

Kenya's Political and
Economic Evolution
(1960 - 1972)

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INTRODUCTION

" The typical American businessman used to come here on safari and leave. Now a lot of them who come here as tourists get interested in business prospects and start looking around."-1

" In the past Kenya's history was written by outsiders who saw the country from the standpoint of their own histories, prejudices and needs. Today Kenya has its own historians writing about the country's development from its own standpoint, not merely as an extension of some foreign power."-2

1. Business Week, September 2, 1967, p.108.
2. " Kenya's Political Evolution," Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

There were many ideals and philosophies which the Kenyans educated in colonial days were soon willing to accept. One of these beliefs were that the sole reason the British established their rule in Kenya, was that they wanted to bring Kenya Africans the benefit of their advanced civilization. Africans soon believed that Europeans were highly gifted in governing and inventing while Asians were highly gifted in commerce and trade. This concept of races having special concept had worked in the early days of Africa for Africans, unlike the Europeans and Asians, believed that they were suited to work requiring physical strenght.

The most important single factor dominating the history of the African peoples was the isolation of their continent from outside contact. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that any serious attempt was made to discover what lied within the continent and to bring the majority of the African peoples into contact with the rest of the world.

Africa is, indeed, the last continent in the world to be brought into relation with the human development which has been in progress for thousands of years . To most people , Kenya has meant Mau Mau. Before the outbreak of the Emergency very few people had any precise knowledge of the country or people of Kenya.

It took a civil war to give the general public an interest in Kenya.

There was a time when Kenyans solved their political problems with the PANGA- a two-foot-long bush knife that the Mau Mau terrorists wielded to bloody effect against British rule. However, independence and parliamentary government demanded more subtle solutions.-3

Considering its economic insignificance, it is one of the few countries of Africa that boast no mineral wealth. Kenya has been surrounded with at least three uniquely perplexing dilemmas the resolution of which many believed to have played a great role in the shaping of the future attitudes and policies throughout Africa.-4

To begin with there was the country's explosive border dispute between the neighboring Somali Republic that according to Robert Cox, the author of "Kenyatta's Country", some 50,000 square miles of Kenya territory belonged by right within the boundaries of a "Greater Somalia". Although no formal state of war had existed between the two countries, bands of Somali guerillas turned most of Kenya's desolate Northeast Province into a battlefield .

3. Time, May 13, 1966, p.36.

4. Charles Miller, Saturday Review, July 9, 1966, p.37.

Next there was Kenya's peculiar situation as the only black African state with a large non-African population.-5 Independence did not curtail African resentment towards the British and Indians living in Kenya, thus causing them to feel uneasy over their future in Kenya. However, their departure would be far more tragic than their staying because Kenya could not do without British and Indian enterprise and skills and their leaving would undoubtedly been a setback to the country's goal of achieving racial harmony for all Africa.

Finally, Kenya has a land problem crisis. Land may be the answer to the country's future for it provided Kenya with its only real source of revenue ; a small but surpassing high-quality agricultural production.-6 Kenya could not afford to practice land fragmentation at this particular time. The seven acre plot was out of date in Kenya and the ever existing danger of continual misuse of the land could bring on an economic collapse at any time .

The three previous problems are just a few of the many that Kenya had to face and still faces. The real problem in Kenya was to correlate the rate of political advance with the need for a stable government and the preservation and expansion of an economy in which the peoples of Kenya could depend on.

5. Charles Miller, Saturday Review, July 9, 1966, p.37.

6. Ibid.

This research report will attempt to expose the principal issues confronted in Kenya during its struggle in the sixties to endure, and how she and her leaders stepped forward politically and economically their struggle to determine standards of stability for all African nations, in their development of the country and all the problems that confronted them including the always existing forces of tribalism, which still exist in Kenya today.

This research report will also explore the road to independence in Kenya. In this discussion of the development of self-government for the federation of Kenya, it studies the struggle between white and black and the struggle between the African political groupings themselves for power and the economic evolution .

Chapter I

Kenya's Profile

The Republic of Kenya is 225,000 square miles in size, and lies exactly astride the Equator, on the east seaboard of Africa. Almost two-thirds of the country is arid or semi-arid, with the result that arable land is very limited. The Indian Ocean coastline, stretching from the Somalia border in the north to Tanzania in the south, is 380 miles long. The Republic of Somalia lies to the east of Kenya, Ethiopia lies to the north, Uganda to the west and Tanzania is to the south.

Kenya is made up of seven Provinces. These are: Coast, Central, Rift Valley, Nyanga, Western, North Eastern and Eastern Provinces.

Kenya is notable for her topographical variation. From the hot, humid coastal belt, the land rises gradually inland through dry bush country (the nyiko) to the savannah grasslands and the highlands, where rainfall is plentiful. Kenya is pierced by the Great Rift Valley which runs from north to south between 2,000 and 3,000 feet below the country on both sides, and varies in depth. The greater part of it is flat but arid.

The exception is around Nakuru, where it rises to 6,000 feet and over, with ideal conditions for farming.

On the western rim of the Rift Valley the land descends towards Lake Victoria and the Uganda border. The central part of Kenya is extremely mountainous, but the vast extent of the North Eastern Provinces varies from featureless desert in the east to the more rugged Turhana country west of Lake Rudolf.

Lake Rudolf, which lies in the Rift Valley, flows for 180 miles up to the Ethiopian border. Lake Rudolf is the largest lake totally within the boundaries of Kenya (2,473 sq. miles), although Lake Victoria is 24,300 sq. miles , the largest lake in Africa and the second largest in the world, she falls partly within Kenya. The smaller Kenya lakes, include Lakes Naivasha (81 sq. miles), Baringo (50 sq. miles), Hannington (13 sq. miles), Nakuru (20 sq. miles) and Elementerts (7 sq. miles). Most of these lakes are fairly depthless and alkaline, sustaining substantial inhabitants of flamingos and other birds. Lake Amboseli, within the Amboseli Masai Game Reserve, is no longer a permanent lake, but fills up only after heavy rainfall. Only Lake Victoria has any commercial craft, although Lake Rudolf is used by fishing vessels, as are Baringo and Naivasha.

The Tana is Kenya's largest river, flowing off the slopes of Mt. Kenya and the Aberdare Range into the Indian Ocean to the north of Mombasa. It is subject to flooding and the people who live along the lower edges are usually marooned for weeks every year. It is only navigable for small craft. Smaller rivers include the Athi, which becomes the Galana and then the Sabaki nearer the coast. Into this flows the Tsavo river.

Mt. Kenya, a long extinct volcano which lies some one hundred miles north-east of Nairobi, is Kenya's highest mountain, extending 7,058 feet. Mt. Elgon, on the Kenya Uganda border, reaches 14,178 feet, and is just below the snowline and at certain times of the year the peak sustains snowfalls and heavy frosts; The Aberdare Range extends for about one hundred miles from north to south starting near Nairobi and is heavily forested along its slopes. The highest pinnacle reaches 13,104 feet. Although the North Eastern Province is fairly recumbent, there are several notable mountain ranges and peaks rising out of the low-lying country.

The altitude in Kenya largely governs the climate, and the land above 5,000 feet experiences a temperate climate, with fairly good rainfall. Being on the Equator; however, there are no noticeable seasonal changes and, for the most part, seasons are differentiated by the amount of rain.

In most sections of the country there are two rainy seasons and in the high ground to the east of the Rift they experience heavy rains, (March to May) and lesser rains (November to December). While the coastal strip and Mombasa have a hot, humid climate, the trade winds which blow in from the sea during most of the year keep the temperature from reaching above the 100 degree Fahrenheit mark and rarely is the maximum temperature in Mombasa above 90 degree Fahrenheit. The hottest months being February and March; July and August are the coolest months on the coast. The minimum temperature reaching 68.5 degrees Fahrenheit.

Temperatures in Nairobi vary from 82 degrees (February) to 53 degrees (June and July). Nakuru temperatures vary from 85 degrees down to 45 degrees; Eldoret from 78 degrees to 48 degrees; Naayuki 75 degrees to 45 degrees and Kisumu from 87 degrees to 60 degrees. While the highlands and the Lake Victoria region of Nyanza enjoy good rainfall, reaching as much as 80 inches a year at Kericho, the greater part of the North Eastern Province has little or no rainfall at all. Other fairly dry regions include Masailand, Kitui and the Coastal outskirts where the year's total varies between ten inches and twenty inches.

Less than ten per cent of the country enjoys an annual rainfall of over thirty inches, yet this small fraction of land carries the bulk of the country's population. A further thirteen per cent of the land

receives adequate rainfall for grazing, while some 66 per cent of the land, situated mainly in the North, South and Coastal areas is arid and unsuitable at present for normal agriculture. These parts of the country is inhabited by a society with a traditionally nomadic way of life, But with the Government's encouragement a more stable pattern of land ownership and more efficient methods of agricultural practice are progressively being introduced to these areas.

During the transitional period between internal self-government in June 1963, and Kenya's attainment of Republican status in December 1964, radical changes were made in the vesting of land throughout the country. The area that I am referring to was formerly owned by the Crown of England but were, during this period, vested in Regional Assemblies, were re-vested in the Government, in December 1964. The land in the specific region, together with certain special reserves, was vested, in June 1963, and continues to be vested in the County Councils in whose areas the land lies, to hold in trust for the benefit of the people resident in County Council areas. The commissioner of lands was appointer to administer both Government and County Council land, to ensure uniformity of policy and procedure.

In 1955 reforms in land tenure was initiated and are presently carried out under the provisions of the Land Adjudication Act and the Registered Land Act. These reforms have led to an agrarian revolution in many sectors of Kenya, particularly in the densely populated fertile lands of the country. During the last ten to fifteen years more than 3,000 square miles of land, (2,000,000 acres), in the more productive parts of the special areas have been registered in "freehold ownership", mostly after the conversion process of small, uneconomical fragments of land have been consolidated into compact small holdings of workable size land. The registration of land in individual freehold ownership has enabled commercial banks to lend money to farmers on security of registered charges on their land, and this in turn has led to a more intensive development of land and a consequent rise in productivity and in the nation's economy. The Constitution made provision for control over transactions in agricultural land, the prime object being to prevent the fragmentation of land into uneconomic units.

The Constitution also established a Central Land Board to select agricultural land within the areas, once known as the White Highlands, for the purpose of land settlement tactics. Until December 12, 1965, the board was responsible for assessing the fair purchase price for the land, and acquiring it by agreement with the previous white owners. The board was abolished on that date and its responsibilities were taken over by a Settlement Fund Trustees.

Land acquired in this way was normally divided into smallholder units ranging from seven to eighty acres. These units were granted for agricultural purposes with special conditions requiring them to cultivate the land, build a house and erect a perimeter fence or hedge. The landowners were allowed to pay for land by sixty half-year instalments subject to interest at 6½ per cent per annum.

The constitution which became law when Kenya was declared a Republic re-affirmed that all estates, interest or rights in land, which the previous government had created, were confirmed as being validly recognized to the extent to which they were still subsisting immediately before the constitution came into operation.

Communications: Kenya has about 26,000 miles of public roads, of which about 1,340 miles are bitumen surfaced.

The main roads, 3,871 miles of them, are gravel-surfaced. Kenya's Development Plan, 1966-70, provides for an expenditure of about £ 21.5 million (pounds) for reconstruction and improvement of roads.

Railways: There are 1,270 miles of railways operated by the East African Railways and Harbours in Kenya. Steam and diesel locomotives are used. The railways also owns Kisumu port which has the main marine base on Lake Victoria with workshops and a dry-dock for the biggest vessels operating on the lake.

Shipping: Mombasa is the largest port in East Africa and serving not only Kenya, but also Uganda and parts of Northern Tanzania. There are 13 deep water berths together with an oil berth and a new oil jetty for the modern larger tankers.

Airways: East Africa's Africa's own airline, East African Airways Corporation, operates a network of domestic routes linking Kenya with Tanzania and Uganda. It also operates international routes from Nairobi to London and other European centers, Bombay, Karachi and Central Africa, and during 1965, its aircraft flew over 8.8 million revenue-earning miles.-7 Nairobi Airport, one of the most modern and busiest in Africa, is used by fifteen world airlines and can accept any commercial aircraft.

In 1965, aircraft movements in and out of Nairobi averaged over 1,200 per month with 46,000 passengers and 750,000 kilograms of freight handled each month.

7. " Kenya's Profile", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

Education: Kenya possesses a full range of educational institutions from nursery and primary schools up to University level. Since independence all these institutions have been racially integrated, where they were not all ready so, and rapid expansion has been taking place throughout the education system.

Primary school lasts seven years at the end of which most pupils take the Kenya Preliminary Examinations. Altogether there are approximately 6,200 primary schools in Kenya, the vast majority being maintained or aided by the government and they are attended by 1½ million pupils, who are taught by more than 37,000 teachers.-8

At the secondary level of education Kenya has over six hundred schools of which half are financed or maintained by the government. In all, Kenya has over 101,000 pupils attending secondary schools, twice as many as in 1965. -9 After four years of secondary school most pupils take the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination, with the Higher School Certificate Exam being taken after a further two years.

Kenya has a wide range of technical education institutions, the most advanced being the Kenya Polytechnic Institute in Nairobi, giving courses up to technician

8. " Kenya's Profile", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nation, 1972.

9. Ibid.

level and with a student enrollment of 1,900. There are technical high schools, also, in Mombasa and Nakuru.

Enrollment in teacher training colleges is almost 5,500 of whom 5,100 are training to be primary teachers (a two year course) and 400 are in training as secondary teachers at Kenyatta College and the Kenya Science Teachers College in Nairobi.-10

At the University level, there is the University College of Nairobi; established in 1963, along with Makerere University college and the University College Dar es Salaam. These colleges have faculties of Arts, Sciences, Engineering, Art and Architecture and Veterinary Science. In addition, there are many Kenyan students studying overseas in Europe and also here in the United States.

Education statistics demonstrate the kikuyu's (one of the many tribes of Kenya) desire for domination in Kenya. In some areas of the country, the community must provide the schools themselves and finance them and the parents must also pay tuition . The statistics also reveal that primary school enrollment in the Central Province (the heartland of the Kikuyu people) was 312,000 as of 1969, which is 21,000 more than the estimated population of children between the ages of six and twelve in the Central Province. It is therefore safe to conclude that all children of the primary school age attend school in this region.-11

10. " Kenya's Profile", Information of the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

11. Foreign Affairs, Volume-49 No. 1, October 1970, p.118.

In Nyanza Province, which is Luo territory (another of the many tribes in Kenya), primary school attendance is only fifty-three per cent of the estimated primary school age population.-12

Religion: Approximately thirty-two per cent of the African population are Christians; four per cent Muslims, and sixty-four per cent follow their tribal religions.-13 The Christian influence has been extensive, and there is a increasing number of Africans who now claim to be Christians.

Approximately two-thirds of the Christian community are Protestants and one-third are Roman Catholics. Among the non-African population, some thirty-four per cent are Muslims, twenty-nine per cent Hindus and approximately twenty-four per cent are Christians.-14

The Christian missionaries began their work in Kenya in 1844, first at the coast and then extending inland through Kamba and Kikuyu country to the tribes in Nyanza Province. Today there are some twenty-five Protestant churches and missions at work in various parts of Kenya and about fifteen Roman Catholic societies.-15

The Islam influence also started with the coastal communities, including the Arabs, many centuries ago and to some extent has spread into the interior. Today it is fairly well established among the Hamitic tribes

12. Ibid, p.118.

13. Ibid, p.112.

14. Ibid, p.112.

15. " Kenya's Profile", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

of the Northern Frontier, especially the Somalis.

Towns: The following will be a listing of several of the main towns and a brief paragraph highlighting each one: 16

Nairobi: at an altitude of 5,452 feet, is not only the chief city and capital of Kenya, but is the commercial center of the whole of East Africa. Nairobi received its charter as a city in 1950, and is also the center of the Kenya road system and according to the census, the population of the city was shown to be more than 350,000 of whom approximately 221,000 were Africans, the remainder being Asians (109,000) and Europeans (30,000)

Kitale: (altitude 6,220 ft.) to the east of Mt. Elgon in the rich farmland of the Trans Nzoia. Linked by rail to Eldoret and the main Nairobi-Kampala railway line with roads leading to Kapenguria and the Turkana region, also into Uganda.

The trans Nzoia district produces coffee, dairy produce, pyrethrum, maize, wheat and some tea.

Mombasa: second town of Kenya and is also the chief port of East Africa. The harbor at Kilindini is one of the most highly mechanised in Africa. The population of Mombasa in 1962 was about 180,000 made up of about 112,000 Africans, 44,000 Asians, 18,000 Arabs, 5,000 Europeans and 1,000 others.

Kisumu: Chief port on Lake Victoria, altitude 3,725 ft., is also the commercial center of the expanding Nyanza Province, an area providing one of the main sources of grain supply for Kenya.

16. " Kenya's Profile", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

Nakuru: (altitude 6,071 ft.) lies in the Rift Valley, some one hundred miles west of Nairobi, with which it is connected by a first-class highway and the main railway line. It has a population, approximately, 38,000 people of all races.

Eldoret: (altitude 6,875 ft.) lies on the main road and rail route to Uganda and is the center of the Uasin Gishu, a busy farming district. Eldoret has become an important education center .

Kericho: is the center of the tea industry in Kenya, and lies in the fertile country of the Kipsigis tribe.

Thika: a small town, some thirty miles from Nairobi, has a growing industrial center and the chief products are canned fruits, vegetables and also metalware.

Nyeri: (altitude 6,200 ft) headquarters of Kenya's Central Province which has a rich agricultural potential. Nyeri lies between Mt. Kenya and the Aberdares.

Manyuki: (altitude 6,398 ft.) a busy farming center at the foot of Mt. Kenya. It is also the starting off point for journeys to the North Eastern Province.

Chapter II

Why the British Came to Africa

Let us examine the reasons that brought the English people to Kenya and analyse the purpose of their governments in Kenya from that of the first colonial governor or the first commissioner as they were then known. Let us also examine their policies and proposals in relation to the Africans.

Little is known of the early history of the interior of what is now Kenya. The seventh century witnessed Arab settlements on the coast and before the arrival of Vasco de Gama in 1498 at Malindi, Chinese and Indian traders were visiting the area. Although the Portuguese established posts and gained a monopoly of the trade along the Kenya coast, the Arabs succeeded after a long period of conflicts in driving out the Portuguese and re-establishing Arab authority by 1740.

Independent Arab settlements persisted for a century until during the rule of Sayyid Said (1806-1856) a type of unity was established. However, Arab control in the nineteenth century was still confined to the coastal region. -17

The history of the interior began with the exploration of the two European missionaries; Rebman and Kraft, in 1849-50 and the discovery of Lake Victoria by John Speke

17. Foreign Affairs, Volume-49, No.1, October 1970, p.112.

in 1858.-18

In 1886 the United Kingdom and Germany reached agreement on their respective spheres of influence in East Africa, and in the following year a British company obtained a concession from the sultan of Zanzibar. Chartered in 1888 as the Imperial British East African Company, she began establishing her authority in the interior. In 1890 a definite Anglo-German agreement was signed and in that very same year arrangements were made with the sultan for protection to be extended to his mainland holdings.-19

Until very recently, Kenya along with the whole of Africa has been assumed to be a totall dark continent. Before the Europeans arrived in Africa, she was existing in a very simplified way ; supported by the evidence of nineteenth century exporers and the absence of such a simple device as the wheel in East or Central Africa . However, during the 1950's, simultaneously with the rise of African pride, there has been the beginning of a new view of African history.-20

The " dark ages " of Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have obscured much of an earlier civilization and archaeology and historical research have suggested that quite complex African civilization did exist.

18. Ibid,p. 112.

19. Ibid,p. 112.

20. Anthony Sampson, Common Sense About Africa(New York, The MacMillan Co., 1961),p32.

The ruins on the East African coast of Kenya and Tanzania are thought by Gervase Mathew, an authority on ancient ruins, to be the work not of Arabs or Persians colonists, but of African Kings.

It was either by Devine Providenec or by sheer accident of history that Kenya became a British Colony in 1901. ~~Historians know that the~~ English had no intention or a plan to settle and rule Kenya. Their target was Uganda and Kenya assumed importance when it became a necessary gateway to enter Uganda.

During the early eighteen hundreds, Europeans believed that whoever could gain control of the sources of the vast waters of the great Nile would somehow control the mysterious sources of Eastern wealth. This idea, foolish as it may seem, had motivated many adventurous expeditions into East Africa and led to ambitious projects such as the railway line from Mombasa to Uganda which was described by some critics as a mad plan that led to nowhere. However, it was that very railway line that led to the colonization of Kenya.

Europeans were brought in to farm on the Kenya highlands as a direct result of the building of the Uganda railways; which reached the site of Nairobi in 1899 and Kismu on Lake Victoria in 1901.-21 The railways had been built to reach the strategic headwaters of the

21. C.P. Kirby, East Africa (New York, David White, 1968), p.30.

Nile to open up Uganda to legitimate trade and to provide support for the Christian missions there. It was, however, a costly mission in both lives and money and, partly in order to make it pay, attention was soon directed to developing the highlands areas of Kenya through which the railway passed.

Sir Charles Eliot was sent to Kenya by the British Foreign Office with specific instructions to invite and encourage settlement by Europeans and Asians to tap the wealth of Kenya mainly to support the Treasury then, but which the British later saw as an important investment for the future. -22 European farmers were thus encouraged to take up land on favorable terms from 1902 onwards and again, under special schemes for ex-servicemen, after the two world wars. It has always been a small community, growing from just over five thousand in 1914 to nearly seventeen thousand in 1931.-23

Prior to Eliot's mission, a young British official, Sir Harry Johnson had been commissioned to prepare a report on what was known as British East Africa (meaning Uganda, which then included the Rift Valley and Zanzibar). Johnson's report was very optimistic describing Kenya Highlands as "White man's country" and the rest of the country as "America of the Hindus" meaning very suitable for settlement by Indians.-24

22. Ibid, p.31.

23. Ibid, p.31.

24. Ibid, p.31.

Eliot, who seemed very highly influenced by Johnson's report, became very concerned about the settlement of Kenya, but his outlook employed racial sentiment. Eliot diverged from Johnson's original report and from the official directives of the British Foreign Office for settlement opportunities for both Europeans and Asians and he pursued a strict segregation land policy against the Asians.-25 Eliot pursued what he termed separate development of races or what is properly known as apartheid. It referred to Europeans and Asians only. Africans did not matter then. Sir Charles Eliot recruited his land settlers from South Africa, Britain, Australia and other European countries.-26

The decision to undertake this great and arduous enterprise had been made for a number of reasons. It was started partly in order to dismiss Britain's responsibilities under the Act of Brussel to put an end to the slave trading by establishing law and order in the interior. The coastal area and the offshore islands were the centers of a flourishing trade, based largely on ivory and slaves, with a long history of contact with Arabia, Persia and India.-27 European settlers started right from the beginning as a very virile political group which almost always got the government to do everything they wanted.

25. C.P. Kirby, East Africa(New York, David White, 1968), p.31.

26. Ibid, p.31.

27. William P. Lineberry, East Africa(The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968) p.35.

protectorate over part of Uganda and in 1895 over the rest of East Africa. At the same time, the British government leased a coastal strip ten sea miles in width along the coast of Kenya from the Sultan of Zanzibar. -31 The strip became the Protectorate of Kenya and the rest became the Colony of Kenya, by formal annexation, in June 1920. Meanwhile, in 1897, Lord Delamere had envisioned the possibilities of white settlement in the highlands of Kenya, and his idea of extensive farming attracted numbers of new settlers from 1905 onwards. At the same time the first Indians came into the country, primarily in order to provide the labor for the building of the railway. -32

As the line progressed, Indian shopkeepers and traders moved into the interior of East Africa. Racist attitudes towards the settlement of Asians soon arose and many British officials saw Asian settlement as detrimental to European settlers in particular and to the native inhabitants in general.-33 The British advocated free land leases for a period of 999 years. They demanded government intervention to ensure that the native inhabitants were agreeable to European supervision.

The later colonial governors of Kenya merely followed the footpaths of their predecessors making very little modification to the policies of separate development except where some external political pressures forced

31. Ibid, p.68.

32. Ibid, p.68.

33. Reference is made to the idea of natives being nothing but a veil of humanitarian respectability to cover the European settlers' racist resentments. Ibid, p.69.

them to relax their policies.

In 1905 Kenya settlers made a strong plea for amalgamation, and in 1909, the governor of the East Africa Protectorate was ordered to inquire into its feasibility. The governor strongly supported Federation and believed it was possible to maintain a policy that would advance European interest and at the same time would defend the interest of the Africans.-34. However, until 1923, the political scene of Kenya was pre-occupied with the struggle of Europeans and Asians for equality in legislative representation, distributions of land and distribution of jobs in government. The government established no schools for Africans, leaving that aspect of development to missionaries, who did more than anybody else before independence. So, at this time the Africans remained voiceless and Kenya looked as if it had no place for African land owners.

