should not try a case in which he or she has a personal interest, no matter how remote the interest may be.

Explain the implications of the Rule of law.

- Limited Legislative and Executive power.
- Adequate and equal opportunities to access legal advice and assistance.
- Protection of individual and group rights and liberties.
- Equality before the law.

Describe the elements of the Rule of Law.

- The concept of the rule of law has four major elements. These are:
- The Principle of Legality. The state can only exercise powers granted to it by the law in order to promote a government of laws and not of men.
- Separation of powers of the three arms of government, each equal with and controlling the others through a system of Checks and Balances.
- Equality before the law, requiring equal treatment of everyone under the law.
- Administration of justice without favour or the fear of intimidation.

State the principles of the Rule of Law.

- The discretion of the Security Forces should not be allowed to pervert the law.
- The independence of the Judiciary must be guaranteed.
- The courts should be easily accessible.
- The making of certain laws should be guided by open, stable, clear and general rules.
- The principles of natural justice must be followed.
- Laws should be relatively stable, not changing too often.
- The courts should have powers to review the implementation of these principles.
- All laws should be prospective and open. When a law is passed, it should only take effect in the future.

Explain the meaning of the term Natural Justice. (Explain the meaning of the concept of Natural Justice. Or:

Define the concept of Natural Justice.)

- Natural Justice refers to the requirement that minimal standards of fair decision-making are at least adhered to in resolving disputes. It is such standards that are referred to as the rules of Natural Justice.

Name/identify two main principles of Natural Justice.

- Natural Justice is based on two main principles. These are:
- The right to a fair hearing.
- The rule against bias.

Identify the considerations involved in the Right to a Fair hearing.

- The person affected by an impending decision must have the right to a fair hearing prior to the decision being made. This right involves the following considerations:

- Prior Notice of Hearing. The accused must be given adequate notice of all the allegations against him or her and of the procedure for determining the alleged breaches of the rules of conduct.
- The right to be heard. The accused should be given the opportunity to be heard i.e. to state his or her case.
- The conduct of a hearing. The accused should be allowed to consider, challenge or contradict any evidence.
- The right to legal representation. The accused must be represented at the hearing by a legally qualified person.
- The decision and the reason for it. The adjudicator should give reasons for his or her decision and the sanction being imposed as soon as possible. decision and the sanction being imposed as soon as possible.

Explain the meaning of the term Rule against Bias.

- The person or body hearing the case should act in good faith and without bias/favouritism.

Explain how the Rule against Bias could be best applied.

- Show a full enquiry into the circumstances involved before deciding as to whether a breach of the rule of conduct has occurred and what sanctions to impose.
- Not suggesting irrevocable decision of the outcome prior to the commencement of the hearing.
- A person must be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a court of law.
- The police have no right to beat up the suspect. They only arrest and produce the suspect in court for trial.

Explain the challenges facing the Judiciary in Kenya today.

- Too much interference from the Executive. Judges are appointed by the President. Presidential pronouncement in the cases pending in court can interfere with judgement and independence of the Judiciary.
- Corruption. Most Judges are corrupt and do not guarantee protection of the rights and freedom of the citizen. Rich people have influence in Court decisions.
- Political interference. Politicians and students from higher institutions of learning have mobbed courts with a view to intimidate judicial officers and influence the due process of law.
- Incompetent Judges. This attributed to flawed appointments and promotions, which are mostly based on tribal and political affiliation rather than merit. This is evident in poor and inconsistent judgements.
- Few judicial officers in service. There are inadequate facilities e.g. equipment such as chairs, libraries, rooms, etc. This has created or caused the problem of chronic case backlogs.
- Lack of funds. The courts depend on the government for funding. The funds are inadequate, which frustrates court operations.
- There is need for judicial officers to take part in continuous legal education to keep them updated on latest developments in the law and its practices. Judges need to update themselves in information technology so as to enhance quick delivery of justice.
- Ignorance on legal rights among the Kenyan public and lack of education on judicial affairs. Members of the public fear the courts. Besides, the language of law is complex to many Kenyans.

- Information on the Judiciary has not been made available to the public. Litigation fees are also high, which further limits public access to the courts.

Explain the reforms in the Judiciary in Kenya.

- Increased legal education given to judicial officers and members of the public. For instance, Kituo Cha Sheria releases information booklets and also offers free legal advice to people.
- In the year 2002, the government improved the terms and conditions of service for judges and other officers.
- In 2003, the government set up and mandated a committee to investigate the conduct of judges.
- The government has recruited more legal officers to reduce the backlog of cases in courts.
- The judiciary is more open to the public.