Kenya soon faced a deficit on the Protectorate that was established. The railway had to be paid for by the British taxpayers; by a grant-in-aid from the Treasury. In order to meet this burden cost the British government had to develop the land on both sides of the railway. This was a task that the Africans could not handle because of the subsistence economy of the African tribes it was even doubtful that they could produce enough surplus food for themselves incase of a famine.

34. This proposal was denied by the colonial office.
William P. Lineberry, East Africa (The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968) p.38.

Many of the native tribes were pastoral and of nomadic character and those tribes which did farm had little or nothing to offer to a world market.

The African population was mainly concentrated around the shores of Lake Victoria, in the Kavironda country and in the Kikuyu County from the edges of Mount Kenya and the Aberdare range to Masailand. In Ukamba and in the Nandi country there was also a high density of population, but the greater part of southern Kenya was the grazing and the hunting grounds of the Masai; a nomadic tribe.

This was the contemporary background in which the British were building a railway and an economy. The economy was needed in order to provide freight for the railway and to provide revenue for the government and in return would attempt to transfer the barbaric Africans to a world of civilization.

Chapter III

British and Asians in Africa

1923 was a crucial year, Europeans were beginning to demand self-rule while Asians demands for equality had not been granted. They were still segregated in land policy, kept away from the fertile highlands and left with only one economic alternative, trade and commerce. They became experts and still remain so today. Except in large scale business, they were never challenged by anybody then because Africans were simply not given an opportunity. Africans were used as a labor force for the European farms and Asian shops and domestic help in the early days. They were in fact prohibited by British law from planting such cash crops as coffee and tea. The purpose of the laws were to force them to seek employment thus creating a compulsory labor force for Europeans and Asians.-35

One of those laws was the hut tax which forced every married man to pay tax for every hut he owned. Later, tax was extended to every man who reached the age of 18. The first law was intended to discourage the Africans from possessing land. Another was called "kipande" legislation" which required every male to carry an identification card, which was supposed to be hung on the neck or waist.-36

35. "Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.
36. The Kipande had to show the name of his employer and if he did not have an employer, then he could not travel out of his district. Ibid, 1972.

In Kenya the Europeans claimed that when they discovered the country the Africans were primitive and that they were destroying the properties of the soil by band agricultural methods. They were blamed of being incapable of the efforts required to raise themselves out of their backwardness, of being inefficient workmen, untrustworthy, and unable to control any type of modern society without European directions.

The Africans also had their assertions and they asserted that the Europeans have stolen their land, and had exploited African labor and built industries for for their own benefit.-37 Between these two racial extremes are placed the unfortunate Asians, who are disliked and suspected by both Europeans and Africans.

In 1923, a crucial year in Kenya political history, the Asians through their congress threatened to boycott taxation on the grounds that they were discriminated against. This led to what is known as the Coryndon talks.-38

The Coryndon discussions, called by the Secretary of State, the Duke of Devonshire, were set up in order to resolve the whole conflict of Europeans and Asians.

37 . John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York, Frederick A. Prager, 1960), p. 67.

38. "Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

There were then in Kenya only ten thousand Europeans and twenty-three thousands Asians while Africans numbered approximately three million. However, there was not even one single African representative there.-39 The British made great efforts to convey the impression that Africans were satisfied with British rule. There were a few who professed loyalty to the British throne, although it is doubtful whether they sincerely believed it. Many of them who showed loyalty were African patriots of the missionary schools, where they were taught to be loyal to the government as a Christian virtue.

Missionaries had to support the government to win its favor to enable them to evangelize. It was rational for them to help the government to secure African submission. "What could they, poor men of God, do?" Most of them were non-British, both in membership and organization, especially in respect of the Catholic Church, who enjoyed no tribal favor from the government as the Anglican church did. They could not afford confrontation with the government. They were allowed to preach and build schools, the main of which was to teach religion not secular education.-40 Until the later period of nationalist struggle, missionaries, especially Catholics, opposed higher learning for Africans. They aimed at sufficient education to enable Africans to earn a living at School Certificate level; university education was considered as

39. Rev. Arthur, a friend of the Africans, was permitted to speak on behalf of Africans at the conference. Ibid, 1972.

40. It was the missionaries who paved the way for African and despite all their failures, they also paved the way for African self-determination. Ibid, 1972.

as being dangerous to the faith and moral of Africans.-41.

The fact that the Africans masses never accepted British rule is easily proved by studying incidents against their rule in every tribe. Documented incidents in this report will show that it was challenged by every tribe and all challenges were only temporarily suppressed with the ruthless and brutal force of arms, which succeeded due to the lack of sufficient organized resistance by Africans; who lacked education and the modern means of mass organization at the time.

Devonshire ruled that because Africans were the owners of Kenya and Asians and Europeans formed only a handful of minority foreigners, he went on to say that the British government's supreme concern was with the native inhabitants and that it would not attach much importance to examine grievances from only 10,000 Europeans and 23,000 Asians. Arabs normally took little interest in politics as they always felt rather secure in their cultural seclusion at the coast where they have always mixed freely and even inter-married with Africans since the year 700 A.D., when they settled at Mombasa, long before Asians and Europeans came to Kenya.

41. "Kenya's Political Evolution" Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.
42. Ibid, 1972.

Supremacy of native interest, soon became the domestic term in government's circles for dealing with European-Asian political clashes, although in the Coryndon talks, Europeans gained practically everything except self-rule while Asians gained very little. The consequences of the Duke of Devonshire's policy of native supremacy became the cornerstone for political development and ultimately was translated into independence.

Until 1923, Britain had formulated no definite policy of any kind to facilitate the advancement of Africans although British propaganda claimed responsibility for African advancement as the main reason for her presence in Kenya. - 43. As I pointed out previously, the colonial government had built no schools for Africans, had no policy for improving the standards of African agriculture and no plans for their economic advancement. In fact, British policy lead many to believe that the Africans did not exist in the realm of government except as cheap labor to be used for advancement of the economic and social welfare of the British.

Kenya looked as if she would inevitable become an neo-colonial state. Neo-colonialism was a real threat to African independence. By this, I mean the continuing influence (economic and political) of the former colonial powers, which effectively undermines the political independence of new developing states. The object of neo-colonialism is to make the new state respond to the wishes of the former colonial power.

43. Ibid, 1972.

The British enacted much legislation to ensure the orderly and subservience of Africans to British and Asian interest; examples being the "Kipande"(identity card) system, hut tax and personal taxation which no doubt compelled Africans to seek employment on white farms.-44 Africans were prohibited from planting such cash crops, as coffee and tea, which ensured Africans against any economic self-reliance that might threaten the cheap labor market. Exactly for the same reason, Africans were denied all opportunities to participate in commercial life and salaries were kept to the lowest minimum.-45

Early British policies were chiefly oriented to ensure law and order in Africa and to establish a reliable source of cheap labor for the new white farmers, and although the white settlers did eventually pay taxes, the blacks were forced to support the colonial government much earlier. British colonial policy in Kenya became so obsessed with the question of law and order that, for half a century, it did little else beyond what they deemed securing law and order.-46

Until 1923, all organized political struggles was confined to the whites and the browns. These political struggles were based on Asian demands for equality in political representation, government jobs and economic opportunities.

44. It is interesting to note that whit settlers opposed taxation. Yet they supported the taxation of Africans and legislatively denied them all important sources of income, backed up by the colonial government. Ibid,1972.

45. Ibid,1972.

46. Ibid,1972.

The Asians came to East Africa to better themselves and many succeeded. In doing so they also helped to improve the conditions in East Africa. As the East Africa Royal Commission stated: "the remarkable tenacity and courage of the Indian trader has been mainly responsible for stimulating the wants of the indigenous peoples, even in the remotest areas, by opening to them a shopwindow on the modern world and for collecting for sale elsewhere whatever small surpluses are available for disposal".-47 The non-African trading system as it existed in East Africa was one of the most important assets which the economy possessed.

The British policy of "Native Paramountcy" was hypocrisy designed to restrain Asian political pressure. The fact that the white settlers gained practically all their demands at the Coryndon discussions, while the Asians nothing, is sufficient evidence to show the importance of the talks. The fact that no important policy change was made in favor of Africans, following the Coryndon talks, substantiates the charges that the British did not mean what they were preaching. This could definitely be called British hypocrisy.

Resistance to British rule was widespread in Kenya even among the smaller tribes.

47. It is interesting to note that in a letter written by a Mr. T.A. Wood in 1922, to Sir Charles Elliot, protesting against Asian settlement in Kenya; stated that the Asians were detrimental to white settlers in particular, and to the natives inhabitants in general. Mr. Wood's letter reveals the colonial thinking of the day. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (New York, The H.W.Wilson Co., 1968), p.33

Most Africans resistance became manifested during World War I, when British soldiers in Kenya captured whatever they wanted from the Africans; under the pretence that they fought for the freedom of the whole world.-48

The prime argument was that British rule was never accepted in Kenya by Kenyans except by a few individuals who had their own self-interest in mind, such as some chiefs, colonial civil servants and a large percentage of semi-educated Africans who were taught loyalty in the missionary schools. The central argument between the Europeans and Africans was concentrated upon the European possession of land. The European's argument was that the land was unoccupied when he took it. The Africans believed that it was actually tribal land. -49 The truth was that the land was unoccupied, but there was no doubt that the land did belong to the tribes. The Europeans believed that they bought the land, however, the Africans could not conceive of tribal land being bought, but only that the Europeans paid for the temporary use of the land, which nevertheless remained as the possession of the tribe.

Much of the dissension over the land issue centered around the White Highlands. This land, we may remember, was leased out to the Europeans on land leases up to 999 years. The boundaries of the Highlands along with those of the African reserves were defined by an Ordinance and an Order in Council.

48. John Hatch. Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960) p. 69.

49. Ibid, 69.

This meant that any changes in the Highlands' boundaries required the permission of the Highlands Board. According to the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1938, each of these land leases implied an agreement that he shall not without the consent of the Governor-in-Council appoint or allow a non-European to be manager, or otherwise to possess or to be in control of the land leased.-50

Land shortages were attributed to the European monopoly. However, the Europeans argued that it was not only their land which was protected on a racial basis, but also that of the Africans. in their reserves. The British's argument was that if the white monopoly is to be abolished then there could be no reason for preserving the existing system in which Europeans were prevented from buying land in the African reserves.-51

Land was a significant issue, for land had a far more than an economic value to the African tribes. Land had a deeply spiritual gravity to the Africans. The whole of his social and cultural perspective, all his tribal customs and practices, are derived from the land.

50. John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960) p.69.

51. Ibid, p.69.

Chapter IV:

Racialism and Exploitation

Soon after World War I, there was an emergence of a first generation of educated Africans, who had received the benefits of education and resulting enlightenment. This nucleus of elite was to be strengthened by a regular stream of graduates from such places of learning as Mangu and Alliance; these two missionary secondary schools for Africans have since provided the majority of the men who now form Kenya's cabinet, leading businessmen and University staff.⁵² As it was to prove later, contrary to missionary and government expectations, these graduates did not turn out to be the loyal subjects of the British empire that they were trained to be. Instead, they provided the first pillars of African nationalism in Kenya.

In this chapter, we will examine the attempts made by that early generation of educated Africans to release their country from the iniquities of racialism and exploitation of their people by a minority group of foreigners.

Just how far were African grievances justified? Were Africans really wronged against? "Surely, they benefited a great deal from their contact with Europeans, especially through missionary education, thus benefiting from western civilization."⁵³ Perhaps, they should have been content and grateful to the Europeans instead

52. "Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations. 1972.

53. Ibid, 1972.

of grumbling and seeking to overthrow their rule. The crux of the argument between whites and Africans was, of course, whether Kenya was to become an African state.

The expulsion of Europeans and Asians was not the motive behind the struggle for self-determination. However, many Europeans and Asians chose to go home rather than become citizens of Kenya. The Asians chose to be English rather than Kenyan or Indian. Conflicts between Africans and Asians living in Kenya was sharpening. There were approximately two hundred thousand Indians, who had a near monopoly over small businesses. The Kenyans felt that the Indians were deliberately seeking to keep them out of businesses.-54

Characteristically the Asians were shopkeepers and businessmen. In Kenya over thirty-three per cent of Asians were dependent on trade (Tanzania about 50% and in Uganda over 50%).-55 The Asians were in danger of being subjected to discrimination. They had been offered, and many accepted British citizenship when Kenya gained independence in 1963. Faced with this sudden flood of Asian immigration, the British government moved to limit the number of Asians from Kenya it would actually accept. Meanwhile, Kenyan authorities seemed reluctant to ease pressure on its non-citizen Asians, who had chosen to give their loyalty to the departing colonial power rather

54. Business Week, September 2, 1967.

55. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968) p. 110.

than to the new nation in which they would reside.-56

II

The question of African justification of the revolt in Kenya is easily answered. Contrary to Britain's acclaimed concern for the interests of Africans as of leading importance, her policy on race relations in Kenya remained unchanged until forced to change.

One of the most bitter controversies which has raged between the indigenous people and the settlers in Kenya and elsewhere was that concerning land. Thousands upon thousands of Africans, whose ancestors have been in the country for generations were landless and jobless. At the same time large tracts of the country were owned by Europeans, none of whom have been there for more than two, or perhaps three, generations.

Under land ordinances enacted by the colonial administration, the British Commissioner could sell up to 1,000 acres to white settlers at thirty-seven cents per acre. The Africans owned their land under indefinite Native Land Reserve Ordinances, which not only gave them no security of land title, but allowed the commissioner, by similar acts, to seize and dispose of those lands in any manner he thought fit.-57 This included selling it for white settlement. Naturally this created a deep sense of grievance among the Africans and, according to Mboya, it also created a corresponding sense of guilt and uncertainty among the Europeans.

56." Kenya's Political Evolution," Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

In 1968 an international problem had erupted, when the 160,000 Asians living in Kenya came under growing pressures from Kenyan authorities to leave the country.

57. Ibid, 1972.

Besides the land issue there was also economic discrimination. The African employers received in some cases only a fifth of the pay received by Europeans. These discriminatory wage scales operated in local government and in civil service and industry.-58

Although Africans wanted to enter commerce and commercial farming, it was made deliberately difficult for them in order to ensure a reliable source of cheap labor for Europeans and Asian enterprise. After thirty years of the influence of the more enlightened communities from Asia and Europe, the situation that existed was as so: Of the 225,000 square miles of Kenya, 164,000 square miles belonged to the Crown, while 11,000 of the remaining areas was known as the "White Highlands" and sold off to new settlers. The remaining 50,000 square miles, of which 2,000 was semi-desert, was given to the Africans. -59

According to statistics, Africans constituted more than ninety per cent of the population and less than one-third of the land. The Europeans argued that Africans' needs were different from that of European needs."The Africans had no social and political status in their own country. It was almost as if his destiny rested in the hands of ruthless mercenaries whose main concern was to become wealthy." -60 They had no concern for the poor.

III

Kenya's first African protest group was the Kikuyu Association organized by Harry Thuku in 1920. He preached against the enslavement of Africans, the taking of tribal lands for white settlement and argued against low salaries for Africans.

58. Ibid, 1972.

59. Ibid, 1972.

60. Ibid, 1972.

In 1922, Thiku was replaced by Joseph Kangethe and Jomo Kenyatta who created the Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.).-60 The K.C.A.'s aim was to fight for social justice, African participation in government and to get land back from the white settlers. It was later classified by the British as a subversive organization. After the Kikuyu Central Association, the "Akamba Peoples Association" was formed, motivated by Kamba resentment against the government mass slaughtering of their cattle because they claimed they were eroding the land. Other well known associations were the "Kavirondo Tax-payers association" and the "Taita Hills Association".-60 All of these associations aimed at the improvement of the Africans, the elimination of social, political and racial injustices and the recovery of their lands.

These early political parties were the first real attempts at African unity. The law did not permit country-wide political organizations, cutting across tribes. So these early political parties had to remain as tribal. However, spiritually all these organizations were national; they were motivated by a feeling of African brotherhood born of common grievance against racial oppression by a foreign minority."

The political and constitutional development of Kenya reflected a continued conflict between the interests of Europeans, Asians and Africans.

60. He was arrested and detained by the British at Kisumu off the coast of Kenya, in 1922. Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations.
61. An attempt, at one time, was made to create an East African political party to work for an East African nation, but it failed mainly due to the lack of adequate communications between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania leaders.

British policy sought to find a balance between these interests, and constitutional progress reflected the changing power relationships. In the interwar years the major challenge to European political power came from Asians who sought to gain equality with Europeans in governmental representative institutions.

This challenge was successfully resisted, but in the postwar period a more dynamic threat came from African nationalism. Africans made use of both legal and nonlegal methods in their struggle for power with Europeans.

African Nationalism was changing the complexion of the country. It has arisen in all territories in Africa. Its existence is accepted as being real, but there was much uncertainty as to what it was, Lord Harley, in his "African Survey" believed that it should not be called nationalism, but "Africanism".-62

What made African nationalism different? It could possibly be that there were hardly any true nations in Africa that could encourage a pride of nationhood. Kenya did not exist before the twentieth century, and its boundaries were arbitrary creation of the British administrators, crossing over tribes and races.

It is often contemplated that tribal support is still such the predominant force in most of Africa, and the states could be easily divided up into tribes again, as they once existed before the white men invaded their privacy. In some of the multi-racial states in Africa, the situation is complicated by the presence of other minorities, who exist as buffers between black & white.-63

Who is really to blame for violence and isn't true that violence is the only method by which nationalist can awaken the world to the plight of their people. "For the effective struggle against colonialism and for the work of economic reconstruction after independence, it has come to be accepted that you need a nationalist movement. "-64 A nationalist movement should mean the mobilization of all available groups of people in the country for the single struggle. "Mobilization is planned on the assumption that for the time being what is needed is to win independence and gain power to determine one's own destiny".-65

"The people have to be organized so that they are like an army. They must have a symbol." -66 In many cases the symbol is the national leader himself, (Jomo Kenyatta) and it is necessary to have this type of symbol of a heroic father figure if you are to acquire complete control among the different groups and personalities. A national leader must have an organization whose designs allow him to lead and also to impose discipline. It must be a mass movement which embraces all and displays their ability to hold mass political rallies all over the country. In the process of mass mobilization, leadership is needed to act as a rallying point.

63. Anthony Sampson, Common Sense About Africa (New York, The MacMillan Co., 1961), p.32
64. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1963), p.55
65. Ibid, p.55.
66. Ibid, p.56.

In establishing a mass nationalists movement in Kenya, many obstacles arose. It was not until June 1955, after the Emergency had been in force for nearly three years, that the government allowed them to form political parties and these were only allowed to be organized on district basis. It was not until after the Lancaster House conference in 1960 that the government allowed an African party to organize nationally.-67 It was also believed that district organizations could develop into a direct threat to national unity. Why? The answer was that because district loyalties were developing and reflecting tribal loyalties and district and tribal boundaries were often the same.

67. The official explanation was that this was to encourage a simple and orderly development of African political life. It did everything except that. It greatly aggravated tribalism. Ibid, p.70.

Chapter V:

Mau Mau Emergency

In the years 1952 to 1956 Kenya suffered the worst when Mau Mau gangs murdered, raped, pillaged, tortured and burned. Not far from the "White Highlands", in the Aberdare Mountains and Mount Kenya forest, the Mau Mau forces would take their oaths, vowing to drive the white man out of Kenya. In every African colony there existed a multitude of discontentment, feeling of resentment and frustrations, suspicions and fears. In Kenya these emotions had become active in the Mau Mau movement and since 1952 has resulted in open civil conflict.

To understand the development of Mau Mau and its importance in the Kenyan situation, one should begin by examining the specially African grievances which have played a major part in the growth of this movement.

The development of the Mau Mau movement can really be divided into two phases. There was first, the rational political stage in which African leaders were formulating and expressing the general African demand for reform. The second phase is that role that witchcraft and superstition dominated.

One might question the elimination of land from my reasons. Africans in Kenya over the past thirty years have been demanding more land, better wages, the abolition of the color bar and equal status for all. This can be categorized as constituting a general African demand, not being confined to the Mau Mau movement. These demands correspond in part to the

normal claims of the underprivileged in any nation as it develops political consciousness.

Although, the Mau Mau uprising, led by the Kikuyus, was the strongest and most effective political catalyst movement instituted in Kenya against British imperialism, it was not the first. Its intensity rested in the fact that when it started Africans were already enlightened and better equipped for political organization.-68 Every tribe, big and small, such as the Luo, the Kalenjin, the Giriama, the Baluhya and others can prove past resistance to British rule. It was believed that Mau Mau was the child of economic and social problems which had accumulated over the years and which had not found any resolution through constituted channels.-69

There were problems of discrimination against Africans in different forms. There was discrimination in employment and in salaries; refusals by government to allow Africans to grow cash crops which was enforced by British legislation. There was discrimination in post offices, hotels and restaurants supported by a government which had made liquor laws that declared as an offense the selling or serving of an African with European liquor.-70 The British also produced discrimination in extending aid to schools and hospitals established on a social basis and there existed an absence of African representation in the legislature nor were they allowed any voice at all in the government.

68. John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960) p. 67.

69. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston . Toronto, Little, Brown and Co., 1963), p.40.

70. Ibid, p.40.

All these provocations created frustrations which accumulated over the years. On top of all this there was also the sensitive problem of land.-71

An atmosphere was created over the land question in which it was no longer possible to reason. The subject became so emotional. Many families were removed from the land in order to make room for white settlement, and the fact that Africans never accepted the argument that the land had been found empty and uninhabited. Most Africans believed that, although the land was not fenced in, each segment of land was under claims by the different tribes; even though they were not actually using the land. This was the background of African logic at the time of the Emergency.

Some people argued that Mau Mau was the result of a revolt by the Africans against civilization and Christianity, but I tend to reject this in favor of all the other reasons that I have illustrated, but one can probably develop a feasible argument in favor of what I tend to reject.

Carl G. Rosberg and John Nottingham, authors of "The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya", both contended that the evertightening vice of white domination, not African, precipitated this violent reaction. The causes of Mau Mau are very implanted.

The two authors traced European penetration and colonization from the early primitive expeditions against resistive tribesmen.

71. The land issue, though not a main reason for Mau Mau, helps to explain why the Mau Mau revolution was largely contained in one area of the country; the Central Province and the Rift Valley. Ibid, p.40

The Africans confronted disposition of their land at the hands of the whites in Africa and they were being compelled to endure their existence on land which could not sustain half his population. They were also forced by taxes to work his former land as the poorly paid employee of the white settler.-72

With little prospect of alleviation, the outcome was inevitable, from petitions and constitutional protest to a militant nationalism employing direct action in seeking a new political order. " Mau Mau had become, in the minds of some contemporary African radicals, the quintessence of the permanent revolution advocated by their new prophet of violence; Fritz Fanon".-73

In his book "The Wretched of the Earth", Fritz Fanon sees combat and violence as necessary to the transfiguration of colonial peoples. Only then will they be emotionally free and, hence, able to create unified, truly independent nations. The Fanon cultists claimed that Mau Mau was a purifying fire and acclaimed it to those developing countries which escaped violence in their struggle for nationhood, and thus are not cleansed.-74

II

The Kikuyu tribesmen, because of their closer exposure to the colonial government, suffered most from their injustices and decided to stage a showdown with that government. For some time before the insurrection of violence in 1952, the government had been receiving reports from informers that some Kikuyu

72. Martin Lowenhopf, " Upheaval in Kenya," The New Republic, February 25, 1967, p.34.

73. Ibid, p.35

74. Present developments in Kenya appear to belie Fanon's claim, for the Kikuyu led government of Kenya seems rather to be pursuing goals set by the former colonial power than by the apostles of purification by fire and blood. Ibid, p.35.

were taking oaths to oppose the government and to bring about political reforms by civil disobedience.

The governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, who had associated more with the Kikuyu than any other governor had ever done, is reported to have said: "The Kikuyu are too noble for that kind of thing."⁷⁵ He dismissed any warning of a possible violent uprising by the Kikuyu as completely improbable and the reports as fallacious. However, as history reveals it, Mau Mau drew its support almost exclusively from one tribe. That tribe was the Kikuyu, who had come closer to the European mental outlook than any other African tribe and according to Mitchell was too noble to start a revolution.

The Kikuyu tribe had closer contact with European civilization for they provided numerous clerks in government offices, many of the most experienced hands on the European farms, and the bulk of the workers in Nairobi. The Kikuyu are natural cultivators, the most intelligent and hardest working of all Kenya's tribes. Given good land and some instructions, they know what has to be done. They were also noted for their devotion to education.⁷⁶ Of all the tribes in Kenya, the Kikuyus had the greatest collective respects for the binding power of both secular and occult oaths.⁷⁷ They had a collective passion for secret societies and folk fondness for their traditional tribal ceremonies.

The Kikuyus, because of their higher stage of advancement, had felt the frustrations of the color bar more than the other tribes did.

75. "Kenya's Political Evolution," Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

In the early days of European contact, they were friendly and co-operative people, but they had become embittered and frustrated through the pressure on their land, and their rejection by westernized society when they attempted to enter it. So, Mau Mau here was primarily a social revolt. -78

The Kikuyus were noble, but governor Mitchell had become too accustomed to his racial administration and had fallen victim to the absurdity of believing racism was a virtuous commodity. Sir Philip Mitchell not only ignored African demands made through such organized movement as the K.A.N.U., but also ignored information from his own secret agency.-79 However, during this time there were some Europeans who held themselves above the folly of racism and who constantly manifested their wrath against the injustices perpetrated by the colonial authorities.-80

It is not easy to write about such men or to judge their contributions, but many Kenyans will remember men such as: C.V. Cook, who always stood up for African rights in the European, Asian, African disputes. The Derek Erskine family were phenomenal in their out-and-out support of the African cause. Perhaps, the least known is Mr. Warwick; a teacher of Swahili in one of the Kenyan secondary schools at Nyeri. His novel published in 1938 by George G. Harrop and Co., Ltd., was a satire entitled "The Adventures of a Prodigal" and aimed at exposing and ridiculing the folly of European racists in Kenya. -81

78. John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960) p. 72.

79. Sir Philip Mitchell made the appalling mistake of failing to appreciate the severity of the situation confronting him. Information from The Kenya Mission To The United Nations.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

In October 1952 a state of emergency was proclaimed. Isolated cases of violence against certain individuals had started early in the year and was later to reach the dimension of open war between the Mau Mau nationalists and freedom fighters on the other side and the colonial government troops on the other. The aim was direct military confrontation with the colonial government to force it to listen to African demands that it has ignored for over fifty years.

Some prominent Africans, including such personalities as Senior Chief Waruhiu of Kiambu and Tom Mbotela, the Secretary-General of KAU, fell early victims of the war. Their deaths shocked the colonial government and served to convince them that Africans were determined to go to any extremes to obtain compensation for their overdue grievances. -86 According to information obtained from the Kenya missionary, it appears, they had had no intention of killing Africans at first and the murder of Chief Waruhiu and Tom Mbotela were provoked by the embarrassing activities of the victims themselves; Chief Waruhiu's, a prominent Christian and also a prominent government spokesman, life couldn't be spared. The same goes for Tom Mbotela for he believed in constitutional progress and was a firm opponent of the use of force as a political weapon. He held public meetings in Nairobi regularly to denounce Mau Mau.

86. "Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from The Kenya Mission To The United Nation's
Many Africans regarded such men as Mbotela and Waruhiu as misguided colonial stooges, whose activities were detrimental to the fight for liberty.

The government responded with alarm and proclaimed a "state of emergency" on the 20th of October 1952-87. At 12:45 a.m. on October 21, 1952, Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Kenya Africa Union, whose oratorical power had captured the hearts and imagination of the Kikuyu, was arrested at his home in Gatundu by the assistant superintendent of police Benton and some eighty policemen and charged with managing Mau Mau. Also arrested was Paul Ngei, Bildad Kaggia, Achieng Ouko, Fred Kubai and Kung'u Karumba (K.A.U. leaders).⁸⁸ The size of the troops sent to arrest Kenyatta was not only a measure of panic that the government was feeling, but was also an indirect sign of the fear and respect they accorded him.

The Mau Mau movement, which brought bloodshed to Kenya, was a blend of the ancient and modern. It owed much to the spirit of African nationalism and the trade union agitation which was growing in the town. Some Mau Mau leaders wanted to destroy the white man, others wanted to uproot every vestige of European civilization.

In April 1953, Jomo Kenyatta was sentenced to seven years imprisonment on the charges of administering the revolt of the Kikuyu. Meanwhile, the country had degenerated into civil war with Kikuyu fighting Kikuyu and British forces combing the forest of the Aberdares for the terrorist gangs who raided the villages and outlying European farms; butchering the occupants.

87. "Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

This day is now known as Kenyatta day.

88. Ibid.

Contrary to expectations, the arrest of those that the government regarded as leaders of Mau Mau, did not bring about the desired effect. The government reacted with inhuman acts such as indiscriminate punishment of Kikuyu tribesmen regardless of whether they were guilty or innocent. The Mau Mau's on the other hand directed their attack at those who were open critics of Mau Mau; strong supporters of the colonial regime or at European settlers, administrators and soldiers in particular. They also directed their attack at European farms; maiming the cattle and destroying the crops. - 89

The greatest damage done by Mau Mau **crisis** was to the configuration of African politics. The Mau Mau movement, as I have stated before, was almost solely a Kikuyu movement, so that when freedom was finally obtained there was a tendency for the Kikuyu tribesmen to take all the credit for it, and to look on the other tribes as ex-collaborators and almost second class citizens. It is certain that the tribal division in Kenya politics today are due to the tribal emphasis laid down by the Mau Mau. -90

The Mau Mau rebellion claimed the lives of fifty-three Europeans and twenty thousands Africans (1952-53).-91 However, it is immaterial that in that war more Africans died than Europeans. The important point is that world opinion in favor of African demands was ultimately attracted to the Kenya political scene in a manner that was bound to make the British authorities re-appraise their shortsighted and indefensible policies.

89. Ibid.

90. C.P.Kirby, East Africa (New York, David White, 1968) p.49.

91. Ibid. p.49.

It is true that Africans suffered from Mau Mau, but this is true of many revolutions and anti-colonial uprisings. It is normally the indigenous people who suffer the most and the Kenya situation did not appear to be unique historically. Mau Mau violence was met by even greater violence from the British government and its security forces. If we must condemn the violence of the Mau Mau, we must equally condemn British violence against it. During the emergency most of the publicity was centered around what the revolutionary groups did and very little was told about the activities of the security forces.- 92

It was after the declaration of a state of emergency that Mau Mau organized themselves into a militant movement. The followers migrated to the Aberdares, Mt. Kenya and the forest, where they trained and emerged to fight the government forces. Attacking police posts to acquire weapons, they also manufactured their own weapons.-93 Until the "Emergency" Mau Mau were only concerned with recruiting members and storing weapons. It has since been alleged that they had started purchasing and confiscating guns as early as 1946 at the end of the Second World War; this has never really been verified.

92. It is unlikely that the full story will ever be told, because at most districts headquarters there had been bonfires of documents relating to the Emergency period. Tom Mboya and Freedom and After (Boston, Toronto, Little Brown and Co., 1963) p.43.

93. Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations

If one can draw a general formula, it might be that; in any colony where there has been considerable white settlement, violence has become inevitable, although it was not the original policy of the nationalist party-94 The reason is that where there has been white settlement, there has been resistance to constitutional change and and this created more obstacles to nationalism. It is also true that it was not until the revolution had started that reasonable resolutions began to occur towards the improvement of African conditions in Kenya.

The color bar began to disappear, racial discrimination in the civil service was abolished by the Lidbury Report in 1955, wages improved and in some ways, Africans were granted greater recognition.-95 The most remarkable aspect of the revolution was the fact that, in spite of it, and, indeed, perhaps partly because of it, progress had developed even more rapidly than previously towards inter-racial co-operation. In 1954 a new constitution had been introduced which was created on the principle of active participation of all the races.

In the new constitution the legislative council remained as before with the governor as president, a vice president and speaker, eight ex-officio members, eighteen nominated members, twenty-one elected members and seven representative members. Of the twenty-one members who were elected, fourteen were Europeans, six were Indians and one was an Arab. The seven representative members consisted of A and one Arab,

94. Uganda and Tanzania escaped this form of violence on their paths to independence. Nyasaland and northern Rhodesia had to pass through it in 1959 and 1961. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown Co., 1963) p.44.

nominated by the governor with the approval of each race.-96

Three facts emerged from the constitution of this council: The first was that in Kenya representation was based on equality between European and non-European (there being sixteen European members, six Indians, eight Africans and two Arabs). The second important point was that no African elections were permitted until 1957 and there was no confidence shown as to the legitimacy of African leadership. -97

John Hatch, the author of "Africa Today and Tomorrow", declared that this alone caused considerable resentment amongst the Africans and resulted in political confusion amongst them. Thirdly, a new form of government was introduced within this constitution. It was known as the Council of Ministers and was composed of the governor, the deputy governor, six official members, six unofficial members and two nominated members. Of the six unofficial, three were Europeans, two were Asians and one African.-98 In October 1956, an extra African and an additional European was added to the Council of Ministers, leaving the ratio of elected ministers at four Europeans, two Africans and two Asians.

95. Ibid, p.44.

96. John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1960) p.73.

97. Ibid, p.74.

98. Ibid, p.75.

John Hatch believed that after this new form of multi-racial government came into operation, bitterness in Kenya considerably increased. The Africans complained that only a veneer of democracy was offered them, however, early in 1957 the first elections were held. Now anxious to prepare Kenya for as painless a transition to independence as possible, a new constitution was formed to give the Africans a substantial governing role. National elections were held again in 1961 and a new cabinet was formed in which Africans held four out of twelve ministries. The Mau Mau movement spurred the pace of Kenyan independence.

IV

"The Struggle Between the Two Sides"

At the beginning, the Mau Mau movement seemed to have little military organization because it confined itself to sporadic cases of surprise murders of over-enthusiastic African loyalists and other opponents to their cause. Nairobi became a regular locale of murders. The people of Nairobi were even afraid to go to church or to discuss politics, except with members of their own family and exceptionally trusted friends. The reasons behind this fear of terror was British propaganda which condemned Mau Mau as being anti-Christian (which I had ruled out as a reason for the spread of violence), and that the men they killed were killed for no other reason than that they were either too good Christians or strong opponents of the so-called Mau Mau campaign; against progress and freedom of conscience.-99

99. " Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations.

The Mau Mau were not given a chance to denounce those lies and many well meaning sincere supporters of the noble aims of African nationalism, human equality and self-determination for African peoples, which were the aims of Mau Mau, were turned against their fellow man. Unfortunately, British propaganda supporters had several incidents to support their accusations.

Some missionaries, including Catholic priests, engaged in severe denunciation of Mau Mau. Such missionaries sometimes incurred the wrath of the Mau Mau and became victims of their attacks, which seemed to confirm British propaganda that the Mau Mau were against everything good in humanity especially Christianity and what they called civilization. -100 Actually, the Mau Mau were against those who acted in collusion with the colonial government against them, not against religion.

According to several reports, it seemed as if they knew their enemies because in every area of the Central Province and in all of Nairobi, the Mau Mau had local councils which examined the movement of all the inhabitants. -101 Therefore they knew who needed physical elimination and who needed surveillance.

The Africans saw Mau Mau as a state within a state, a government within a government, because of the central body in Nairobi known as the "War Council", whose function was to assist the Parliament of Kenya, which was the supreme Mau Mau governing body controlling all fighters and supporters under Dedan Kiamathi(commander of Mau Mau troops in the Aberdares forest).-102

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

During the later part of 1953 and 1955 the Mau Mau appeared to have been so well organized, that it seemed British rule in Kenya was seriously threatened. It seemed at that moment that the British Army was losing the war because of the number of successful battles the insurrectionist engaged against government forces.-103

March 26th. 1953 marked the beginning of the bitter seven years armed struggle between Mau Mau and colonial government troops. I am referring to the Lari massacre which had been deliberately arranged to coincide with the strategic raid on the Naivasha police armory which, it is said, left the police with very little fire power.-104 It was after the two incidents that large British military forces were flown to Kenya from the Middle East under Commander General Sir George Ershine and aided with troops from Uganda and Tanzania and the increased Kenya army and police.-105

Mau Mau soldiers clearly demonstrated to everyone that they were not inferior in fighting techniques. They were daring men who were not afraid to face their enemies even after reinforcements arrived. The biggest disadvantage of the rebellious group was that they had been forced into war before they had acquired all the arms that they needed and before they won mass support.-106

103. In view of the nature of the whole war it is difficult to determine accurate figures, but it is safe to say that Mau Mau had well over 40,000 well-armed and well-trained soldiers using captured modern fire-arms and home made guns by 1954. Ibid, 1972.

104. The idea of combining the Lari massacre and Naivasha raid was calculated to shock the whole country and to show the British just how far the Mau Mau were ready to go to force the British to listen to their demands. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Their factories for manufacture of weapons and home-made bombs at Thika, Kibiriono and Muriya were destroyed and this weakened their military power considerably. Ibid.

To their advantage, the Mau Mau knew the terrain and had sympathizers in the country who sent them fore - warnings of British movement. As I showed before their intelligent forces were at work in Nairobi. So, although British troops attacked them from all angles, by air and by land, they seemed like ghosts invisible and invincible. They were masters of guerilla warfare.

Many European settlers volunteered to join forces with the government forces to fight the Mau Mau. A group known as the Home Guards, though they openly sympathized with many of the demands of Mau Mau, opposed the violence means they used to achieve their general aims.-107

The state of war lasted until 1960, however, by 1956 the main sting of Mau Mau supremacy was already beginning to decline. What led to its decline? Probably because of the ever-increasing British propaganda, the diminishing supply of Mau Mau munitions and the strengthening of Home Guards by arms and training.

The British propaganda movement utilized radio, film, cinema and free newspapers and pamphlets. They depicted the Mau Mau as a ghastly, bestial movement commanded by savage men who were opposed to every form of progress and who wanted to plunge Kenya back to primitive days.-108

107. The Home Guards and their superior firearms was a main factor why the Mau Mau lost. Ibid, 1972.
108. The British tended to exaggerate in the bad deeds that they used as propaganda. However, some leaders were merciless killers. Ibid.

The Kikuyu tribemen, who were a valuable link between the Mau Mau army and their intelligence men, were forced into protected villages. It also became impossible for any Mau Mau men living with the people in the villages to give any support to their army in the forest and by the end of 1955 it became clear that the Mau Mau were losing the war. However, the state of emergency continued until 1960.

Although the period between 1953 and 1959 was a period of civil war and all political parties were banned one could not state that Africans had abandoned their demands for equality and self-determination. While the war went on other nationalists kept the voice of African grievances and the political machine revolving.

The Trade union movement was the outlet for African grievances. Before 1952 the Kenya unions had been organized by Makhan Singh. The unions of the time could be compared more closely to the unions of Chartist England; a century before, than they could to their modern counterparts in Britain or United States of today. -109 All African political associations, as I had stated previously, were abolished until 1955 when the parties were allowed to organize once again on a district basis. The ban on national parties such as K.A.U. was maintained until mid- 1960. -110

The banning of K.A.U. meant the end of any constitutional opposition to the government. Any other form of political organization was foredoomed to frustration and the dangers of arrest were increasing. Tom Mboya realized that the only possibility of fighting for his people was through the labor movements.

The Kenya Federation of Registered Trades Unions (K.F.R.T.U.), to which his union belonged was the only organized body that the Africans could turn to, and they soon began to use it to rectify the grievances.

The Luo tribesmen, the second largest tribe in Kenya, and next to the Kikuyu, the most influential politically stepped into political power while many Kikuyu politicians were in detention camps. This was also the period when Tom Mboya identified himself as a genius in political tactics.-111

The term " Mau Mau" had no real accepted meaning in any of the East African languages. It was first brought into existence by the British press and propaganda machine and was a pejorative term that was intended to evoke all that was associated with "Darkest Africa". The so-called Mau Mau never referred to themselves or their organization by this name. They called themselves the " Movement", the " Land Freedom Army" and other similar names.-112 There have been many theories on the origin of the term "Mau Mau". One of them is that it is a corruption of the Kikuyu word for oath, "muma", relinquished by a British journalist covering a trial of oath-takers.

109. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962), pages 82,83.

110. Ibid, p.91.

111. " Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations.
On March 10, 1957, Mboya was the first African to be declared elected to the legislative council. op. cit., p.113.

112. Ibid, 1972.

Another one is that it is the noise one makes when one eats greedily hot food, and the term was used by Kikuyuy to designate greedy people. Still another theory says it was a code word used by oath-takers; the Kikuyu words "uma,uma" transposed means get out, get out, and yet another says it is the abbreviation of the Swahili saying "Mzungu aende Uingereza, Mwafrika apate Uhuru (Let the white man return home so that the African can be free).-113 Whatever the origin of the term " Mau Mau"may stand for, it refers to the heroic struggle for independence.

113. " Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

Chapter VI

Kenya's Fight For Independence

Sofar, we have tried to trace Kenya's political development from the period of the first British High Commissioner, as the governor was then called, Sir Charles Elliot in 1901 to the period of the Mau Mau armed struggle against the colonial government in the 1950's. I tried to show that the early aims of the British presence in Kenya was not to bring Western civilization to Africans. I have also tried to indicate how the early politics of Kenya was dominated by the white settlers, preoccupation with land and labor, and Asian conflict with Europeans for equality.

Africans did not matter, although there was a indefinite commitment by the British to their interests but the British government or nothing about it. At the Coryndon we saw that there was a political from the Indian move to boycott to force the colonial government claims for equality with of politics and economy, against them. However, to African interest was in what was known as the which the British government demand for independence Kenya did not belong Africans and that British development of Kenya Asians and Europeans.

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Mau Mau had made the Kenya government take a closer look to the demands of the African people and changes were promised on the constitutional level. By 1957 the British ultimately started to respond to African demands for political reforms, social justice and equality between the races. Until 1951 there had only been one African member in the legislative council.¹¹⁴ The Lyttelton constitution in 1954 brought the first six African elected members into the legislative council and the Lennox-Boyd plan in 1957 increased this to fourteen. Both these constitutional changes came during the Emergency.¹¹⁵ These changes might lead anyone to believe that had it not been for Mau Mau, perhaps these changes would never have taken place; at any rate, they would never have come as quickly as they did.

In 1954 the Colonial Secretary, Lyttelton realized that something had to be done if the Mau Mau were to be brought to an end. He visited Kenya to meet local politicians and to study the political scene. He introduced what was known as the Lyttelton plan which was intended to deceive the Africans that the government was interested in their political advancement in order to win their support against the Mau Mau.-116

114. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962), page 113.

115. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Toronto, Little Brown and Co., 1963), p.44

116. "Kenya's Political Evolution", Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations, 1972.

The Lyttleton multiracial constitution was imposed on Kenya's political groups because they were unable to agree among themselves. The plan offered to abolish the membership system in which settlers dominated the government and to introduce a ministerial system and war council to advise the government on how to handle the question of the Mau Mau .

To win African support against the Mau Mau, it offered one ministry to the Africans; the Ministry of Community Development. Lyttleton believed that would satisfy the Africans and win their support against the Mau Mau. -117 The Lyttleton plan, as I had shown before, provided a ministerial system of government as opposed to the former system where they had executive officers, instead of Ministers, assisting the governor in the administration of the country. Under the plan, which was enacted immediately after the visit of the Secretary of State, Africans had 14 seats, equal to Europeans elected seats although Europeans outnumbered them by far in nominated and special seats.-118 The constitution came at the height of the "Emergency" when all the K.A.U. leaders were imprisoned, so that, it fell on the Kenya Federation of Labor to express the African reaction.

The Lyttleton plan which was to have lasted until 1960 had been brought to an end in 1958 after seven months of determined opposition by the African members. They rejected the plan because there was no direct representation of Africans (the governor was to appoint the six members to the legislative council).

117 Foreign Affairs , October 1970, Vol.49. NO.1. p.113
It would appear that Mau Mau acted as a catalyst to political activity, for the other tribes picked up the political battle through constitutional means where the Kikuyu left it to take to armed struggle.

118. Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations.

A second reason was that the African minister was going to be used to make the world believe that the Africans were participating in government, although, in fact he was a tiny minority with no policy-making responsibility. -119

II

Along with the "Lyttleton" constitution the "Lennox-Boyd" constitution was imposed in November 1957. Although, this constitution increased African representation to the equivalence with Europeans in the legislative council, it was also designed to give greater direction to obtaining a political system that would continue to reflect the multiracial character of the population.

The new Secretary of State, Sir Lennox Boyd, arrived in Kenya to re-assess the position. Africans were then demanding fifteen more seats and more ministerial posts which would make their voice in the government predominant. They boycotted the ministerial posts and forced the European Ministers to resign to make way for the Lennox-Boyd plan, which provided one extra ministerial post for Africans, six extra seats instead of fifteen as the Africans demanded, eleven elected seats for each race, and a Council of state to veto any racial legislation. -120 The Africans could not accept these proposals for they would have gone against the fundamental principles of African nationalism. Now it was being introduced to Africans when Ghana was already independent and Africans everywhere in the continent were nearing complete political emancipation. The feeling among all educated Africans was that if their brothers in Ghana could rule themselves successfully than they too could. -121

119. The situation could be compared to the situation in Rhodesia, which occurred much later, in where the government said it was going to appoint an African cabinet minister, and all that happened was that Jasper Savanhu was made a parliamentary secretary. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1963), p. 116.

The Lennox-Boyd plan was being opposed even before it was introduced.

One of the most fundamental objections to the new constitution was that they were not going to be strong enough in the legislative council and therefore they were not prepared to accept ministries. Both the former eight members and the newly elected six members (elected as a concession to Africans under the new plan) opposed in particular the specially elected twelve seats and the Council of State which they saw as a device to check African power. -122 As a result of the African political pressure Lennox-Boyd visited Kenya again in December 1959 and called for a conference in London to begin in January 1960. Its purpose was to discuss steps to resolve the problems in Kenya politics. That conference came to be known as the First Lancaster House Conference.

The aims of the conference was to prepare the way for Kenya's independence. The first problem was to persuade the European community that a new form of government was needed. Many of these Europeans were born in Kenya to a position of political and economic dominance and they could not survive if the country was to achieve independence.

By the time of the conference the Africans were divided into two major parties; the Kenya Independence Movement

120. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962) p.113.

121. Ibid. p.113.

122. Information from The Kenya Mission To The United Nations.

led by Odinga with Mboya as secretary , and the Kenya National Party led by Ngala. However, at the conference they were all united and they all pressed for the same demands; the release of Jomo Kenyatta (who had been the inspiration of all Kenya African politicians) and immediate measures for independence and an end to all racism in the country.

The conference ran into problems right from the beginning for the British believed that of all the countries that had won independence from Britain since W.W. II., none have seemed so ill-prepared for nationhood as Kenya was. Yet the British officials feared a bloody resurgence of Mau Mauism if Kenya did not get its freedom. -123
Kenya's divided leaders each had their own proposals for a constitution. Kenyatta insisted on a strong centralized government with a one-house legislature and an elected head of state. K.A.D.U., under the leadership of Ronald Ngala, called for a Swiss style federation of six largely autonomous regional constituencies, divided along tribal lines, with a two-house federal parliament and a coalition cabinet.- 124

The Lancaster constitutional conference produced proposals for a radical revision of Kenya's existing constitution, and laid down the principle that independence was the ultimate objective. It proposed that after the general election in 1961 there would be a legislative council of sixty-five members.

123. At the opening of the conference, Britain's Colonial Secretary Reginald Maudling insisted that Britain would not free the colony unless they could be sure that they shall be handing over authority in Kenya to a stable regime, free from oppression, free from violence, free from racial discrimination. " Last Chance Conference", Times, February 23, 1962, p. 38.

Fifty-three would be elected on a common roll and they in turn would elect twelve national members, composed of four Africans, four Europeans, two Asians (non-Muslims), one Asian (Muslim) and one Arab. One of the proposals was that out of the fifty-three seats allocated, ten would go to the Europeans, eight to the Asians and two to the Arabs. -125 This would guarantee at least twenty seats to the minority communities. There would be communal primary elections for the reserved seats, in order to ensure that the candidates elected would command support from their own community. -126

Under the new constitution the Council of Ministers would consist of twelve Ministers; with an Arab representative having the right of attendance. There would be an unofficial majority with four official and eight unofficial Ministers. The eight unofficial positions were to be filled by four Africans, three Europeans and one Asian. The governor would retain the right to appoint Ministers. -127 The most delicate problem that the conference had to deal with was probably what was called "Mwambao", the coastal strip of Kenya which the Arabs and a few misled Swahili people claimed should be detached from Kenya as part of Zanzibar before independence; meaning that Kenya would enter independence as a land-locked country.

124. K.A.N.U.'s strength came from Kenya's three most powerful tribes: the Kikuyu, Luo and Kamba, who represented nearly half of Kenya's entire African population. K.A.D.U.'s draws most of its support from the Masai, Balukya and other smaller tribes who, though a minority, occupy a far bigger area than the people represented by K.A.N.U. Ibid, p.38.
125. U.S. News and World Report, June 6, 1963, p.643.
126. In order to qualify certain standards were set down: ability to read and write his own language, or over 40 years of age; holding office in a wide range of scheduled posts at the time of registration; or an income of £ 75 per annum. Ibid, p.643.
127. Ibid, 643.

However, the Africans declared that they would do everything in their power to retain this strip of land. It soon ceased to be an issue in the politics of independence.

The outcome of the "London Conference" astounded and caused some dismay among the Europeans in Kenya. Although the Europeans dominated the African economy, the European community recognized the need for change and accepted the general plan of the new constitution. However, the Europeans resented the fact that in the future they would be unable to send representatives of their own choice to the legislative council. They actually believed that the new constitution would lead to an improvement of racial relations and would create a stable government which was essential to the expansion of an economy dependent on overseas investment.

Although the first Lancaster House Conference conceded to African demands; such as an elected parliament majority, a promise for independence, some African politicians did not think that was enough and upon the return of the African elected members from the London several demands were still eminent: The release of Kenyatta, the white Highlands, and the call for an independent African government, which was intended to replace the new constitution.

The White Highlands, solely for European ownership, was to be altered and European owned farms were to be reduced in size and land was to be expropriated for the settlement of African peasants. European extremist, too, were dissatisfied.-128 The first Lancaster House Conference marked the beginning of a dark period of tribal nightmares that bedevilled Kenya politics until the day when K.A.D.U. was voluntarily dissolved in 1964.

128. Information from the Kenya Mission To The United Nations.

Chapter VII:

Nation Building

Following the Lancaster House Conference two national African parties were formed: The Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (K.A.D.U.), which later came to dominate politics.

K.A.N.U., led at first by James Gichuru, Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga, won about 67% of the votes cast and nineteen of the open seats in the general election of February 1961.-129 K.A.D.U., led by Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro, gained only 16.4% of the vote, but eleven of its party members were returned in the contest for the open seats. They were supported by the New Kenya Party (a European liberal party led by Michael Blundell), the Kenya Indian Congress and three independent African elected members. -130 However, it displayed signs of weakness because they willingly accepted some unfavorable policies.

K.A.D.U. tried to separate members from K.A.N.U.'s parliamentary group, however, despite their efforts the K.A.N.U. members resisted. Disunity had marked the course of its leadership. The release of Kenyatta, August 1961, did not bring about the unity that was hoped for between the two parties. After a short period Kenyatta assumed the leadership of K.A.N.U.

129. Foreign Affairs, October 1970, VOL.49. NO.1. p.113

130. Ibid. p.113.

The fundamental differences between the two parties dwelled in the fact the K.A.N.U. tended to represent those people and tribes most closely associated with an urban oriented nationalism and who sought a highly centralized political system for Kenya. They represented the larger and economically more advanced tribes. While K.A.D.U. represented a more rural and pastoral group of tribes who were afraid of a concentration of power by any central government.-131

During the year 1960 the Kenyatta question became an increasingly important problem in Kenya politics. The moral issues of Kenyatta's trial were no longer debated. His name was being used as part of a political campaign. The African leaders recognized that Kenyatta had become the symbol of the African people's aspirations. During the formation of K.A.N.U., Kenyatta was elected as the first president, but the party could not secure registration under this arrangement, so James Gichuru name was used instead. He was to hold the post until the time of Kenyatta's release.-132 Tom Mboya continued to push for Kenyatta's freedom. K.A.N.U. made it quite definite that they would not take part in the government until he was released. Tom Mboya announced that he would call for a campaign of civil disobedience if Kenyatta was not released.-133

131. The political conflict between these two parties tended to become identified with tribalism since each party had a nucleus of tribes committed to it. This conflict led to the drafting of the "framework" constitution of 1962; which reflected the issue of centralism vs. regionalism. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (New York, The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968) p.30.
132. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (N.Y. Doubleday and Co., Inc 1962) p.217.
133. The Nairobi People Convention Party, declared that Kenyatta would be the first head of a free Kenya government, "whether the other communities like it or not". Foreign Affairs, July 1960, VOL.38. NO.4. p.664.

A coalition government was established on April 10, 1962 under the combined leadership of Kenyatta of K.A.N.U. and Ronald Ngala of K.A.D.U.. Tom Mboya was sworn in as the Minister of Labor. In accepting this position he regretfully resigned his position as Sec. General of the Kenya Federation of Labor, for according to Mr. Mboya, "it would have been impossible for me to represent the workers and the government at one and the same time".-134

During the London Conference Mboya became a well known figure. Many believed that he was deliberately lobbying for prestige and power. However, his opponents concluded that he was too weak at the time to challenge Kenyatta and that he was just waiting his time. This was pure conjecture for Tom Mboya was far too intelligent to want to split African unity in Kenya any farther than it was already separated. The question always arose, whether Mboya's political decisions reflected his own personal ambition or because it was the best thing for the country. Mboya violently denied that his political plans were for personal gains, but his critics continually argued that he was using arguments in favor of democracy to get himself into the position of a dictator.-135

II

Young Tom Mboya

" His approach was that of a young rebel who wanted to change the existing social order. His ideals were the ideals of youth, uncomplicated by practical difficulties and unqualified by respect for past traditions."-136

134. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (N.Y. Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962), p. 217.

135. Ibid, p.217.

136. Ibid, p.45.

Mboya was mostly concern with practical day-to-day issues rather than abstract theorizing, which is the practice of many politicians today all over the world. When he started to work as a trained sanitary inspector, organized trades unionism soon interested him as being a practical manner in which he would be able to convey his ideals into practice and still achieve some political results. He believed that it was better to act, even in a small way in his trades union, than first to talk and theorize about politics.¹³⁷ The political world of the Africans was quickly changing.

The Kenya African Union(K.A.U.) to the Africans was an outlet for their political demands(as I had explained in a previous chapter). Though it was mainly a rural Kikuyu organization, in its early stages under Kenyatta's leadership and Mboya influence it gained support from Africans of all tribes in Nairobi. It was also a early sign of a possible unification among the different tribes.-138

Many K.A.U. leaders were drawn from non-Kikuyu tribes and Kenyatta was obviously making a genuine attempt to mode it into a modern political party where tribal differences could be forgotten. The demands of the K.A.U. in 1962 were: They demanded for African seats in the legislative council, the abolition of the color bar, greater amount of farming land and an increased expenditures for education and medical assistance.

137. Ibid, p. 46.

138. During the trial, Mboya stated that he joined the K.A.U. because Kenyatta was pleased with its aims. It was trying to unite all Africans and prepare for democracy and to fight for equal rights of the African people by constitutional means. They stood for peace and ending the injustice against the African people.- Ibid,p.71.

According to Alan Rake, the author of "Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa," these reasonable demands were too far removed from what the Kenyan government of the time was prepared to concede, that the Africans were driven to the point of frustration bordering on rebellion.

Mboya became a member of the K.A.U. upon the arrest of Kenyatta. He focused his activities solely in the trades union realm in building-up the Kenya Local Government Workers Union. It was Kenyatta's arrest that finally pushed him into participating in pure politics. His joining the union party, Mboya was actively augmenting his own support to those who believed that Kenyatta had been victimized.

The Kenya emergency with all its brutality, injustice and suffering provided the background to Tom Mboya's early career. In October 1953 he went to Ruskin College to study, where he remained until 1955. During that period, like Kenyatta in 1930's and 1940's, he spent a great deal of his spare time appealing to the British on the Kenya situation and criticizing the Kenya colonial administration for their brutality against Mau Mau suspects. Tom Mboya was not exceptionally politically minded in the early days, but the dramatic events of the emergency drew him into the political struggle of his people. No young, educated and intelligent African could be unconcerned about his country as it was torn apart in civil strife.

At times he gave the impression of seeking to out-succeed his rivals in extremism; as a Luo he may have felt that he was impelled to support the movement of Kenyatta as a means of gaining support from the Kikuyu. Through his efforts numerous students and unionists have been brought to America. Under the Joseph Kennedy Foundation, airlifts accounted for several hundreds of students

brought to the United States to study.-139

The real problem in Kenya was to correlate the rate of political advance with the need for a stable government and the preservation and expansion of an economy on which the populace in Kenya are depended on.

III

Kenyatta

In 1952 Kenya was a land of corrosive fear. The winds of African nationalism had begun to blow across Kenya's lovely highlands. It was a land in where Europeans were fearful of change, of losing the rich farmland they had claimed as their own.-140 In an astounding turnabout, the man who nineteen years ago was convicted as mastermind of the Mau Mau is today regarded as the wise elder statesman of East Africa and a block against communism.-141

Kenyatta was born the son of a Kikuyu tribesman and grandson of a witch doctor. He was adopted by a church of Scotland mission at the age of ten; escaping from a deadly smallpox disease. They cured him, taught him English and carpentry and baptized him. As a child he was called Kamau wa Agengi. At the mission school, he was christened Johnstone Kamau. As a young man in Nairobi, he took to wearing a beaded belt known as a "mucibi wa kenyatta". The word "kenyatta" can be translated roughly as "decorative" or "handsome" and was soon being called Johnstone Kenyatta.-142 During his stay in England he dropped the Johnstone for Jomo.

139. "Transition in Kenya", The New Republic, May 29 1961, p.6.

140. Carl T. Kewan, "The Metamorphosis of Jomo Kenyatta", Reader's Digest, March 1966, p.119.

141. Ibid, p.119.

142. Ibid, p.114.

He spent seventeen years in Europe and many whites accused him of associating with a group of Marxist intellectuals, while studying at the London School of Economics and they looked upon his trips to Russia and his receiving financial backing from the Indian communists as being pro-communist. What is probably true is that, in seeking financial and moral support for the African causes he had to take whatever was available. Kenyatta urged that Kenyans should put their energies into hard work rather than tribal and racial animosities.

Kenyatta, in his hatred of white domination, became obsessed with the superiority of the tribal life, which he described in his anthropological study of the Kikuyu, "Facing Mount Kenya," with the curious and significant dedication. His obsession is believed to have led to his so-call encouragement of the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya and his own imprisonment. However, after his release, Kenyatta believed that revenge was a vicious circle that leads to the ever-widening conflicts. He wasted not one hour in expressions of bitterness towards the white man. "It is the future that is living", he said, "the past is dead".-143

A group of Indians with communist connections put up the money and legal help Kenyatta needed to travel to London and plead the Kikuyu case with the Britain's Colonial Secretary. The Indians, with a larger community in Kenya than the British, calculated that if Kenyatta could arrange some advantages for his people, they were bound to benefit as well. However, Kenyatta never got to see the Colonial secretary, instead he became involved with the League Against Imperialism.-144

143. Ibid, p.120.

144. This was a communist group which had headquarters in London. Lawrence Fellows, "Harambee" Says Kenyatta Let Us All Pull Together" The N.Y. Times Magazine, Nov. 7, 1965, p.112.

Jomo Kenatta, during his travels to Moscow, was given several introductions to communists when he looked up in Berlin and then to Hamburg where he played a minor role at the communist sponsored International Negro Workers' Congress. After eighteen months, Kenyatta's Indian backer tired of supporting him, he returned to Kenya in 1930, but only to return to London again in 1931.-145 His communist affiliations led some to believe that he was ready to transfer his communist ideals towards the Republic of Kenya. I tend to disagree because while Tanzania and Uganda made overtures to the East, Kenyatta did his best to strengthen Kenya's affiliation with the West. He did not see nonalignment achieved best by breaking all the old bonds.

In 1933 he spent four months of his journey in the Soviet Union learning a little more about the tactics of revolution. Then back to England where he had established himself as a symbol of African nationalism. Upon his return he led the demand for an elected African representation in the legislative council. He wanted African voters on the electoral rolls. He wanted all manifestations of color discrimination abolished and he wanted Africans back in the "Highlands" preserves. -146

145. Ibid, p. 112.

146. When Kenyatta was tried, the symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the African people was on trial too. To the ordinary African, Kenyatta was a chance to achieve political equality and human dignity. When he was convicted African hopes had diminished. Thousands of Kikuyu came to know the name of the man who was the symbol of their plight and donated what ever they could to keep the struggle alive. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (N.Y. Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962) p.75.

The colonial government was making no concessions and while Kenyatta was talking about constitutional alteration, many of his followers were taking sacred oaths to eliminate the white man, or to scare him into leaving the country. Mau Mau would not have had the success it did if the oath had not been so binding and if the believers in its power had not guarded its secrets so grudgingly from European and African alike.

Inevitably, Kenyatta was soon singled out by the government as the mastermind of Mau Mau movement and on October 20, 1952 he was arrested. As we have already seen in a previous chapter on Mau Mau, Kenyatta and his six colleagues were tried and convicted in a case that still remains a mockery of the British judicial system. They were tried under very harsh circumstances in a remote outpost at Kapenguria where they were given very little opportunity to prepare their defense and very little importance was attached to what they said in their defense. After his trial he was flown by airplane to Lokitaung, a tiny desert post in northern Kenya, for seven years of captivity.-147 When his sentence was completed, he was removed to Lodwar, in the remote north and he was given a little cottage and even an allowance with which to buy approved newspapers and books. From Lodwar he was eventually flown to Marabal, a mountain oasis closer to Nairobi, and then to Kiambu, which was his home district.-148

On August 15, 1961 Jomo Kenyatta was set free and a whole entire generation had grown to manhood without ever seeing Jomo Kenyatta. However, they accepted him as their leader of their country. He was to become a symbol of an emerging nation.

147. Lawrence Fellows, "Harambee! Says Kenyatta Let Us All Pull Together", The N.Y. Times Magazine, Nov. 7, 1965, p. 117.

148. Ibid, p. 117.

Examining all the available facts in the case one would imagine that the government's intention was to eliminate Kenyatta and his colleagues from Kenya politics with the apparent hope that, with Kenyatta and his followers removed from Kenya, there would be peace and a return to normalcy. They were looking for a Kenya where Europeans would continue to dominate the politics and the economy of Kenya, while Africans played a very lesser role.

There are several questions that Africans have asked themselves ever since the trial of Kenyatta: First: Why was there so little evidence against Kenyatta. When he was arrested the police took books, papers and files from his house and found nothing at all incriminating in them.¹⁴⁹ Was it possible that a popular figure could have lived such an intensive political life without showing any concrete signs of his Mau Mau connections. Second: What nationalist leader would stand up in public and in court and denounce the movement he was alleged to have led and organized. If the Kikuyu were behind Kenyatta because he was a Mau Mau, how could they ever trust him following his public denunciation in court. Thirdly: why was it that the best planned Mau Mau military operations occurred after Kenyatta's imprisonment.

The transformation of Kenyatta's reputation since the time when he was suspected of masterminding the Mau Mau rebellion, with its oath-taking and terrifying atrocities, was the most remarkable phenomenon in present-day Africa. Jomo Kenyatta was enigmatic, but he was also a true pragmatist.

149. Alan Rake, Tom Mboya Young Man of New Africa (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1962) p.75.

After Independence Day (Dec. 11, 1963,), he created a one-party state to transcend tribalism, and to build a national unity that would offer security and opportunity to Africans, Indians, Arabs and even Englishmen who were prepared to identify themselves with Kenya. -150 Kenyatta's outlook of a one-party system vs. two party system was: " We reject a blueprint of the Western model of a two party system of government because we do not subscribe to the nation of government and background being in opposition to one another; one clamoring for duties and the other crying for rights." He went on to say; " Nor are we prepared to justify our predilection for a one-party system of government by using the fragile argument that parties are the expression of social classes and that therefore there must be only one party.¹⁵¹ The theory of class struggle has no relevance to our particular situation here. In a one party state such as he envisioned politics was a potent tool. He believed that it was through their political institutions that they influence economic trends and not the other way around. Kenyatta wanted a nation impervious to the division which foreigners from East or West would be tempted to exploit.

Kenyatta's plans for the country was to create a prosperous semi-capitalist nation which would include the whites, Indians or Pakistanis providing that they became loyal Kenya citizens.- 152 He apparently wanted foreign capital, but whether Kenya can make it as a racially harmonious and mixed economy nation after Kenyatta's death will depend on whether the Kenyans approve of it or not, and on what happens in the rest of Africa.

150. Lawrence Fellows, "Harambee' Says Kenyatta Let Us All Pull Together", The N.Y. Times Magazine, Nov.7, 1965, p.117.

151. Ibid, p.120.

152. John Chamberlain, National Review, May 7, 1968, p.450.

Many people who declared democracy consist in having a two-party or three party system asked whether a country like Kenya or any of the African states would be able to maintain democracy after independence. Democracy, in their terms, involves maintaining western parliamentary institutions. Since independence began to explode through out Africa, thirty former European colonial territories have become sovereign and supposedly democratic states.-153 They are forced to live as nations although their loyalties and organization are tribal; torn by all the monstrous problems of backwardness and ignorance. Africa's new countries have found democracy far too difficult to live with.

By 1964 eighteen of the thirty former European colonial territories effectively eliminated the opposition and inaugurated one-party rule. -154. During this time Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta announced that he would ask Parliament for constitutional amendments that would make Kenya a one-party republic. If Parliament refused, he added, he would call a national referendum in November. Since his K.A.N.U. party represented the nation's two largest tribal groups there was little chance he would lose the referendum. -155

Kenyatta advocated hard work, which he believed was the way to keep the people out of the clutches of the young radicals. He believed that it was the way to political stability. He didn't want revenge instead he appealed successfully for all to forget and forgive past deeds on the attainment of independence. The maturity of Kenya people in general and the Kikuyu in particular has been proved by their willingness to forgive each other for whatever occurred during the bitter armed struggle.

153. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1963) p.34

154. Time, August 28, 1964, p.27.

155. Kenyatta did not have to worry about parliament to any great extent, which was elected only once in five years and where support for him was overwhelming. William I. Lineberry, Last Africa (N.Y., The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968), p.66.

Lesser people would have resorted towards revenge.

The cases of the Congo's Patrice Lumumba and Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta offered new proof that the least likely way to curtail a political legend is by imprisonment. On the contrary, a prison cell offers the political figure the state of martyrdom.- 156

Jomo Kenyatta had been out of political circulation for more than eight years. In these years he had never made a public political announcement and had had only indirect contact with Kenya's active political leaders. Lumumba was also in deep political trouble when President Kasavubu imprisoned him in 1960, thus removing him from all responsibility and assuring his symbolic position. The name of Lumumba had become a rallying point for militant nationalists all over Africa.

The belief was that Kenyatta, just like Lumumba, did not have to commit himself on any controversial issues and thus could be all things to all men. They had reached political stability and were the envy of all black political leaders in Africa.-157 Nobody actually knew what Kenyatta stood for in 1961, but one thing was certain, it would have been political suicide for any Kenya politician to have questioned Kenyatta's predominance. Jomo Kenyatta had long been accepted by Kenya Africans and by Africans elsewhere in East Africa as the rightful leader of Kenya.

Robert Cox, the author of "Kenyatta's Country" stated that Jomo Kenyatta's real achievement has been to almost literally reshape his country's collective attitude; which was once expressed in the militant rallying cry "uhuru" (freedom) and later "harambee" (pull together). The cries of "uhuru" ended with the gaining of freedom, but the call for "harambee" still exist today.

156. "From Jail to Power", the New Republic, February 6, 1961, p. 6.

157. Ibid, p. 9.

Chapter: VIII

Tribalism and Ethnic Problems

" The whisper of Kenyan unity could be heard. By uniting the country Kenyans saw economic advantages, greater security, more prestige and increased opportunity to transform international power relationship".-158

The basic question regarding Kenyan unity was not should there be unity, but rather, how shall unity be brought about and how fast. Every Kenyan politician had asserted his devotion to the ideal of an united Kenya. At the core of the controversy were the mechanics and extent of unification. There were two major approaches. One was political and the other was economic.

Paramount to each was the unchallengeable fact that, before unity could be achieved, those in position of authority must be convinced that their interests would be served by radically altering the established patterns of the Kenyans.-159

Kenya is a land of great variety; in physical features, climate, human types, economic development and political evolution. In Kenya you could move from a fully commercial agriculture to the poorest subsistence farming. As we had seen before, Kenya's main concentration of population were in the three widely separated centers; the Nombasa district, the highlands near Nairobi and the Nyanza province. Each area also had its own languages, tribes and economic problems.

158. William P. Lineberry, East Africa(N.Y. The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968), p.18.

159. Ibid, p.18.

It would be quite a task to unite them in a cohesive political unit, but such a government has emerged since independence and has been successful in lessening regional opposition. This has been illustrated by the effective existence of a one-party system.

Will the fifty odd tribes that make up the nation be able to work together? The scene is multiracial (Nairobi is 50 % Africans, 35 % Indians and 15 % Europeans-160). The omnipresence of tribalism can not be seen in Nairobi today.

Let us examine the plight of the Indians, white and black issues and ethnic problems: Tribalism was a distasteful word to the educated Africans. It suggested the atavistic fears and played a disproportionate role in the politics of new African nations. Tribalism was a key to many African problems. Elements of conflict were always present. Both the Kikuyus and Luos were constantly quarreling for control of the country's expanding wealth. Neither of the tribes nor any of the other tribes in Kenya brought their frustrations out in the open. - 161

Mr. Jay E. Hakes, instructor in Political Science at Duke University, illustrated some of the ironies to tribal conflict: First, it is facilitated by a factor associated with the mobility which makes possible inter-tribal contact and competition in urban areas.

160. John Chamberlain believes that multeracialism will be gone in a generation and that the Indians are on their way out or would be if they had any place to go. He basis his conclusion upon his interviews with the people. John Chamberlain, National Review, May 7, 1968, p.449.
161. The assassination of Tom Mboya had sparked open fighting. U.S. News'and World Report, July 21, 1969, p.10.

Second, the more success the government has in generating economic development, the more intense the competition for benefits. Conflicts occur between large tribes and the numerous smaller tribes. With their greater education and mobility, members of the larger tribes can take advantage of opportunities in land settlement and in business in less developed areas; where the members of the smaller tribes viewed them as invaders.¹⁶² This kind of conflict occurs in rural areas rather than urban settings. There are ironies to this kind of tribal conflict for entrepreneurship, normally valued as a spur to economic advancement and displayed in Kenya by the larger tribes, especially the Kikuyu, was a direct cause of much of the resentment expressed by the less developed tribes.

What exactly was this tribal problem? It was a two dimensional problem: The disaffection of the Luos and the domination of the Kikuyus. It seemed like a simple problem just from the hypothesis stated above. It would appear that the solution to the problem would be: the decline of Kikuyu domination would lead to a stable country, and the corollary, anti-Kikuyu feeling and the increase of Luo inspiration and loyalty to the government. However, the issues involved are much more complex than they appear.

The Kikuyus are the largest tribe in Kenya. They were aggressive, better educated and solidly behind the government and they had dominated independent Kenya.

162. Current History, March 1970, p.156.

Most Luos blamed the K.A.N.U., the Kikuyus and Kenyatta for his death and they all turned to support Odinga's K.P.U..

Michael Chaput and Ladislav Venya of Syracuse University's program of Eastern African Studies did a survey of the Kenya elite in 1967. In their study they concluded that the Kikuyu were prominent. They found that they had more inhabitants in Nairobi, more frequently employed by the government and the professions because of their better education. They were employed by private industry and teaching career, and as we seen before they were more widely represented in local and national government than all the other tribes. Because of their experience and their resourcefulness they were more adaptable to modern ways. One can definitely understand why tribal jeasously existed.

The Kikuyu were also very modern in their traditional way of thinking. Unlike many other African tribes, they honored a man with a great deal of status for what he has achieved rather than what his ancestors did. This is very important in order to achieve a strong sense of motivation among the tribesmen; which many of the other tribes lacked. "Procession is far more important than geneology"-167

Their ideology was that their society was more egalitarian and not authoritarian. There was a great deal of social mobility and competition among the kikuyus. Mr. Meisler compares them to the Ibos of Nigeria; " People like the Kikuyus and the Ibos are quick to adopt new ways if they feel the changes will bring them the wealth that is so admired in their societies."-168

167. Stanley Meisler, Foreign Affairs, Vol.49, NO.1, Oct. 1970, p118

168. Stanley Meisler, Foreign Affairs, Vol.49, NO.1, Oct. 1970, p118

For example, if they believed that Christianity and education and new modern procedures could lead to positions, they would be willing to accept them all. The Kikuyus, like the Ibos of Nigeria, were true pragmatist.

The Kikuyus come from the fertile land of Kenya where the climate is excellent. They also benefited from their close contact with the white settlers; for the whites settled on their territory, therefore they had no problem adjusting to modern methods. The problem was that most of the other tribes were quite content with their inherited status and applied new ways only with pessimistic dignity.

To anyone concerned with African unity, tribalism presented one of the major problems. In Kenya it was not just a problem of different tribes living within the countries boundary, but people of different races; sometimes having nothing in common except their color. This was a land of virtually none existing homogeneity.

Kenya consisted of Hamitic, Nilotic, Somali, and Bantu people full of years of embedded hostility towards one another. There were probably nine million Africans in Kenya by 1965 of diverse origins, traditions and even languages.-169 Many of these tribes had resented the minority role that they were forced to play in the country and they were also quite apprehensive about being ruled by a tribe that they had always hated; the Kikuyus.

169. In all the years of British containment their language never penetrated too deeply, but used for official use only. However, Swahili, a Bantu based language, and English was one of Kenyatta's instruments to help forge unity on the country. Lawrence Fellows, The N.Y. Times Magazine, November 7, 1965, p.117.

Can you turn an indolent, cattle-loving, illiterate, easygoing and suspicious tribesman into an industrious, steady-going, intelligent and meticulous worker. Even the Luo tribesmen was obstinate and inclined to be sullen and suspicious. So it comes with little surprise that the Luo tribesman put up the stiffest resistance to the forward march of progress in the agricultural field.

Much money and skill had been put into the land in the European areas, while, only recently has any money and effort been devoted to improving the African area. "The government can show them how to get a bit of flesh back on its bones and how to nourish it, but in the long run they can't force its owners to treat it right".-170 The government's view was that agriculturalists were technicians who cared deeply for the land. They had discovered the techniques of reclaiming their land and had shown the tribes how they can begin to raise their standards of living. However, to dissolve the rigid and profound grip of poverty on these regions appeared almost impossible, and yet, although the country could not grow rich, cattle was able to thrive on it.

The problem was not a technical one, but one of social and political pandemonium. In 1931, the largest occupational white group was in agriculture but were already being overtaken by government service and commerce. In 1948, out of the total gainfully employed, only twenty-three per cent were agriculture and fishing. Government service, commerce, the professions and clerical occupations together accounted for over sixty-two per cent of the European population. Nevertheless, in spite of the small numbers of people involved in farming, the land question continued to be of immense importance in Kenya politics.-171.

170. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (N.Y. The Wilson Co., 1968), p. 33.

171. Ibid, p. 31.

while the white still prospered as farmers, alienation of the former "White Highlands" formed the basis of race segregation in Kenya, just as the "Land Apportionment Act" did in Southern Rhodesia.-172

It made Nairobi primarily a non-African town and squeezed the Kikuyus between two sectors of European land; into increasing overcrowded reserve. It helped to sustain the Mau Mau rebellion and had resulted in exceedingly uneven economic development. If you could overlook the people you are you are dealing with and to treat the entire region as it should be treated; by dividing it into segments, the people would benefit and prosper. The Russians and Chinese would enact such a policy, but if you believe in individual rights you could not even contrive such a plan.

There existed positive contributions of tribalism as well as negative. Tom Mboya believed it was unwise to destroy the African structure on interdependence within the community, particularly at this stage of economic emancipation with many more Africans moving into the "money economy". "There is," he stated, "inherent generosity within a tribe or clan. From the moment a child is born, he is virtually the property of the whole clan. He is expected to serve everybody and also to receive from everybody." Tribalism as a positive aspect provides the discipline, self-reliance and stability needed in the new relations. There is, however, the negative forms of tribalism which everyone is concerned with and which is most harmful in Africa.

The individual who tries to live completely within the confines of his tribe, the Luo who believes nothing beneficial could come from the other tribes or continuously protects a man merely because he is a fellow Luo, and the Kikuyu who believes that it is suitable to meet only other Kikuyu

and to disregard merits and abilities in other people only because they do not belong to their tribe. This is negative tribalism which can not allow for and cope with unity.-173

In Kenya one could witness the constant fighting among the tribes: The Masai used to quarrel with the kikuyus either for cattle or women and the Luo had boundary clashes with the Kisu tribemen. Throughout Kenya, and also true with most of Africa, politicians felt much more comfortable with political-office holders from the same tribe and therefore had the tendency of voting that way in elections, or in offering promotions in civil servant jobs.-174

The colonial powers may have withdrawn, but the inheritance of colonialism has still to be fought; in the shape of poverty, ignorance and disease. The British wanted the Africans to change the local government system drastically and turn it into the British fashion. The British were the first to use tribal authorities, such as in Ghana and Uganda, as an instrument in their own administration, but when independence came they were also the first to criticize the continuance of such authorities.-175

" In Kenya, a place where a handful of white residents lived in a country of millions of Africans, the society was experimenting with multeracialism."-176 It was a system that the white government of nearby Rhodesia had previously rejected when it seceded from Britain. In theory, Kenya people; white, African, Arab and Asians, are all equal.

173. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown and Co. 1963), p.65.

174. Tribalism was one of the basic differences between the K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. and perhaps was the origin of their differences. K.A.N.U. conceded that tribal separation existed but could be eliminated by wise leadership and positive action.

175. op. cit., p.67.

176. Albert J. Meyers, "Whites in Kenya: What's Their Fate?", U.S. News and World Report, Feb. 14, 1966, p.82.

In reality, what was happening was a steady retreat by the white man who had lived and worked there for years. The question that was probably in everyone's mind was whether a white minority could survive in a country dominated by backward and primitive Africans.

Economic problems were mounting as farm production, basis to Kenya's national income, dropped. Government and other services were deteriorating and political failure was due to strike. In the years just before independence Kenya's white population was 67,000 and by 1966 it had dwindled to 40,000 while the number of Africans reached nine million. -177 Some whites since independence had lost their jobs and their homes, and others unable to adjust to living under an African government had quit and left the country. On the other extreme, many were willing to live and work with their black neighbors.

Most uncertain were Kenya's white farmers for, in the years just before independence, much of Kenya's most fertile lands was reserved for whites and they produced more than 80 % of Kenya's cash crops, and about 70 % of the country's foreign-exchange earnings was derived from the sale of farm products grown by the white settlers.-178 The generations, the colony had been home to the white settlers. Many had known no other. What was in store for them when the Africans take over?

The real test for the white man in a black country was to be the coming of independence in Kenya.

II

" Hello have you sold your farm yet". At one time this was the standard greeting whenever white settlers met.

177. Ibid, p.82.

178. Ibid. p.82.

The "White Highlands" were white because since 1939 only Kenya's 60,000 European population had been allowed to lease farms there.-179 For an African farmer who wanted to move into the "Highlands" would first have to get financing, then he would have to find a European farmer who was willing to sell his lease to a non-white, and finally he would have to make a convincing demonstrating of his agricultural know-how to an area control board; which was dominated by European settlers. -180 This was quite typical of our modern day segregation found throughout the United States.

The blacks wanted a redistribution plan for the "white highlands"; while the whites raised the protest that they too were being discriminated against. They believe it was unfair to open the "Highlands" to Africans when white farmers were not permitted to purchase any of the thousands of fertile acres lying unused in the African tribal reserves. Why were the whites leaving the land who for many were the only homes they knew?

There were numerous reasons: The white man was being set against the black man and the black tribes against black tribes. White men were again being forced to carry weapons and uncertainty over the white man's future in Kenya existed in the "highlands" region.

179. A state of affairs that has constituted a perennial political and psychological affront to the colony's 6,000,000 Africans. "Opening the Highlands", Times, October 26, 1959, p.26.
180. There was one limitation on the area control board; any African or Asian who suspected that his application had been refused on racial grounds could appeal to a central control board composed of Asians, Africans and Europeans in equal number. Ibid, p.26.

Many feared the return of the Mau Mau. Some of their fears were justified, for as the tension mounted, by the attacks on whites began to increase. The "highlands" were considered a perfect location because of its forest, plains and wild animals and rich virgin soil.

Some believed that the cause was "Uhuru", an African word translated to mean independence. For Kenya it meant that a black government would soon take over from the British administrations a country predominantly black and would also mean a country in which the minority population sustained more than ninety per cent of the wealth and in where the whites would be living under black jurisdiction.

This was a country that contained fifty-two different tribes living in mud huts, spoke different languages and were constantly fighting amongst each other. It was a country in where out of the 6.5 million black Kenyans, approximately 2,000 had achieved some education which was in most cases the equivalents of an American grammar-school education. They had only trained just 23 physicians, 7 lawyers and 1 certified accountant. -181 The white man feared expropriation of his land and the loss of his job as independence grew nearer. This was Kenya's predicament on the eve of independence.

III

Kenya was scheduled to obtain her independence, for she was moving closer and closer to that day. The British were preparing to leave Kenya as she did in Ghana, Nigeria, and Sieria Land. Their imminent departure, however, was creating many problems. They knew that Kenya would soon be under black supremacy or rule.

181. "Terror in Kenya- The Mau Mau are back", U.S. News and World Report, July 24, 1961, p.66.

The white man saw themselves being engulfed in a society of black African. They saw the results as being an atmosphere full of fear, desponding and hopelessness. The whites visualized their future in black Africa drawing to an end and they feared that Kenya would become another Congo. Their fears motivated the white farmers, in the Highlands, to seek a means in order to sell out and to leave Kenya. Many fled to South Africa.-182

The white businessmen were also closing their doors and capital was fleeing from Kenya at the rate of 2.8 million doolars per month. - 183 The white settlers not only feared economic cataclysm, but also for their lives. There was also widespread criticism of the United States government, which was accused of having forced the British into getting out of their African colonies much too soon. They blamed the United States for their pressing too hard for independence of African countries, and they accused Britain for yielding to the pressure. Many whites declared that the British had sold them out.-184

In 1960 nearly six hundred business firms in the cities of Nairobi and Mombasa had failed. Economic depression was being brought on ny the uncertainty of the white man's fate in Kenya. Sales of farm machinery and most of the other farm items were on the decline for the farmers didn't want to buy equiptment when they knew that they might soon have to abandon everything. Unemployment was growing steadily and many whites hated Kenyatta.-185

Many questions arose; one of them was whether African leaders realized what Kenya's whites meant to the country's economic existence?

182. Ibid, p. 71.

183. Ibid, p. 66.

184. Ibid, p. 73.

185. Later, these same people that hated Kenyatta were only to love and respect him. Ibid, p. 73.

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184. Ibid, p. 73.

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The white settlements helped by filling a vacuum and by building the colony of Kenya, but they also created the political, social and economic problems which the people of Kenya now are facing.

In the years before the First World War settlement made fair progress. The problems were dreadful, for everything related to agriculture had to be learned through the trial and error procedure. The First World War hit Kenya just when her economy was starting to increase. The war caused progress in the country to stop for at this time the European population was about 3,000 in all. This included government officials, women and children. Of the 3,000, 1,700 served on the armed forces, therefore there were only a bare minimum population that remained in Kenya to maintain some type of government and to preserve the farms. - 186

Between 1928 and 1933 the price of Kenya's export crops fell to a third or a half of their previous value. The Depression was a hard setback followed by years of slow recovery until the outbreak of the Second World War, when thousands of settlers, again, joined the British forces in fighting the war. It wasn't until the later years of the war when Kenya was to witness a margin of profit again being restored to the farmers.-187

Since the Second World War Kenya's economy had begun to make rapid progress which lasted until the outbreak of Mau Mau revolt in 1952; which imposed an immeasurable financial burden upon the country and its people. Its whole economy was dependant on the land.

186. M.F. Hill, Foreign Affairs, July 1960, p. 640.

187. Ibid, p.640

L.H. Brown, Acting Director of Agriculture in 1960, believed that if all the land in Kenya were in African hands its productivity would be much lower than it was in the hands of the whites. -188 Kenya, as we have seen, depends on world conditions for its prosperity.

The traditional differences between African and Western property titles is that ownership of land in Africa is vested with the father or the eldest member of the family or clan instead of with the individual. With the Kikuyu this was starting to change, but the old sense of tribal and family loyalty remained. African tradition was tribal and the tribe, though a social collectivity, wasn't a state. The Kikuyus had a definite property sense.-189 Land is now bought and sold in the open market and put up for security when a loan was sought, but the concurrence of the family elder was still traditionally needed for a sale.

The communist's ideals of government owning the means of production would never have been accepted by the Kikuyu tribe . . . According to John Chamberlain, an author for National Review, he stated that: " even the Israeli type of 'Kibbutz' (where farm lands and property are vested in a producer-cooperative collectivity), would hardly go down with the Kikuyu or any other Kenya tribes; if the 'Kibbutz' itself did not happen to be a family or clan affair.-190

188. M.F. Hill, Foreign Affairs, July 1960, p. 642.

189. John Chamberlain, National Review, May 7, 1968, p.451.

190. Ibid, p.451.

This is pattern that makes for family and clan freedom, or what has been described as " tribal individualism."-191 It is a pattern that is perfectly compatible with farm marketing cooperations, or collective groups ownership of such things as tractors, but the pattern would resist state expropriation of its land.

Kenya was unique from the other black African countries which had achieved independence for she had a larger number of white settlers living on the land and contributing practically to all of the country's economy. However, by 1960 its white population in the Highlands had decreased by 4,000 which was approximately 10 % of the white farmers. The African population, however, was increasing at the rate of 2.25 per cent a year; and by 1961 it had increased by 114,000, or almost doubled the total number of Europeans living in Kenya before the great white exodus began. - 192 It was not only the white farmers who were leaving: Business and professional men, administrators, executives and managerial people were giving up. White-collar workers, craftsmen, transport and communication workers also left.

The whites feared land confiscation because the Africans charged that the Europeans confiscated the land that originally belonged to the black tribes. The blacks claimed that the European settlers did not pay for the land and promised to take the land by violence if necessary.

191. Ibid, p.451

192. Albert Meyers, "Where The White Man Has No Future", U.S. News and World Report, August 6, 1962, p. 71.

As a result of this farm values had decreased below fifty per cent of what they were worth in 1959. In 1959 the white farms in Kenya were valued at a total of 340 million dollars and by August 1962 farms valued at 60,000 dollars were being sold for 15,000 dollars.-193 Many farmers couldn't find buyers. The white society of Kenya was surrounded by an atmosphere of pessimism. Many were willing to stay and fight for their land and others demanded that the British government, who they blamed for being there, purchase the land according to the 1959 prices and leases it back to them as tenants; thus granted them the option to purchase it back if the situation improved.- 194.

The Land Settlement Board Government purchased land from the white farmers and resold it in small areas to the Africans. However, the existing fears of African farmers returning to subsistence farming; in which they would produce solely for themselves or the tribe rather than contributing to the country's economy, the way the European farmers have done.-195

Kenya, unlike many other African countries, has no rich mineral resources to be tapped in developing its economy. It depends largely on its fertile soil to raise crops that can be sold abroad. Since independence, the Kenya government had been carrying out a policy of replacing white farmers with African. As of 1968 only about nine hundred white farm families remained. -196

194. Ibid, p. 72.

195. At Egerton College in 1962, an agricultural school supported by the Kenya government, by the Rockefeller Foundation and by the U.S. foreign-aid funds and affiliated with West Virginia University. From this school graduates would go out to teach Africans how to run the farms. Ibid, p.72

196. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (New York, The N.W. Wilson Co., 1968), p.140.

some farmers in the area northwest of Nairobi had been plagued by hordes of African squatters, who moved onto the white farms, grow a few crops of their own and refuse to leave. Many farmers have had their cattle stolen. Also Britain soon had to recommend a slowdown in the policy of buying out white farmers and replacing them with Africans. Funds that was financed by the World Bank and the British Commonwealth Development Fund were soon running short.-197

Officially the Kenya government opposed the slowdown plan, but there was some evidence that the African government was seeking a means in which to move much slower. The transition period was having some bad effects on the economy. Kenya's rate of growth was not up to expectations. This was seen as due, in part at least, to economic losses stemming from the changeover from efficient farming by the whites to less efficient farming by the blacks.-198

The country's economy grew by 2 per cent during 1965, against a 4 per cent prediction. At the same time, Kenya's population kept increasing by 3 per cent every year. Under these conditions, Kenya kept falling behind instead of moving forward. Also losses in the changeover in farm ownership had been aggravated by droughts, drops in world prices in Kenya's products, plus a plague of crops diseases. Farm revenue fell from 155 million dollars in 1964 to 140 million dollars by 1965. Coffee output in 1965 decreased from 43,5000 tons to 36,000 tons. Production of tea, sisal and pyrethrum, and other major exports also diminished. Corn, Kenya's staple food and normally an export crop had to be imported from the United States.-199

197. Ibid, p.141.

198. Ibid, p.141.

199. Ibid, p.141.

The Kenya government is looked upon by American diplomatic officials as a friend of the West. It encourages private enterprise, condemns communism and counts primarily on Britain and the United States to provide the help needed to develop the country. The white population, who at one time despised Kenyatta, now looked upon him as the best chance they've got. Many whites are frightened about the uncertainty of who could possibly replace Kenyatta.

As of 1968, the Kenya government had only one white minister; a South African by origin, who headed the Agriculture department. In the civil service some 1,500 white men still held important jobs; their salaries were being paid by the British government. However, they feel that after trained Africans are available they will be replaced.-200

In the business world, practically, all top jobs were held by white men or Asians. Many companies, under pressure of the government, had given jobs to Africans. Blacks were now serving on the board of directors of white companies. Others had high-sounding titles, but little responsibilities. Even the principal hotels in Mombasa now have Africans holding top positions.-201 Without the aid from abroad Kenya would have had little chance of succeeding. Besides paying the wages of British civil servants, Britain pumped an annual sum into the national budget; provided the money to build roads, schools and hospitals and paid the education fees for hundreds of Kenya students in Britain.

200. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (New York, The E.W. Wilson Co., 1968), p.143.

201. Ibid., p.143.

The United States also put a great deal of money into Kenya(42 million in grants since 1948). Americans teaching in Kenyan schools have their salaries paid for by the United States government and United States businessmen are looking much more favorable upon Kenya as a place in which to invest. Up to the present, Kenya's white population believes they can live here without any serious trouble or have the problems that had existed in the Congo. Kenya, for all its problems, strikes a visitor as having a good chance, under its present government, of keeping racial minorities from being completely submerged in a sea of black Africans.

IV

Indian Exile

" Now on the eve of Kenya's full independence, the Indians were leaving. Many were not sure where they would go, but all believed that soon the 'Africanization' of Kenya and all of East Africa would leave them no means of making a living." Although 70 per cent of them had been born in Africa, they could no longer call Kenya their home.- 202

Approximately four hundred thousand Asians applied for visas for India, Pakistan, Britain, or wherever they could find refuge. Fifteen hundred Indians and Pakistani civil servants; who resigned from East Africa Common Service Organization which represented workers for the railways, postal services and customs were the first to leave. Long established Asian owned companies were in the process of replacing Asian workers with black Africans in order to obtain a desirable position with the new government.-203

202. "East Africa: Exodus, 1963., Newsweek, November 18, 1963, p.50.

203. Ibid., p.50.

Other jobs, ranging from bank clerks to company directors, were coming under African control; whose color or connections were considered much more important than their education or experience background. For the Asians the alternative given to them was to leave or to remain and become citizens after Independence Day, thus having to give up their British or Indian passports. They could not be both African and Asian. Dual citizenship could not be allowed.

In Kenya, as well as Uganda and Tanzania, the Indians had been under pressure from the government to "Africanize", to find some quick way of handing over their long domination of commerce to the Africans or to suffer the anger of the people or authorities, or perhaps both. The government wanted to end the domination of retail trade by the Indian community and a massive drive began against the Asian and and by 1968, 20,000 left the country.-204

The Kenyan government held secret hearings on a bill aimed at speeding the pace of Africanization in commerce. Tom Mboya warned that unless the Indians opened up their businesses a serious situation would arise and it did for for thousands of Indians were being expelled from Kenya in 1968. The government also ordered some one thousands Asian traders to close their businesses by June 1970.-205

204. Lawrence Fellow, The N.Y. Times Magazine, Feb. 19, 1967, p.25.

205. Current History, March 1970, p.185.

Many Africans will point to the fact that, although the Asians and white men wanted to stay in Kenya and prosper in their own endeavors, how many Europeans and Asians were willing to apply for citizenships. The figures in Tanzania, so often held up as a mode of race relations, were not very convincing. After nearly one year of independence, only forty Europeans and twenty-five hundred Asians had applied for citizenships. -206 This must have led Africans to doubt the sincerity of immigrants who continually talked about being Tanzanians. The same situation was occurring in Kenya.

They wanted to be both Europeans and Asian and at the same time maintain their privileges in Kenya. However, dual citizenship was not going to be accepted by the Kenyans. It would not aid Kenyan societies to integrate quickly because many would contain themselves from considering themselves as being part of one single nation. Thus if an European or Asian insisted on retaining a dual citizenship, Africans were apt to think that that individual says he is a Kenyan but is really trying to pressure an emergency exist which the black man in Kenya was not sanctioned to do.207

Another problem that existed during the process of nation building was how long the policy of "Africanization" should continue and how soon could it be substituted by a plan whose criteria would be judged on merits alone and not the color of one's skin.-208

206. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1963), p. 105

207. Ibid, p. 105.

208. Ibid, p. 108.

The problems of citizenship along with the problems of social integration and the problems of re-establishing a status quo of the races, which was unlevelled during the colonial period, had to be settled. However, any African state which wants to obtain a truly loyal and disciplined public service will insist that the important positions will have to be controlled by Africans; especially during the early transitions of the country. Even the freedom of the press in a new country has, therefore, got to be limited or controlled because the African leaders are trying hard to create unity and they soon become very sensitive to anyone who appears to act as though he constituted opposition and did nothing but criticize the government's efforts.- 209

The new states were gaining their independence during a period of time when great tension existed in the East-West struggle, and the dangers of this struggle towards the integrity of a new state had to be forced right away. Therefore they had to watch their own image and not commit themselves to world issues. Kenyatta's idea of nonalignment was not as it was elsewhere in Africa. His idea was isolation from sensitive points in the cold war (East and West), where they did not affect Kenya. He wouldn't make any pronouncements; such as towards the American involvement in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic. Yet, he did demand stronger measures from the British against Rhodesia, which he felt involved his country.-210

209. Ibid, p.98.

210. Lawrence Fellows, "Harambee 'Says Kenyatta Let's All Pull Together", The N.Y. Times Magazine, November 7, 1965, p. 119.

For most of the world's new states, foreign policy is of secondary importance. Of necessity, domestic considerations take precedence. The chief foreign policy concern of Africa has been, and still is, the anticolonial struggle. East-West competition touches on this issue, but to Africans it is not their primary interest. The cold war is important to African governments only to the extent that it affects and could be used for their own means.

African leaders have often been critical of the overseas press. One of the dangers in the overseas' paper is its tendency to judge each African nation and every African leader in the context of East-West power politics. Too many journalists deplore Africans as either being pro-West or pro-East.-211

One traveling in Kenya in the 60's would have sensed a feeling of insecurity laced with bitterness underlying with tension and uncertainty. While tribal problems filled the newspapers in 1969, economic problems continued; including land settlement, unemployment and rural development problems. Although Kenya has achieved great economic and social progress in her eight years of independence, many problems were not amenable to easy or fast.

The Europeans also deserve credit, for although after independence the races had made some sacrifices in order to achieve harmonious co-existence and the fact that the African government deserves some credit for its own restraint and the restraint it had over the African community, for it is not easy to relinquish power, but those that decided to stay had done so with grace and dignity.-212

211. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown Co.,1963), p. 99.

212. Paul Crane, "Kenya's Achievement", America, August 29, 1964, p. 216.

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211. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After(Boston, Little Brown Co.,1963), p. 99.

212. Paul Crane,"Kenya's Achievement",America, August 29, 1964, p. 216.

Paul Crane, the author of an article in America called "Kenya's Achievement", believed that without the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta the country might still be in complete turmoil today. His approach to his country's problems was healthily pragmatic and free from doctrinaire prejudice, which could have wrecked its future in a matter of weeks.

In Kenyatta's speech at Nakuru, some weeks before independence, he gave encouragement for the European farming community who stayed; that all would live in peace.-213 Kenyatta, intelligent and shrewd, was fully aware of the importance to his country of European farmer's contributions. He was determined to make sure that the farmers would not be driven off his land.

The number of jobs are increasing because of the expansion of the economy and the "Africanization" programs. However, although new jobs are being created, they attract even more jobseekers to the cities and thus aggravate rather than alleviate the unemployment problem. The government has also committed itself to a policy of rural development. In its most dramatic implementation of this policy (January 1963), the government began to require that the two main urban centers; Nairobi and Mombasa, transfer half their receipts from the graduated personal tax to the county councils in order to stimulate development in the rural areas.-214

213. Ibid, p. 216.

The Europeans have a place in Africa, just as the Negro have a right to live in America. In the U.S. the Negro is battling for political, economic and social equality and in many parts of Africa, the Europeans are fighting to retain their privileged status. Tom Mboya, "Do White Men Have a Future in Kenya" The N.Y. Times Magazine, December 8, 1963, p.24.

214. Current History, March 1970, p.156.

Jay E. Hakes, instructor in Political Science, Duke University, declared that related to these economic problems are two factors with important political ramifications: First, on every issue the government is confronted with the people's rising expectations, which are difficult to satisfy and sometimes even contradictory. Second, there was a large gulf between a relatively small elite of Europeans, Asians and Africans and the mass of the people. " All members of Parliament were part of the elite because of their relatively high incomes. The issues of elitism and wealthy politicians emerged as public disputes in 1969." -215

It can be argued that the gaps between the rich and the poor and between the expectations and the performances are more basic problems than tribalism in Kenya. The ministers and assistant ministers received gratuities (usually large sums received upon retirement), while there were people dying of disease throughout the entire country.- 216

Of Africa's importance, there can be no doubt, it has grown and will continue to grow beyond recognition. Its past backwardness can be overcome by modern methods. The British administration dealt with Kenya's land problems. Land consolidation provided the African farmers with some security.

215. Ibid, p. 156.

216. Ibid, p. 156.

The establishment of the Land Board, for the purchase of certain tracts of European farmland, has done much to satisfy the wants of the Kikuyu for land of their own. However, the problem remained that the solution was not for the Africans to acquire more land, but rather to help them learn to use it to the best advantage. Experts believed that the real answer to Kenya's race problem was to expand the economy and thus take the pressure off the land problem.²¹⁷ This is just what is occurring in Kenya today.

The political leaders believed that by making racial cooperation work in Kenya they would undoubtedly stimulate the hope of a multi-racial society existing in the rest of Africa where black domination was feared by the white population. However, this remains to be seen.

By 1969 a genuine multiracial state was in the making with 40, 000 whites and some 100,000 Asians working together with nearly ten million black Africans.²¹⁸ However, the road ahead is still a hazardous one for there still remains the question of the succession of Jomo Kenyatta. Few will risk a guess as to who will succeed him.

217. Frederick C. Painton, "Where Whites Are Wanted, But...", U.S. News and World Report, December 23, 1963, p.46.

218. Information the Kenya Mission To The United Nation's

Chapter IX:

More Problems

Somalia ever since independence in 1960 has been trying to turn itself into "Greater Somalia", thus claiming title and sending raiders into the North-East frontiers of Kenya- 218 The Somali problem presented one of the most immediate dangers to Kenya's security. The land that they fought over was an area larger than England and Wales combined.-219

Kenya's tall Somali tribesmen have traditionally wandered free, grazing their sheep, goats and cattle and praying to "Allah". The Somali guerrillas, known as "shiftas"(bandits), were in revolt against the government of Kenya and received backing from the Republic of Somalia.-220

The Somalis argued that much of Kenya's eastern and northeastern provinces, where the Ogaden and other Somali tribes have traditionally grazed their cattle, was really part of Somalia. They were angry when Kenya received this territory from Britain as part of its independence agreement. -221

The shiftas techniques were to ambush army patrols, planting road mines and abducting and torturing of village headmen. Their raids, as recorded, have killed at least 645 civilians for not cooperating with them, but by 1967 the Kenyan government had been successfully fighting back.-222

219. " Kenya: War in the Desert", Newsweek, July 25, 1966, p.46.

220. John Barnes, Newsweek, September 11, 1966, p.46.

221. The independence constitution of 1963 divided the country into seven regions and the Nairobi. One region(north-east) was unofficially claimed by Somalia as part of "Greater Somalia". The majority of the people of this region were Somalis. William P. Lineberry, East Africa p.30.

222. op., cit., p. 46.

218. They also sent raiders to the Ogaden plains of Ethiopia and parts of French Somaliland. Newsweek, July 25, 1966, p.46.

The word " shifta" to the Somalia meant raiding and bandity which has always been a way of life to them. The Somalis were among Africa's toughest warriors; able to go for days without water, and believed that they were too superior to be ruled by the Kenyan government.-223

In 1962, when the two hundred thousand Somalis in Kenya stressed a desire to join the neighboring Somali Republic, Kenyatta urged any Somali who didn't want to live as a Kenyan citizen to move to Somalia. The shifta rebels responded violently with raids on the Kenyan police, army posts, village stores and government offices .-224

Before the new pacification program began in 1967, many of the rebels tended their herds in the day and roamed the contry-side terrorizing its inhabitants at night. The revolt had the complete support of Mogadishu, the capital of the Somali Republic. -225 No government that failed to press for unification of all Somalis could expect to survive in Mogadishu.

By 1966 thousands of Somalis have been herded into fortified villages known as " manyattas", which were located at a safe distance from the Somalia border. In these " Manyattas" they were quickly registered, issued grazing permits and required to come home every night . Once they were settled in these villages, the Somalis began to benefit from institutions unknown in their traditional way of life. -226

Jomo Kenyatta's government allotted money for the for the security and pacification effort and had done a

223. John Barnes, Newsweek, September 11, 1967, p.46.

224. Ibid, p.48.

225. The Shiftas that have been captured have admitted to being trained and armed in Somalia. Their flag bears a five-pointed white star. Two points of that star represented British and Italian Somaliland whose unification in 1960 created the republic, while the other three served as a constant reminder that the Somali inhabitants of Kenya, Ethiopia and French Somaliland have yet to be incorporated into the fatherland. Ibid, p.48.

a lot to upgrade the nomads lives'; such as schools, health centers and marketing cooperatives. Taking advantages of the amnesty offered to them, by Kenyatta, many of them surrendered and many had been intrusted with positions in the army and police department, and by 1967 approximately eighty per cent of the Somalia residents in Kenya had been relocated in fourteen "manyattas", but there still exist the possible continuation of the war as long as Mogadishu continues to have hope of creating a Greater Somalia.-227

II

East Africa today offers grounds for encouragement. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda by 1968 had restored their common market and extended their economic cooperation and integration inside a New East African Community. In addition, Kenya and neighboring Somalia (as seen before) have agreed to restore peace and security along their disputed borders, and Zambia and Ethiopia and Somalia have each expressed interest in associating themselves with the newly formed economic community. -228

In Kenya the legacy of colonialism is being overcome and the white man in Kenya today is far better off than the black man under "apartheid" in South Africa. They gained independence from British colonial rule in 1963 and the path before them was far from smooth. The uncertainties

226. Ibid, p.46.
227. President Kenyatta cordored off one-third of the country and alloted 8.4 million dollars a year on security operations. Ibid, p.48.
228. William P. Lineberry, East Africa(N.Y.The H.W. Wilson Co., 1968), p.3. In 1968 at the Organization of African Unity Conference at Kinshas in the Congo, representatives of Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia talked about setting their border differencies peacefully.

numerous, but the whites and blacks are more tolerant of each other. However trouble was still to come.

Kenya's trouble began with the assassination of Tom Mboya, the Minister of Economic Planning and Development and the General Secretary of the ruling Kenya African National Union."He was one of the rare African politicians who tried to stand above tribe."-229

The aftermath of the murder of Tom Mboya has mocked what he stood for. Mboya, who seemed to represent all that was modern in Africa to the rest of the world, always shunned the appeals to tribal allegiance that have crumbled political stability elsewhere in Africa.- Stanely Meisler , Nation August 11, 1969

His followers were chiefly derived from the mass of urban workers feeling for a moder way of survival. Yet his liquidation unchained profound tribal repugnance. There was enough tribal hatred to tear the country apart. Kenya, final reaching a state of stability, had by 1969 turned into Africa's newest danger spot. For much of the last half of 1969, Kenya seemed as if it was due to be another Nigeria or Congo in the making. -230

Western observers were especially concern with the fact that unrest in the country came at a time when much of Northest Africa was unstable: The Sudan had a new leftist government, and Ethiopia was confronted with an uncertain future after aging Emperor Haile Selassie left his throne.-231

229. Stanley Meisler, Atlantic, March 1970, p.26.

230. U.S. News and World Report, July 21, 1969, p.10.

231. Ibid, p.10.

He was indifferent, tough and superior and that frightened or exasperated many of his colleagues.-234

Now, at stake was a country of 10.5 million people who have modeled the white settler's economy with true perfection that Kenya had obtained one of the highest economic growth rates in black Africa. She had fertile soil and good farmers unlike any other African country. Its wildlife was incredible and has made Kenya the tourist center of black Africa.-235. However, all this was now being menaced, once again, by the instability inherent in tribalism. One must remember that the key to the future of Kenya was to keep the country's tribes from fighting amongst each other, for if tribalism is contained Kenya's prospects will be good.

Kenyatta, after the assassination, had to carefully deal with the turmoil aroused by Mboya's death. On July 24, 1969, he appointed Joseph Odera Jowi, a Luo and close friend to Mboya, to succeed Mboya as Minister of Economic Planning and Development. He then named another Luo to take Odera Jowi's place as minister representing Kenya on the East African Community. Kenyatta later picked a third Luo as assistant minister for Foreign Affairs, but to appease Luo feelings the government had to start appointing more Luos to positions in the civil service.-236

The assassination for Kenya was the loss of one of her most articulate spokesman and ablest political strategists. Kenya also felt the loss of his technical and organizational skills.-237

234. Ibid, p.107.

235. Foreign Affairs, Volume-49 NO.1, October 1970, p.112

236. Stanley Meisler, Nation, August 11, 1969, p.107.

237. Mboya was widely accepted as the true administrator of the government. Though he had many enemies, he was generally regarded as competent and professional. He was very popular in the West and he was viewed as the one man who could have smoothed the transition, for when Kenyatta would step out of power. U.S. News and World Report, July 21, 1969, p.110.

The assassination crystalized tribal antagonism, especially those between Luo and Kikuyu. At the funeral stones were thrust upon Kenyatta's presidential limousine. At the time of his death, Mboya's chance of succeeding Kenyatta as president seemed slim. His path was blocked by an alliance between the young Kikuyu politicians and Vice President Daniel arap Moi, a member of the small Kalenjin tribe.-238

Stanley Meisler, African correspondent of the "Los Angeles Times" and author of the article in Nation, reiterated that in 1962, Mboya told him, "There is no doubt that the young Kikuyu intellectuals are against me." The problem was that there was no second man to Kenyatta whom they saw as the leader of the Kikuyus and Mboya represented a threat to them.

On paper Mboya never really had a clear chance to succeed Kenyatta. He had very few tribal support and had made too many enemies, but he was the most intelligent and capable politician in the government. However, if Kenyatta had died Mboya would have been the only minister capable of handling the job. Ironically, the assassines of Mboya unleashed so much anti-Kikuyu animosity within Kenya that, a Kikuyu's chances of succeeding Kenyatta had grown weaker because of it. Kenya seemed on the verge of a tribal explosion and elections were scheduled soon and President Kenyatta was on the move to assert his political career once again.-239

238. Current History, March 1970, p.154.

Stanley Meisler, Atlantic, March 1970, p.28.

239. Ibid, p.30.

Looking at the political events of the country since the death of Mboya one can understand how tribalism could suddenly take hold of an African country. At the start of 1970 Kenya had at least as good a chance for stability as any other country in this impoverished area.

The assassination united the Luos behind Odinga. In death Mboya became a great tribal hero to the Luos. They believed that the kikuyus had murdered him, so they decided that they must support the Luo leader who was a proven enemy of that government that they accused of the murder. They supported Odinga, a leftist who had accepted funds from the Soviets and Chinese communist agents.-240

Most Kenyans were quite content to put aside their tribal and political rivalries and try to unite, despite all the problems that occurred. Oginga Odinga, Vice president of the nation in 1966, and deputy president of the K.A.N.U. political party and leader of the powerful Luo tribe was an exception to the rule. He disagreed violently with many of Kenyatta's modern policies and he was accused of importing communist arms into Kenya and of receiving money and advice from communist diplomats. He also accused many of his fellow cabinet ministers as being "imperialist agents."-241

Odinga was a constant problem to Kenyatta and his K.A.N.U. party. He was accused of plotting with politicians from Tanzania who shared his pro-communist views.

240. Time, November 7, 1969, p.42.

241. Time, March 25, 1966, p.28.

National Assemblyman Thomas Malinda charged that arms and ammunition were continuously being smuggled from communist countries into Kenya for the purpose of staging an armed revolution to overthrow the government.

Time, April 23, 1965, p.39.

he was openly sympathetic to communist causes.

Kenya shall not exchange one master for a new master. We welcome cooperation and assistance, but we shall not be bought or blackmailed. We may be underdeveloped and our people may walk barefoot, but we are a proud people, proud of our heritage, our traditions and ancestry. We reject communism because communism was as bad as imperialism. The only ism the country needs is nationalism.- Kenyatta

President Jomo Kenyatta expelled eleven of Odinga's communist friends and he abolished Odinga's job as deputy president and elected eight regional vice president in his place. This being a very smart political move for all of them were anti-Odinga.-242

When Odinga left the K.A.N.U. he took with him twenty-seven other members of Parliament to form his own opposition party. Although Kenyatta still controlled a majority in the 130-members house, Odinga's insurrection marked the first serious challenge to political unity on which Kenyatta based his rule. Odinga had put himself in the position where he was able to call wildcat strikes. His Kenya People's Union(K.P.U.) party included the leaders of the oil and dock workers' union. He was soon to be known as Mr. Double O and he became one of the most controversial political figures in East Africa.-243

III

The general characteristics of African government are usually so fragile that they break-down in structure before they become properly established.

242. Time, March 25, 1966, p.28

243. This was the second political party to be formed by Odinga for on March 24,1960 he launched an entirely new African political party called the UKURU (Freedom) party. Ibid,p.28.

In continuing our exploration of the aftermath of the assassination we soon will discover that Kenyatta had no real intentions of easing tribal conflicts by placating the Luos. Instead, he accused Odinga and his K.P.U. opposition party for the trouble. He then enforced a curfew for western Kenya and confined Odinga and some of his followers into detention and he banned the K.P.U.. The next expected problem would be Luo riots and boycotts. Instead they were willing to show their strengt. in the democratic practice of elections.

The government was willing to make the elections available to the Luos, although this would appear, at first to be impossible, since Kenyatta had abolished the opposition party and with only the K.A.N.U. still legal, the election would actually be of primary characteristic. To solve the crisis, Kenyatta ruled that everyone could vote in the K.A.N.U. primary even those former adherants and members of the banned Kenya People's Union Party. In addition, Kenyatta allowed one of Odinga's lieutenants, Mrs Grace Onyango, to run for parliament in the Kenya African National Union primary in Kisumu.-244

The December election turned out to be a remarkable African event. Even though Kenyatta had banned the opposition, the primary election was probably more democratic than that of a two-party election. The results was that eighty-two incumbent members of parliament, including five ministers, were defeated. One hundred and fifty-eight candidates were elected to parliament, this meant that two-thirds of its members were newly elected. It was one of the most successful results in any African election-245

244. Stanley Meisler, Atlantic, March 1970, p.32.

245. Ibid, p.32.

Within the Luo tribal areas, the voters overwhelmingly elected Mrs. Onyango and defeated every Luo incumbent. Tribalism was definitely not prevalent in this election. In fact this surprising election results led many people to believe that the outcome reflected a turning point or a stepping-stone in Kenya's history.

The future stability of Kenya depended on the resolution of two issues; the first of which was the question of Kikuyu dominance. Kenyatta gave representation to all the major tribes of Kenya, including the Luos. Two young Luos were named Minister of Health and Minister of Natural Resources, however, the most prestigious cabinet positions remained in the control of Kikuyus.-246

The second question concerned succession. The death of Kenyatta concerned all for his death could produce a chaotic period in which the fighting would start all over again. In the event Kenyatta dies, his successor will be named by Parliament to serve until the next national election. Under President Jomo Kenyatta, the hero of Kenya's struggle for independence from Britain, the country seemed to be achieving considerable economic and social progress.

While the country was struggling to settle its own domestic problems outside influence were ready to prey upon her. The cold war wasn't quite so far away as the Kenya leaders would have its people believe. The Soviets had armed the Somali tribesmen during the crisis of a "Greater Somaliland"; which involved the heated border disputes. South of Kenya, in Tanzania, the Red Chinese continued to impress President Nyerere.

They had helped in the building of the railroad from Dar es Salaam to the Zambia copper belt, however, Kenya denounced Peking for trying to corrupt Kenyan school children by distributing its propaganda.-247. When Chou-En-lai first visited Africa (December 1963 to February 1964), China's prospects in Kenya and the rest of Africa appeared good. Recently it seemed to have lost some of its appeal.- 248

Events involving Kenya, both internal and international, have been strongly unfavorable to China's cause. The Kenyan government would expell any person whose outlook may have been contrary to the interest of national security: Wang Te-ming, Nairobi correspondent for the "New China News Agency", had utilized his journalist position to cover up more sinister activities. He was a paymaster for groups sponsored by the Red Chinese that sought to overthrow the moderate regime of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta. Wang Te-ming was also accused as being the leading figure in July 1965 in an attempted coup. Twenty-seven Kenyans tried to take command of the K.A.N.U. headquarters.-249

Wang's expulsion from Kenya was a serious setback for China. A strong movement was already developing in the Kenya Parliament to shut-down the Chinese Embassy because of the so call undersirable and dangerous activities. Kenya had on several occasions complained about chinese intrusions in their internal affairs, Chinese funds and aims were found on its territory that were intended for the political opposition in the country. -250

247. John Chamberlain, National Review, May 7, 1968, p.450.

248. Ibid, p. 450.

249. Newsweek, August 9, 1965, p.45.

250. Ibid, p.45.

The Catholic Church also began to take a real interest in politics and other churches grew concerned about the country's economic and social problems. Today the social organizations of the various churches are well established and have increased interest in many aspects of the country's life. However, the future is going to see increasing resentment among Africans of any further white missionaries. Many blacks want to see the churches Africanized as rapidly as possible. East Africa was already witnessing a number of African bishops in the making in Kenya and an African cardinal in Tanzania. African politicians also wanted the church to remain separate from the state and to concern itself solely with religious problems.- 251.

African socialism was on the rise. The practice of African socialism involved the attempt of using what was relevant and good in the way of African customs in order to create new values, in the changing world of the money economy, in order to build an economy which would reflect the thinking of the great majority of the people.-252

The challenge of African socialism is to use traditional thinking as a means to find a way to build a society in which there is a place for all Kenyans, where all will share both in poverty and in prosperity, and where emphasis is placed upon production by everyone; with security for all. -253.

251. The African who has accepted Christian teaching in his own society finds, when he encounters white society, that Christian principles are by no means generally practised. There is therefore a tendency amongst Africans to consider Christianity as nothing more than a group religion of white people. John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow, (N.Y. Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p.72 Information from the Kenya Mission to U.N.
252. Information from the Kenya Mission to the United Nations.
253. Ibid, 1972.

African socialism had an entirely different history from European socialism. European socialism was born of the agrarian and industrial revolution, which divided society into the landowners and the capitalist on one side, and the landless and the industrial proletariat on the other.- 254 There is no division into such classes in Africa, for we have witnessed the growing of states through the forces of mass movement and governments composed of leaders from the workers and peasants and not from the noble class that had ruled in Europe. African socialism is in practice not theory.

In a country such as Kenya, there needs to be government participation. Government needs to lay out an economic plan that will be effective and must produce energy, provide education and health and social facilities, building roads and organizing markets. Government also needs to establish bilateral or even multilateral trade agreements. There are certain facilities which need to be nationalized in the public interest. -255

There were two types of bilateral agreement which a newly independent state could follow: The first would be with the former colonial power; for nearly every new African state had retained certain economic and trading agreements with the ex-colonial authorities. In Kenya's case the agreement would be made with either the British Commonwealth or the French Community (The Common Market). However, the newly created states were tempted to feel that this type of arrangement were filled with fear and suspicion of neocolonial powers.-256

254. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (Boston, Little Brown and Co., Inc., 1963), p.169.

255. Ibid, p.171.

256. Ibid, p.172.

The second type of agreement would have to be made with the non-colonial powers. In seeking economic and trade agreements, an African state should lean towards industrialization. During the colonial period Kenya was regarded as a producer of raw materials, however, after independence one of the immediate chores was to transform Kenya into manufacturing.-257

Kenya had problems in putting African socialism into practice because of its regionalist constitution. In 1962, at a conference in London, it was agreed that a central Land Board should control settlement in the part of the former "White Highlands" which was being bought for transformation into African farming areas. The Board merely selects and buys the land for settlement and supervises or administers the loans to the new settlers. This created a two fold problem: the first was that there existed the risk that some regions would select settlers on the basis of tribe instead of need. The second problem was that land distribution had to be selective and evenly distributed for land was Kenya's most significant national asset. In order to rapidly increase their national production and their exports to the world market, Kenya couldn't afford to have land being under-utilized.- 258

257. ibid, p.183.

258. ibid, p.177.

Chapter: 2

Election of 69

Kenya has made dramatic economic and social progress in her eight years of independence, but many problems are not amenable to quick or easy solutions. The assassination of Tom Mboya in July, the detention of opposition party leader Oginga Odinga in October and the national elections in December established 1969 as the most dramatic year in the politics of Kenya since independence in 1963. The assassination, detention and resulting tribal animosity threatened the political stability and economic growth that Kenya enjoyed under President Jomo Kenyatta.

The election accounted for a large turnover in the membership of the National Assembly despite the absence of an opposition party, so that by the end of the year tensions were substantially reduced. The general elections were seen by many observers as a means to trouble, for the fear existed that a one-party election could possibly intensify tribal animosities and possible violence. This election was probably the most critical moment in the country's history since the time of independence. Everyone was reminded of the horror of Nigeria and was awaiting some kind of tribal warfare. Instead, the Kenyan atmosphere was calm and tranquil.

It is not exactly clear why this happened, but several reasons can be used to explain the situation.: First, Africans lived in tribal societies that respected authority in an uncompromising way and made it clear they would continue to do so. Second, the Luos have a tribal personality that allows them to accept adversity in a fatalistic way. Although their grievances were strong, they did not fight for revenge. Third, they were not like eastern Nigeria.

Unlike the grieving Ibos, the Luos did not have a government or even a radio to rally the people and they therefore arrived at the realization that they could do very little to change the political situation. The Luos could not break away, even if they had wanted to. Finally, the incarceration of Odinga allowed a group of younger, better-educated and more moderate Luo leader to take command of the opposition. The Luos had to unite themselves with the government and not to fight against it. Odinga was only leading his people astray.- 259

The elections were significant for there were 158 seats available and the results was that 82 incumbents were defeated, including five of Kenyatta's nineteen ministers and fourteen assistant ministers. Election were also quite important, for although tribal loyalties undoubtedly played a part in the election, most Kenyans seemed to be concerned with such issues as housing, education and medical facilities. Many of the two million voters were very discontented with the standards of living. They were unhappy with the quality of people holding public office and one of the common cries at the time was ;" What have you done for us"?-260

The election of "69" went remarkable well. Kenya, with only a one party system, had an election that was more democratic than many had expected. The election could be compared to a free-for-all primary. Anyone could vote in it, even members of the opposition party. There were no rigid restrictions compelled upon the people. The government even allowed members of Odinga's banned party to run for office. This illustrated Kenyatta's political mobility and an election without discrimination among the tribes.-261

259. Stanley Meisler, Foreign Affairs , Volume 49.No.1.p.114.

260. Newsweek, December 22, 1960, p.50.

261. Meisler,op. cit.,p.115

According to the election results this election permitted the voters to send newcomers into two thirds of the seats in parliament. Many political scientist believed that if there had been a two-party election, fewer incumbents might have lost. They based their conviction on the fact that if there had been a two-party system with two primaries, many Kenyans who had voted against the incumbents in the government's K.A.N.U. primary, perhaps, would have reduced the number of incumbents that lost in the primary. It was believed, that in a general election, the K.A.N.U. candidates might have had a simpler time in defeating the K.P.U. party everywhere except in Luo territory. Instead, because of the one-party primary, everyone ran on the same party platform and were therefore considered supporters of the government. -262 This was a good demonstration of unity, however, the political machinery did not leave room for an opponent for the presidency. The results being the automatic re-electing of Kenyatta as president.

The election had given Kenya a new beginning. Kenya now had, because of its political machinery, the chance to settle its awesome tribal problem without fear of violence. Many believed that the new hope for the Luos rested in the hands of the young, moderate and intelligent Luos who were elected to Parliament during the election. The Luos knew what had to be done. They must help themselves to prosper.

Although the election marked progress towards unification and democracy the air was still surrounded with fears and anxieties for the every present question remained; the problem of succession and that problems that it will bring with it. Kenyatta, although he is a strong leader, is over eighty years of age and his dominance will someday end.

Under their constitution, Daniel arap Moi, the vice president, leader of the Kalenjin tribe, would serve as acting president for a period of ninety days. During this time his powers would be limited while the government made preparations for a national election. There is also the inevitable fact that the K.A.N.U. nominee would be automatically elected because the constitution provides that a candidate will be nominated by a political party and if there is only one political party, as Kenya has, then K.A.N.U. would retain the presidency. -263

The next president would not only come from the K.A.N.U., but would most likely come from the Kikuyu establishment: The ministers that surrounded Kenyatta or the younger Kikuyus; often wealthy and popular in their home district. Their political affiliation with other tribes have been far stronger than those of the establishment. In a primary they might be more successful of victory in a national election than members of the establishment would. It is believed that their political logic would be to eliminate tribal identification in their campaigning and to sell themselves as militant socialists wanting to offer a better deal to all common men; that includes all tribe affiliations. -264

The country probably could not continue to exist without the Kikuyus, yet they are probably too insipid numerically to govern without the patronage of a good number of other tribes. Kikuyu isolation, in any form, would make governing difficult; Kikuyus attempting to govern without the popular support or the other tribes trying to establish a government without the adherence of the Kikuyus.

263. ibid, p. 120.

264. ibid, p. 120.

Another problem that existed is that of the many who have aspired to leadership, they do not possess the broad vision of Kenyatta, nor do they share his belief that there is room in Kenya for Europeans, Asians or anyone else who wants truly to be a Kenyan. -265 The best insurance for stability after Kenyatta would be some type of an arrangement between the Kikuyus and the Luos about his successor.

There is also the strong contention on the part of the people, that if anti-Kikuyu resentment becomes too strong, the Kikuyus, as a compromise, might support the leader of a smaller tribe in exchange for his pledge to keep the Kikuyu establishment in power. - 266 Kenya's political existence would therefore depend on the need for stability and for tribal compromise, based on bargaining and patronizing.

II

Local Government

Kenya is divided into seven regions: Coast, Eastern, Central, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western and the former Northern District and the Nairobi area.

Local government matters are exclusively reserved to the regional assemblies, which are elected by universal adult suffrage and headed by presidents who are elected by two-thirds majorities of assembly members. There are two types of upper local authorities; municipalities and county councils and four types of lower authorities; urban council, township authorities, area council and local council. Many of the councils raise their own revenues by, construct and maintain roads, carry out public health measures, construct and improve housing, contribute to the cost of education and provide services related to agriculture and social welfare. The Nairobi area, administered by a city council, is the direct responsibility of the central government. -267

Looking back at the country's political history, one must remember that the first African elections were first held in March 1957, after which time changes in the composition of Kenya's government came considerably fast. By 1960 the Legislative Council had an African majority (33 of 53 constituency seats), for the first time in the country's history. Three years later (June 1, 1963), Kenya had achieved internal self-government. General elections had taken place earlier in May. In December of the same year, the country attained independence.

On November 10, 1964, the opposition party, the K.A.D.U., was voluntarily dissolved by its leader, Mr. Ronald Ngala, in order to join the government side, thus introducing the one-party system for the first time. Early in 1966, however, a new party was formed by a small splinter group led by the former Vice-President, Mr. J. M. Oginga Odinga, the Kenya Peoples Union which won nine of the twenty-seven seats contested during the election of 1966.

K.P.U. was dissolved on October 30, 1969 because the party had been too subversive, both in its nature and in its objectives. Kenya had returned to only one political party.

265. **The Luos could be an unsettling force if they decided to resist any Kikuyu or Kikuyu supported candidate.**
Ibid, p. 120.
266. Ibid, p. 120.
267. Ibid, p. 114.

Then, on December 6, 1969 preliminary elections were held. More than six hundred candidates ran for the one hundred and fifty-eight seats of the National Assembly. On January 29, 1970 Kenyatta took oath of office for his second term as President of the Republic. Kenya achieved internal self-government on June 1, 1963, and became an independent sovereign state on December 12, 1963. On her first anniversary of Independence she became a Republic.

The Republican Constitution of Kenya contained in Schedule 2 of the Kenya Independence Order in Council 1963, as amended by the constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Acts number 28 and 33 of 1964, No. 14 of 1965 and No. 16, 17 and 18 of 1966. -268

The Republican Constitution declares Kenya to be a sovereign republic, and makes provision regarding citizenship, protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, the President, the Cabinet and Parliament, the Judiciary, the Judicial Service Commission and the Courts, the Public Service, Police and the Public Service Commission, and also makes provision for Provincial Councils and for the safeguarding of Trust Land.

The President is the head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He is aided and advised by a Cabinet of Ministers who are appointed by the President from among the members of the National Assembly.

The President, who must be a citizen of Kenya, an elected member of the National Assembly and not less than 35 years of age, is normally elected at the General Election which follows a dissolution of Parliament. Parliament must be dissolved every five years but may be dissolved sooner by the President.

At a General Election every voter, in addition to casting his vote for the candidate of his choice for his constituency, casts a vote for the Presidential candidate. Each political party taking part in the General Election nominates one candidate for President. Nomination of such a candidate shall not be valid unless it is supported by not less than one thousand persons registered as voters in elections to the National Assembly. Where only one candidate for President is validly nominated, and that candidate is elected as a member of the National Assembly, he shall be declared to be elected as President. If more than one candidate is validly nominated, a poll shall be taken in each constituency for the election of a President (whether or not a poll is required to be taken for an election to the National Assembly in that constituency).

If the office of the President becomes vacant by reason of the death or resignation of the President, or by reason of his ceasing to hold office while it is being determined whether he has been validly elected as President of members of the National Assembly, an election of a President shall be held within the period of ninety days immediately following the occurrence of that vacancy.

Parliament is constituted by the President and the National Assembly. There are 15 Elected Members of the National Assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage to represent single-member constituencies. There are also 12 Specially Elected Members. The Attorney-General is an ex-official member of the Assembly. The House elects the Speaker and Deputy Speaker. A candidate for election to National Assembly must be a Kenya citizen of 21 years of age, and must be a registered voter.

In the Republican Constitution, Executive and Legislative powers are divided so as to give effect to three main principles, namely, that strong national leadership should exist and be apparent to the people, that the President and his Cabinet should be collectively responsible to Parliament, and that Parliament should be supreme.

Strong national leadership is assured by the election of an executive President, who with his Cabinet governs with the support of the majority in Parliament. The supremacy of Parliament is assured in that the President must resign or dissolve Parliament if he cannot command its support, in that Parliament is the only law making body, and in that the control of public finance is exercised by Parliament.

The Republican Constitution safeguards the independence of the Judiciary and the Rule of Law.

Judicial system: The judicial system of Kenya comprises a supreme Court, regular courts and periodic courts. African courts which have limited but increasing jurisdiction in cases concerning Africans.

The Supreme Court sitting at Nairobi Kisumu consists of a chief justice and judges. It contains both civil and criminal jurisdiction. From its decision may be taken to the Court of Appeal for East Africa. The regular and periodic courts are presided over by resident magistrates and assistant magistrates.

In the rural areas the district officers are responsible for the work of the courts in their district and the provincial commissioners are empowered by the governor to hear appeals from the district Commissioners Courts. The Court of Review hears appeals on matters arising from African Customary law on cases from the provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners and African courts. This modern day society has moved away from the days when the chiefs and headmen were empowered to try civil cases or disputes.

Chapter XI:

Economy of a New Nation

" The typical American businessman used to come here on safari and leave. Now a lot of them who come here as tourist get interested in business prospects and start looking around."--267

Nairobi is still a starting out place for safaris and the white hunter in bush jackets can still be seen striding through the New Stanley Hotel. Nairobi is becoming known for bigger and better adventures such as business enterprises. This is because Kenya is one of Africa's most stable countries and a magnet for many United States' companies. We have already talked about Kenya's political, social and some of her economic problems. In this final chapter we will discover the remarkable progress that was made by this new country, inspite of all the problems she had encountered.

The British created Kenya originally without regards to natural geographical divisions. All the major problems of Kenya stemmed from the fact that she is a multiracial or plural society. The tropical coast, with its mixture of Arab and Portuguese is separated from the highlands by a wide strip of rocky, tangled and semi-barren country. The northern frontier district is a desert which is open to the Somalis, and the Masai herdsmen who wandered across the Kenya-Tanzania border with no concern for political boundaries, following their cattle to whatever pastures were greenest and living apart from more agricultural tribesmen on a diet of blood, milk and cow's urine.--268

267. Business Week, September 2, 1967, p.108.

268. John Chamberlain, National Review, May 7, 1968, p.451.

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267. Business Week, September 2, 1967, p.108.

268. John Chamberlain, National Review, May 7, 1968, p.451.

Kenya contains some of the best agricultural land in East Africa, although more than half of the country is arid, with little potential for irrigation. Agricultural production is centered in the more humid south on the cool plateau in the Lake Victoria basin and along the tropical coast. The southwestern region contains most of the population which is 97 per cent African.-269

Europeans, who at first were mostly farmers and administrators, have in recent years turned to commerce and industry in the urban centers. It is, however, quite difficult for the Europeans, who have brought their technical, medical and educational knowledge from a modern, sophisticated continent, to accept a minority position. It is equally difficult for the Africans to accept the political, economic and social domination of an alien minority whom they believed to be primarily inspired by the desire to seize their hereditary lands. On the other side the Asians and Arabs were not willing to accept the hostility of both Europeans and Africans, which they felt may lead to the destruction of the commercial businesses that they have established. In summation, the main problem in Kenya is that each race is separate and apart and thinks first as "Africans," "Europeans," "Asians," or "Arabs" and not at being "Kenyans".

It is, of course, a gross over-simplification to consider any of these communities as being homogeneous. The 10,673,770 Africans are divided between ten major tribes. As in many other African territories, there had also developed amongst the African considerable tension between those who still lived the old African life in tribal society, and those who have become detribalized.

269. William P. Lineberry, East Africa (The H. S. Wilson Co., New York, 1968), p. 101.

Among the Asians, too, there were considerable divisions. There was, first of all, that separation which has developed amongst the Asian communities all over Africa between the Hindu and Moslem; with loyalties generally directed towards India and Pakistan respectively. The European and Arab communities were probably more homogeneous although they too had their differences. However, there has been quite a change in both mood and substance due largely to the politics of Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta.

He has remarkably persuaded his countrymen to put aside their tribal and racial differences and to work for national unity. Western businessmen operate in Kenya without fear of nationalization, in sharp contrast to nearby Tanzania which earlier in 1967 nationalized foreign owned banks and some foreign owned companies. However, there does exist today some pressure to "Africanize" business and government is growing more intense.-270

Kenyatta had drawn up an economic development plan that stressed both public and private enterprise and which set a growth goal of 6.3% a year through 1970, however, this goal appeared to be on the conservative side because in 1966 Kenya's gross domestic product grew at an 8% rate. Manufacturing increased at a 7% rate.-271 To maintain this growth record, Kenyatta was counting on plenty of help from the outside; both from aid (which comes largely from Britain) and in foreign investments.

Kenyatta's liberal investment program was designed to bring in businessmen from everywhere, not just Britain. The East African Cooperation Treaty (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) was designed to encourage more companies to move their sales offices to Nairobi from such cities as Rome and Beirut and from the United States.-272.

270. Business Week, September 2, 1967, p.108.

271. Ibid, p.108.

272. Ibid, p.108.

Prosperity did not evolve too easy for Africans. If we discuss the proposal from the colonial days we will see the problems that existed: The demands of WWII. upon East Africa gave rise to new interterritorial bodies and councils to direct, regulate and coordinate the economy and manpower of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

" To foster East African economic development, the British government published (December 1945), the "white paper" proposing a new interterritorial organization in EastAfrica. "- 273 The proposals envisaged the creation of an East African high commission consisting of the governors of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, with a permanent secretariat to administer interterritorial services. Criticism of the proposals revolved almost entirely around the principle of equal representation of East Africa's three major racial groups. The most determined criticism came from the Kenya European community, which regarded the principle as a threat to the ideals of white settlement and its political predominance in the affairs of the colony.-274

In a move towards regional cooperation the principal of equality was considered an obstacle. The English speaking states of East Africa have a long tradition of cooperation in economic matters. During the years of British colonial administration, many important economic functions were performed jointly for Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Trade flowed freely within the area and the currency in use in all these countries were issued by a centralized institution. In 1948 the East Africa High Commission, which became the East African Common Services Organization (E.A.C.S.O.) established its headquarters in Nairobi. -275

273. C.L. Kirby, East Africa ed. David White, 1963)p.4.

274. Ibid,p.48.

275. Ibid,p.48.

Today the common currency system is being dismantled, while the East African Common Market is undergoing severe stresses. This weakening of the important economic ties between the states stemmed from the failure to reach agreement after independence on the formation of a political East African Federation, partly due to fears of domination by Kenya, the most economically advanced member of the trio. It would seem logical that a combined single potential market of approximately 30 million people instead of three separate markets would appear more advantageous to industries. However, the problem was that Kenya always received a greater share of the advantage for Nairobi had what investors appeared to desire; transportation and communications facilities, space, water, plenty of available labor and pleasant living conditions. The results were the separation of their currency and the establishment of an independent monetary authorities because of their differences.-276

In Kenya, one talks about unemployment, about the lack of capital and the need for overseas investment and industrializations. The two main resources were land and labor, which were abundant and far from being fully exploited. It is estimated that there is five-in-half million acres of good but undeveloped because of the attitude of the people and a new spirit had to be created so that the people would feel that they were profiting from their work and not that someone else was benefiting. Kenya needed the feeling of patriotism, which is natural and healthy and what a man needs to identify with one's country.-277

The economy is dependent almost entirely on agricultural production. Although there is a growing and valuable tourist trade and a relatively small supply of minerals, the importance of agriculture can hardly be exaggerated.

276 Ibid, p.157.

277 Ibid, p.157.

Before World War II industry was on a small scale and aimed at satisfying only local needs. Secondary industrial development has grown rapidly since the war, the chief innovation being the refining of sugar, the milling of flour, the making of clothing from imported fabrics and the manufacture of cement. Most manufacturing was on a small scale because of the limited demand resulting from low per capita income.

Since the advent of political independence the economy has recorded continued growth and expansion and the year 1965 has been one of significant progress in all sectors of the economy. Many new industries have been set up and growing investments in various projects have transformed and diversified the economic base. The results of these changes are visible in every sphere of economic activity, specifically in trade and industry, transport and communications, irrigation and power, agriculture and social services. For the first time in the history of Kenya so many development on a big scale have taken place in a short span of time.-278

In the last 2½ years existing industries have expanded and several new industries have been established. Nairobi remains the chief industrial center and is still the headquarters of many commercial organizations operating throughout East Africa. Among the more important industries established in Nairobi are: brewing, soft drinks, flour mills, pharmaceuticals, small textile and knitwear factories, cigarette manufacture, clothing and footwear, foodstuff manufacture, light engineering and soap-making. There are also meat and fruit canning factories, shoe factory, a sisal and rope factory, a paper factory, hides and skins, tanning factory, cement factory, timber mills, coffee and processing factories and a textile factory a few miles from Nairobi.-279

278 from the Kenya Mission to the United Nations.

279 Ibid.

Initially industry was based on the processing of agricultural commodities for export, but the British built up Nairobi to be a center of East Africa finance, trade and transportation. Mombasa and Nairobi are the two principal distribution centers for imported goods. They are linked by rail and highways to the small interior towns in their immediate areas. The main offices of all the leading import and export firms, not only for Kenya but for all of East Africa, are in both Mombasa and Nairobi. There are over seventy U.S. companies with offices or plants in Kenya compared to the year 1962 when there were only 20 U.S. investments in Kenya. The British controlled 80% of the investments and the U.S. controlled 15%. -280

Long-term credits were given for the purchase of land, permanent improvement mortgages, purchase of livestock, implements, fertilizers, etc. Short-term loans were granted for seasonal farm expenses. The Nairobi Stock Exchange deals in government securities and the securities of many private companies. It has also been approved by and accepted by the London Stock Exchange as an associated exchange. Insurance companies have also been established. They must be registered and licensed. They are required to make security deposits with the Treasury, file annual financial reports, and observe other government regulations. Most of the large British, South African and Asian companies are represented in East Africa through brokers or agents. These insurance companies have made considerable investments in Kenya, particularly in real estate in Nairobi. -281.

In 1961 there were 589,391 persons of all races in paid employment, of whom 529,386 were Africans, 37,821 Asians and 22,184 Europeans. These figures represented a decline by more than 5% over the 1960 figures and were at their lowest level since 1954. -282

280. Business Week, Sept. 2, 1967, p.110

281. Ibid, p.117

282. Ibid, p.117

European large- scale agriculture and forestry was the largest employer of African labor with over 47% of the total or 249,764. There were also 628 Asians and 1,634 Europeans employed in this area as well. Private industry and commerce employed 134,089 Africans, 24,973 Asians and 11,669 Europeans, while the public services employed 145,533 Africans, 12,220 Asians and 3,881 Europeans. Labor movements in Kenya was largely confined to organizations among the African working force, although there were a few Asians and European employee unions existing.-283

Domestic electricity production was based on imported fuels and had to be supplemented by supplies originating in Uganda and Tanzania. Plans were under way to develop hydro- electric power resources to augment domestic generating capacity. Kenya despite the lack of full resources has become the most important manufacturing and business center in East Africa. Today there are electricity supplies available in Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Kericho, Nakuru, Naivash, Thika, Nyeri, Nanyuki, Eldoret, Kitale, Kamamega, Embu, and Meru as well as in extensive rural areas .-284

II

Kenya's most important cash crops are coffee, tea, sisal and pyrethrum. As a result of planning and of work carried out in recent years, coffee yields are likely to double. In fact , tea, sisal and pyrethrum will also double. There is considerable scope for cotton and pineapple production and these will, in the future years, rank amongst the top exports crops. Sugar cane is also being expanded. Kenya is almost self-sufficient in rice and further expansion will result in entering the export market.-285

283 Information from the Kenya Mission to the U.N.

284 Ibid.

285 Ibid.

Kenya has a large expanding livestock industry; Much of the country is suited to ranching and there is an important dairy industry in the areas of higher rainfall. Dairy products such as butter, cheese, milk are exported to Uganda and Tanzania as well as several foreign countries. The rearing of wool sheep is becoming increasingly important, and wool is also exported. Production is now expanding to meet local needs and the export market. The pig industry normally provides all local requirements together with a surplus for export. The future will see a big exploitation of Kenya's irrigation potential in both the Upper Tana and Lower Tana River projects.-286

Today Kenya's agriculture is sufficiently diversified enough to produce virtually every basic agricultural foodstuff. Only certain mineral food and luxury goods have to be imported. Not only is Kenya able to produce foodstuff to meet its own needs, but it helps to a considerable role to ensure the self-sufficiency of the East African Common Market.

"Where there has been racial hatred, it must be ended, where there has been tribal animosity, it will be furnished. Let us not dwell upon the bitterness of the past. I would rather look to the future, to the good new Kenya, not to the bad old days. If we can create this sense of national direction and identity, we shall have gone a long way toward solving our economic problems. We hold out no empty promises of achieving utopia overnight. What we hold out to every citizen is the prospect of work and justly rewards." - Jomo Kenyatta

I feel that the above quotation taken from a speech made by Jomo Kenyatta can be used in concluding the detailed 286. Ibid, 1972.

examination of Kenya. The future of Kenya looks bright; politically, socially and economically. The People of Kenya have learned to live together and to work together bringing about the prosperity of the country and answering many of the wishes and desires that Kenyatta, himself, mentioned in his speech. Whether the country will continue to prosper and whether racial harmony can exist after Kenyatta is gone, no one can honestly predict the future, but while this great leader and statesman is still ruling Kenya can look forward to remaining as one of the leading African countries and a fully developed state.

A Brief Discussion On Peoples Of Kenya

This discussion does not deal in detail, with any tribe, but merely highlights some of the more picturesque aspects of life in Kenya. It should be born in mind, however, that especially in the towns a growing number of Kenyans have acquired the standards of Western civilization while others have begun to lay aside the customs of their forefathers. Yet, in spite of these changes, it is not necessary to travel very far from the towns to see the Kenyans in their tribal environment. The policy of the Government has been to ensure that what is best in tribal customs and culture will survive the impact of Western civilization.

According to the 1969 population census, there were 10,942,705 people living in the country. Kenyans of African origin numbered 10,673,770. The remaining 268,935 were non-Africans made up as follows:

Europeans: 40,593 of whom 3,389 were Kenyan citizens.

Asians: 139,037 of whom 60,994 were citizens of Kenya

Arabs: 24,199 Kenya citizens out of a total of 27,886

Arabs.

Non-Kenyan: 59,432 mostly Tanzanians, Ugandans, Rwandese,

Africans: Barundi, Somalis, Ethiopians, Sudanese and Congolese.

Others: 1,987.

Kenyans of African origin can be classified by their language. There are four main language groups: The Bantu, the Nilotic, the Nilo-Hamitic and the Hamitic. The largest group is the Bantu, made up of numerous tribes who practice agriculture. Much of the most fertile land in Kenya is cultivated by them.

The historical migration of Bantu peoples are not known for certain, but accepted theory is that there were two major migrations, one from west and Central Africa, and the other from East and North Africa. While the language of these groups is similar, the physical characteristics of the Bantu vary a good deal from the rather tall and proud Baluhya people near Lake Victoria, to the short and roverted Nyika of the Coast. A characteristic of most Bantu peoples is that they cultivate the slopes of Kenya's many mountains: the Embu, Meru and Kikuyu around the base of Mount Kenya, the Baluhya tribes surrounding Mount Kilimanjara.

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples are composed of the several Luo tribes on the shores of Lake Victoria, stretching from Uganda border well into Tanzania. Their migration route was the Nile Valley. Their origin can be traced by language and culture to Sudan.

The Nilo-Hamitic people are, from the visitor's point of view, the most picturesque. Nilo-Hamitic is a misnomer, as it implies a mixture of Nilotic, but there is no evidence to support this, nor has the language any similarity to that of the Nilotes. The term is used, however, to describe that complex of pastoral peoples which includes the Masai, Nandi, Kipsigis, Pokot (Suk), Samburu and Trukana.

The Hamitic-speaking groups are found in Northern Kenya, the largest being the Somali, with its closely related groups of Gabra, Orma, Rendille and Boran.

A fascinating remnant are the Wandorobo, who originally occupied the forest in the mountain areas of Kenya, but are now mostly absorbed by other tribes. These were the indigenous forest hunters of Kenya.

BANTU

KIKUYU

Kenya's largest tribe, the Kikuyu, numbering 2,201,632 people, inhabit the fertile lands around the slopes of Mount Kenya and the eastern Aberdares to the north of Nairobi. With their tribal "cousins" the Embu and Meru, they originally came with the Bantu immigrants up the Tana River, settling in the Fort Hall District.

The Kikuyu are rich in tribal legend and steeped in the mystic beliefs, ritual and witchcraft of their former cultures. Legend has it that the tribe originated on Mount Kenya (Kirinyaga).

When the Kikuyu occupied what is now Fort Hall they found the Wandorobo hunters in fairly large numbers using the area for gathering honey.

The first white settlers found the Kikuyu and Masai engaged in constant raiding and warfare and at the end of last century much of the area was decimated by famine and smallpox.

During the unsettled social and political conditions which accompanied the struggle for independence, the Kikuyu awakened to the economic potential of their tribal lands which lie to the north of Nairobi, bounded by the Aberdare Mountains and Mount Kenya.

An entirely new land tenure system, involving individual ownership, was introduced during the 1950s.

The land occupied by the Kikuyu is extremely fertile and covers the present-day districts of Kiambu, Fort Hall and Nyeri. Much of it is rich, red soil having the greatest potential of any area in Kenya. On it grows a variety of cash crops, including coffee, tea (at higher altitudes), wattle pyrethrum and fruit. More and more Kikuyu farmers are steadily improving their cattle.

The Kikuyu are avid for education and there are many Government and mission schools dotted all over the three districts, one of the best known being the alliance High School, at Kikuyu village not far from Nairobi.

MERU

The language of the Meru is sufficiently like that of the Embu and Kikuyu for members of these tribes to understand one another. In 1969, there were 655,386 people of Meru tribe in Kenya. The tribe has developed, however, a more effective indigenous political system than the other two. The tribal councils, or Njuri, still exercise strong influence on the life of the people.

Meru land on the eastern slopes of Mount Kenya is exceedingly fertile and yields some of the finest coffee in the world at the rate of two crops a year, while the plains country beyond is dry and unsuited to intensive cultivation. Meru on the plains have large herds of cattle and live more like their Kamba neighbors in Kitui District.

The Mbere section of the Meru are famous for their drummers to be seen on special occasions in Nairobi, where they are always a great attraction.

In recent years the Meru have made rapid progress in their agricultural development and, side by side with this, they have advanced considerably in the commercial field.

EMBU

Closely related to the Kikuyu, the Embu occupy land on the lower southern slopes of Mount Kenya, extending from the dry Njera plain up to the forest belt at about 8,000 feet. Their number was 117,969 in 1969.

In recent years the policy of encouraging the introduction of cash crops has been very successful in the Embu District. There are now many thriving coffee co-operatives processing the coffee berries grown by the smallholders. Tea is a new crop which a number of Embu are cultivating successfully. It is also established in the Meru country.

Some excellent dancing teams are still to be found in parts of the Embu District, although some dances are becoming rare and in danger of being forgotten by the younger generation. Such a dance is the pitl-hat dance, performed by older men and seen only on rare occasions. The stilt dance is another interesting dance to be seen in the Embu District. For this, the dancers wear master black cloaks and masks of white animal skin.

WAKAMBA

The fourth largest tribe in Kenya, Wakamba, numbering 1,197,712 inhabit the hills and plains to the east of Nairobi. For many years the wakamba have been the backbone of the Army, Prisons and the Police force and even today there are many more applicants for service among the Wakamba than can be accepted.

More recent has been the Wakambas emergence as a progressive farmer. Not many years ago, the countryside around Machakos began to resemble a desert after successive years of drought and over-cultivation. Drastic measures taken by the Government were at first resented by the Wakamba. But with acceptance of the new technique, a startling change soon came over the face of the country, so much that a British writer has described the event as like the "greatest miracle in Africa"

Machakos is one of the two tribal districts inhabited by the Wakamba. Some 690,613 tribesmen live in this 6,000 square mile district and another 333,808 in Kitui.

Machakos might have become the capital of Kenya in place of Nairobi, had the railway from Mombasa to Uganda passed this way instead of farther south. It was for centuries an important point on the caravan route to the interior.

The Wakamba are an independent, cheerful people who love to express themselves in song and **dance**. Their dancing is among the most spectacular of any African tribe and has been described as "acrobatic dancing", featuring double somersaults and other difficult gyrations.

As hunters and warriors, they are skilled in the use of the long bow, and use deadly poisons, but with the revolutionary progress in their agriculture, the industrious Wakamba have long since laid down their arms and taken up instead the hoe and the plough. As wood-carvers the Wakamba of one area possess considerable skill and their wooden animals find a ready market both in Kenya and overseas.

POKOMA

The Pokoma, who inhabit the banks of the banks of the Lower Tana River, are allied to the Coastal Bantu or Nyika group which include the Giriama, Digo and Duruma and some lesser tribes. The entire group trace their origin to the legendary city of Shungwaya, believed to have been near Somalia.

The Pokomo, farthest north of the group, have a close relationship with the River Tana, for they depend upon its floodwaters twice yearly to irrigate their good crops of rice, cassava and maize, the non-Muslims supplementing this diet with fish and the occasional hippopotamus or crocodile.

Some 35,181 Pokomo live in a district of over 9,000 square miles, but they inhabit only the river banks.

Dug-out canoes, hollowed from solid trees, serve as the Pokomo's chief means of transport, although more roads are being built to serve in the dry weather.

They are benefiting from the cotton-growing scheme under irrigation at the District Headquarters at Galole.

TAITA and TAVETA

The Bantu Taita who live in the cluster of hills rising out of the arid bush-country around Voi, on the railway from Mombasa, have a close affinity with the Nyika people nearer the coast, but over the years have acquired some of the customs of the Wakamba, including the habit of filing their teeth.

Most of the Taita, now numbering 114,818 live in an area only 500 square miles in extent, made up of one main mountain mass, a smaller one adjoining it and a separate mountain community on Sagalla, some distance away. Within the same district are the Taveta - a tribe of forest dwellers, who, although of the same ethnic group, have widely differing customs from the Taita.

The Taita, who have become one of the most progressive agricultural tribes in Kenya, still retain many tribal customs, including the preservation of ancestral skulls. The farmers in the Taita hills have displayed great ingenuity in managing their fertile,

clayey loam and irrigation is an old art, formerly achieved by miles and miles of "pipes" made from banana stems.

GIRIAMA

The white - kilted Giriama women are an integral feature of the coastal scene north of Mombasa. Their national costume, the hando, consists of 40 yards of white cloth, reaching from the waist to the knees. The men have mostly replaced the waistcloth of similar material with the two-piece clothes of the Swahili.

Like the Pokomo, the Giriama come from the north and were earlier settled at the mouth of the Sabaki River, but were forced to move further south and they now occupy land in the Kilifi District, cultivating cotton, cashew nuts, some tropical fruits, cassava, rice, millet, sorghum and eleusine. The great herds of cattle they once possessed have long since been lost to Masai raiders.

They are the traditional manufacturers of a deadly poison which is sold to other tribes, and used mainly for killing animals.

Between the Giriama and Mombasa there are several smaller sub-tribes including the Ribe, Rabai, Kauma, Jibana and Kambe.

DIGO and DURUMA

To the south and inland to the west of Mombasa are the lands of the Digo and Duruma people, both of the Nyika group. It appears that they travelled to their present territory after the Giriama had settled down in Kilifi District and Duruma legend tells of a hunter tribe, the Asi, who guided them through the Giriama country.

The Digo and Duruma, have much in common, except that the latter are the only people among the Nyika group to possess large herds of cattle which somehow they managed to preserve from the Masai raiders. Today the supply of milk to the collection center at Mariakani for sale in Mombasa is an important factor in Duruma economy.

Among the Duruma, as with the other Nyika peoples, the drum holds great significance and there is a sacred friction drum which no one may set eyes upon, except a privileged few. The dance is their national pastime—many nights are spent in dancing.

ABALUHYA

Abaluhya is the collective name given to the large groups of Bantu-speaking people who inhabit the high ground above the Kavirondo Gulf of Lake Victoria extending up to the foot of Mount Elgon. Their is bounded on the west by Uganda and on the east by the Nandi Escarpment.

Politically, and for the purposes of administration there are 16 major divisions of these Bantu peoples. Today, however, intermarriage is common and the political divisions are becoming less important. While the people themselves claim to have a common origin, it is obvious that they are made up of numerous immigrant groups and that the common denominator was their Bantu language which, over the years, has lost many of its differences and today is becoming standardized.

All belong to a series of Bantu invasions which entered Kenya quite independently of the Bantu settled to the east of the Rift Valley. It is believed that the Nyanza Bantu, who include the Kisii of South Nyanza as well as the Abaluhya, came into East Africa from the Lake Chad region of the Congo. Legend has it that they originated in Asia. Theirs is certainly the oldest known form of the Bantu language in East Africa.

Today the Abaluhya number around 1,453,302. Largest tribes in the group are the Bukusu, Maragoli, and Bunyore. The smaller tribes being the Isukha, Ikakho, Kabras, Bunyala, Marama, Wanga, Kisa, Bukhayo, Marach, Butsotso, Tiriki, Nyangori and Itesio. Although of Nandi origin, the Nyangori are today much more closely identified with the Baluhya, while the Itesio are part of the Nilo-Hamitic Teso tribe which separated when the borders of Uganda and Kenya were fixed.

Extensive tribal warfare resulted in splitting off the Kissii to the South from the remaining groups of Abaluhya. The maragoli and Nandi were night raiders, who harrassed the Abaluhya from the east while the Luo fought in mass phalanx by day from the west, forcing the Abaluhya to the higher country. At that time the Abaluhya lived in fortified villages for protection. The ruins of hundreds of these villages can be found today extending from the slopes of Elgon to the Kano plains near Kisumu.

The fertile country of the Abalunya provided amply for their day-to-day needs. Small effort was needed to produce two crops a year and because of this they did not acquire modern skills in cultivation until comparatively recently. While maize, millet, sorghum and beans had been their staple crops produced in surplus, cash crops of coffee are now being planted. It is potentially a very wealthy area and in the northern sector agricultural progress has been remarkable. However the southern section near Kisumu contains the highest density of population anywhere in East Africa, and land shortage is their serious problem.

The Abaluhya have a great thirst for education and they have a large number of schools. In the Maragoli and Bunyore areas the figure of children attending school stands as high as 80 per cent of those eligible and, unlike most other African schools in East Africa, there are usually as many girls as boys to be found in the primary classes.

Education has had the effect of changing tribal customs more rapidly than in other areas and few, if any, of the more spectacular tribal ceremonies survive today. Ancient crafts have been lost, but today there is an effort being made to revive an interest in the ancient crafts of basketwork, pottery, tribal dances and ceremonies.

KISII

Although they entered what is now Kenya with the Abaluhya tribes now living to the north of Kisumu, the Kisii eventually made their way to the very fertile hill country of South Nyanza, after a series of clashes with the Kipsigis and probably later with the Luo.

The Kisii, numbering some 701,679 have earned a reputation as good farmers in a very favored agricultural area which produces a good income to those who have adopted modern methods of agriculture. Coffee is destined to be one of the main economic factor among the Kisii, although pyrethrum and tea, together with a large quantity of maize, is produced in the Kisii Highlands. Cooperative societies have proven most successful.

The Kisii have produced several remarkable athletes, Nyandika Maiyoro, the long-distance runner, has achieved international status. Both he and Arere Anentia, who is also a Kisii represented Kenya at the Olympic games.

The tribe has many craftsmen skilled in wood carving and pottery.

NILOTICS

LUO

Professor E.E Evans-Pritchard, the first professional anthropologist to study the Luo people, once described their migration pattern as being like a line of shunting railway wagons, each wagon representing a tribe which pushed and forced similar tribes backwards and forwards in the struggle to establish themselves along the shores

of Lake Victoria. Not only did the Luo fight the Abaluhya, Nandi, Kipsigis and Kisii, but also fought each toher. Their skill in warfare is renowned. They fought in tight-knit phalanx, protected by a wall of huge shields and long spears which were not thrown, but thrust at the enemy. No tribe in the area could survive a day raid by the Luo. They were not night fighters, however, and the Kipsigis and Nandi reaped revenge, often with drastic consequences to Luo during the night. Many elderly people can remember the sight of villages blazing at night, when the huts of the Luo were burned down over their heads by the Kipsigis and Nandi.

There are over 1,521,595 Luo in East Africa, Mostly in Kenya. The word "Luo" means "swamp" and these swamp dwellers originally lived in the swamp lands (Sudd) of the upper Nile Valley. As fish eaters they have perfected methods of drying fish of all kinds, producing an extremely palatable product.

In modern times the Luo have produced several prominent political and trade union leaders in Kenya. Their natural solidarity and family structure teaches the youngest Luo to work with people. He is eminently successful, therefore, in urban environments.

The land tenure system of the Luo is based on his family system and each family, clan and tribe has land which it calls its own to the exclusion of all other families, clans and tribes. A Luo, therefore, is able to migrate to the towns without fear of losing his inheritance, but this customary method of tenure leads to excessive fragmentation of holdings. At any given time over half of the adult male Luo are far away from their homeland, working in the towns and on the farms in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Many are working in Nairobi, where they are settled with their families as urban workers, especially on the railways. Still more are working on farms, sisal, tea and sugar plantations while a number travel to far-off Mombasa where they are employed in large numbers in the port. A few even travel beyond the borders of Kenya to work in Tanzania and Uganda.

Many Luo travel far from their homeland because it is expected of a young man with a reputation that he should earn enough money to pay his taxes and buy a few cattle for his father. Young men like to spend a few years of married life in the towns before settling down to farming work at home. Also there is the important question of earning enough to pay the all-essential "bride price".

But the Luo, although they may wander far over the face of East Africa, nearly always come home to their shambas (farms) in Nyanza by the shore of Lake Victoria.

NILO - HAMITES

TURKANA

The Turkana occupy the whole of the north-west of Kenya which lies in the Rift Valley between the escarpment of the Uganda border to the west and Lake Rudolf to the east. The Rift Valley at this point is more than 2,000 feet lower than the surrounding country. Their neighbors are the Nilo-Hamitic Suk to the south and south-west and the Samburu to the south-east. They are a tribe of the Karamojong cluster - a Nilo-Hamitic speaking group of tribes extending into Uganda and the Sudan. There are now about 203,177 who seldom leave

their tribal area, but a few are to be found in employment on the farms around Kitale and Laikipia.

Historically the Turkana split off from the Jie tribe on the Ethiopian escarpment to the north. Their legend tells of a young man who, in search of an ox wandered into the Tarash Valley where he met a woman of his own tribe. They were so impressed with the rich, empty country, its grazing and its profusion of wild fruits and berries, that they returned to their homeland to encourage a company of young men and women to join them.

The women of Turkana society have a high status, those of the Bantu and Nilotic Tribes. The young women dress in superbly made bead and shell ornaments. The chief ornaments are heavy metal ankle rings and an ostrich-shell-adorned leather girdle.

The Turkana do not circumcise as other Nilo-Hamites, but have a very intricate and efficient system of age groups based on an initiation ceremony to manhood involving the killing of a bull by the initiate with his spear.

The Turkana are cattle people and each man has several animals which he venerates as if they were deities. He regards them as intermediaries between his soul and that of his ancestors. He sings songs of praise to them at the warrior dances, depends on them for marriage, wealth, feasting and security. The chief food of the Turkana is milk from sheep, goats, camels and cattle.

MASAI

When Joseph Thompson, the first European to walk from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, encountered the Masai on his epic journey in 1883, he found them a pastoral, nomadic tribe, living only on meat, milk and blood and grazing their flocks and herds at will over a vast territory. Their once-dominant position over most other East African tribes was due to their effective military organization, for their tribal system of age-grades enabled them to have a standing army of young warriors, moran, not unlike the Zulu impi. Military service was compulsory for all youths of the tribe from the age of 17 to 30, but the advent of the Pax Britannica deprived these warriors of their raison d'etre.

Today Masai Morah still blood their spears on lions which attack their cattle. In 1911 the tribe moved into a unified area of some 15,000 square miles. Today the tribal population, men women and children, is some 154,906. It is estimated that they own about three-quarters of a million head of cattle but, despite this huge land unit and small population, the Masai problems of today include overgrazing around the limited watering points since much of the country is arid.

Big strides have been made in recent years to show the tribe the benefits of keeping fewer and better cattle and stock sales are now a regular feature of district life. The tribe is becoming keen on educational facilities, both for men and women and several girls schools have been opened in recent years.

The Masai have much natural charm and inspire great affection with those with whom they come in contact.

NANDI

There is a large sub-group within the Nilo-Hamitic group known as the Kalenjin, after the language they have in common. The Kalenjin include the Nandi, Kipsigis, Elgeyo, Marakwet, Pokot (Suk), Tugen, Kamasya, Sapei and Kony.

All the Kalenjin people today live in the western part of Kenya, some along the western rim of the Great Rift Valley. They claim to have originated from Mount Elgon on the Uganda border.

They have much in common with the Masai and, although much of their wealth is still counted in stock a number have become cultivators. The Nandi are perhaps the best known to the group through their associations with early European travellers in the days before the advent of the Uganda Railway. This former warrior race has made some headway in cultivating their land, but still retain many cattle in their country, which consists of a well-watered plateau 5,000 and 7,000 feet.

KIPSIGIS

The Kipsigis, the most southerly of the Kalenjin-speaking peoples of Kenya, occupy the fertile land above Lake Victoria south-east of Kisumu and centred around Kericho, "place of the medicine man".

In years gone by the Kipsigis lived like the Masai with large herds of cattle, the Kipsigis frequently clashed with their Masai and Kisii neighbors to the south and east. The coming of the British put an end to the tribal warfare and, after a serious wave of stock-theft, the Kipsigis settled down to a more static life.

In recent years the Kipsigis have made rapid progress in agriculture until today their reserve is a model farming area, well fenced, paddocked and with an increasing number of good quality cattle. Many of the farmers are also going in for cash crops, including cattle, tea and pyrethrum.

For those Kipsigis still in search of adventure, the Army and police attract many recruits.

POKOT (SUK)

Culturally similar to the Turkana, but ethnically separate, are the Pokot of north-west Kenya. They originated by a mixture of Nandi and Karamojong. One section has taken to agriculture, while the other has remained purely pastoral. The Pokot recognize this difference themselves and call the hill people who cultivate - Pi Pa Pax - Pi Pa Tic - "Cattle people". The Kenya Pokot number more than 93,437 and there are nearly 20,000 in Uganda.

The Pokot and Karamojong have fought for several decades over grazing rights. In spite of the increased missionary influence, the Pokot remain untouched by western society.

Unlike most pastoral people, the Pokot were great hunters. Their chief diet, however, remains milk, blood and meat. Millet and maize meal are becoming increasingly important in the Pokot diet today.

Marriage among the Pokot is literally until death, there being no means of divorced. Children born of a women after her husband's death are regarded as his own children. Polygamy is practiced widely and ten or more wives are not uncommon.

The pokot practice circumcision and have an age-set structure which is much less rigid than the Masai or Turkana and has no specific warrior (morán) group. It is a compromise, a two-fold age system, the Nandi type of cycle-recurrent age set, called Pen, and another ceremonial age groups called Sapana, derived from the Karamojong. The men wear ivory lip plugs, often a metal nose plate and the style is of the traditional red ochre and mud similar to the Turkana, except that it is much longer and often reaches down base of the neck and ostrich feathers feature as ornaments in the mud and dung "pigtail".

SAMBURU

The Samburu tribesmen of northern Kenya call themselves "the world's top people" - and they believe it. They cling tenaciously to their won way of life, but have accepted the Governments advice on animal husbandry which has put them in the forefront of Africa's nomadic cattle people. Today the 54,796- strong Samburu own 350,000 hump back cattle which produce good beef.

Their land is, for the most part, inhospitable in the extreme and, save for the high country, it is semi-desert with little or no water. The choice portion of Samburu country is the Leroghi plateau and the country around the district headquarters of Maralal, but most of the Samburu have to make do with the low sun-scortched plains which makes good cattle country, but is extremely tough for humans.

The warriors of the Samburu, colorful characters in red-ochred pigtailed, are a rugged company who are showing signs of giving up their wayward life of unity and idleness to assist in the important task of cattle management.

Age-groups among these Nilo-Hamites are all important and social life still revolves very much around the tribal ceremonies which are the mile-stones in life, starting with initiation at an early age.

Samburu women, like Masai women, love to adorn themselves with all manner of trinkets and beaded finery. The Samburu, who have some of the most handsome men in Africa also have some of the prettiest girls.

Samburu tribal customs have changed little over the centuries, and these nomadic cattle-people, whom the Masai have dubbed "butterflies" because of their constant movement, are well worth visiting.

Their toughness is legendary. It is nothing for a young warrior to walk 60 miles without food or water or tackle a lion with only his spear.

ELGEYO - MARAKWET

This group of the Kalenjin-speaking people inhabit the steep western wall of the Rift Valley which drops from the cold windswept grasslands of the Cherangani hills about 10,000 feet above sea level, down to about 3,000 feet. While their district has some of the most impossible land for cultivation, there are patches of highly fertile land on the top of the escarpment where progressive African farmers cultivate good crops of wheat, pyrethrum and vegetables.

A feature of the lower areas is the high degree of skill which the tribesmen have shown in irrigating the land.

The Elgeyo and Marakwet are two of the few tribes in Africa which do not have a system of bride-price in marriage; the custom still survives where a marriage is solemnized only after pregnancy.

The heights of the Cherangani where the Marakwet have their livestock are thickly forested and form the last haunts of the bango.

TUGEN and NJEMPS

Although the Tugen and Njemps today live in the same district of Baringo, in the Rift Valley, to the north of Nakuru, they are tribes with different origins. The Tugen are hill people of the Kalenjin group who have settled on the fertile ridges of the Kamsia Hills and on the steep slopes, where they graze their stock.

The Tugen (their name means "hill dweller") are in two groups - the northern being largely agriculturalist, cultivating on a system resembling that in use in the early Anglo-Saxon period of England. To the south, the other group are large stock-owners. Like their neighbors the Elgeyo and the Nandi, the Tugen make good athletes.

The Njemps are an offshoot of the Masai who fled after a heavy defeat when they lost all their cattle. They are the "Wa-kwafi", known to the early caravan travellers in the Baringo area, who have become cultivators using water for extensively irrigating their land. A century ago this area was renowned for its crops.

HAMITES

SOMALI

Somali is the name of the branch of the Hamitic race living in the so-called "Horn of Africa". The limit of the Somalis southward penetration is the Tana River and, except for some traders, the majority of the Somali in Kenya live north of the river.

The word "Somali" which covers a number of separate clans, is said to be derived from the two Arabic words *zu mal*, meaning "possessors of wealth" and, like most of the nomadic peoples in northern Kenya, their wealth is in their herds of cattle, sheep and camels which they move from place to place to find the best grazing.

Although the tribe has long been converted to Islam, the Somali women do not follow the custom of living in seclusion (*purdah*). Most Somalis are useful with their hands, many younger men being employed in the towns.

BORAN and ORMA

Both the Boran and Orma belong to the Galla group with their origins in Ethiopia. The Orma form the most southerly penetration of Hamites living in the country on either side of the Tana River. The Boran, driven southwards by pressure from the Somali peoples, still roam over a wide area but there are concentrations around Marsabit, Garba Tulla and Moyale in the north.

The Orma have a permanent source of water for their cattle along the Tana River and Uaso Nyiro provides a supply for the Boran, but those members of the tribe away from the river have to depend mainly upon the wells during the dry weather.

For both tribes cattle is the principal form of wealth and the breed evolved by the Boran has a reputation for hardiness which makes them popular in other areas of Kenya. The Orma, who share the Tana River District with the Bantu Pokomo, have for many generations practiced an enlightened cattle breeding policy. Both are largely Islamized.

RENDILLE and GABBRA

only the fittest survive in the harsh, inhospitable desert country of Kenya's north. The Rendille have adapted themselves completely to letely to this arid land of lava rock and sparse scrub shich supports less than one person to the square mile.

Camels, which provide them with milk and meat, also with transport, are their mainstay, but today they have an almost equal number of cattle, sheep and goats and life is one continual search for water and grazing. Camels are still the chief form of "bride wealth" among the Rendille.

The tribe is thought to have entered Kenya from what is now Somalia, in flight from the Somali Ogaden. After settling for a time near the Lorian Swamp, the Rendille moved to Marsabit Mountain around 1900, but once again they moved only to be balked finally by the shores of Lake Rudolf and today they inhabit most of the Marsabit District as far south as the Ndoto Mountains and Mount Nyiro, bordering the Samburu country.

From time to time they have suffered seriously from raids by the Boran and the Ethiopian Gelubba and only the vigilance of Kenya's security forces prevents further attacks from the north, with the wanton killing of men, women and children. In are also Hamites like the Rendille and closely related, despite the bitter fueds of the past.

A feature of the dress of the skin-clad women is the crest of ochre-colored mud which is worn on the heads of married women who have born a male child.

OTHER TRIBES

DOROBO

The Dorobo are a people of forest-dwellers and, like the Bushmen of Southern Africa with whom they are believed to share a common origin, they are small in stature and live by hunting. The Dorobo of Kenya, Lacking any language of their own, have borrowed the language and customs of their neighbors.

There are only about 900 pure Dorobo families left in Kenya at the present day. Others having become mixed with the races with whom they traded their skins and honey. A Masai legend says that at the beginning of the world a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and a girl who issued from his shin bone and they became the ancestors of the whole human race.

Living close to nature in the forest, the Dorobo hunters have an intimate knowledge of animal life.

EL MOLO

The El Molo must number among the smallest tribes in the world. These people live on the inhospitable shores of Lake Rudolf in the far north of Kenya - about 300 men, women and children. They have clung to this home for centuries and stubbornly refuse to leave for more congenial surroundings to the south.

Not a blade of grass grows on the shore of the Lake and the land within 20 miles of the shore baked in furnace-like heat, consists of bare lava rock. The water, whipped up by the almost constant wind, is highly alkaline and is responsible for many of the ailments which trouble the tribe. However, it supports plenty of fish and this forms a monotonous diet.

Little is known of the El Molo's origins, but anthropologists do not think they are related to any other Kenya tribe, but believe they may be survivals of the primitive race which peopled East Africa long before the arrival of the Nilo-Hamitic and Bantu tribes.

EL KOVY - (ELGON MASAI)

This offshoot of the Nandi-Kalenjin group lives at what is probably the highest altitude of any tribe in Africa. Their home today is above the forest line on the upper slopes of Mount Elgon about 11,000 feet above sea level.

Their proper title is El Kony, although they are commonly, but incorrectly, called the Elgon Masai. Formerly they lived in caves in the forest a few thousand feet lower down Mount Elgon, an extinct volcano on the Kenya Uganda border.

WALIANGULU

This hardy group of elephant hunters inhabits the arid scrub of the coast hinterland bordering on the Tsavo Park. Some authorities believe they are related to the Dorobo and other indigenous inhabitants of Kenya and, except that the Dorobo are forest dwellers and the Waliangulu live in the open game country, they have much in common. Other sub-groups closely related include the Boni, Asi and Sanye. All are expert marksman with the bow and arrow, using powerful poisons to kill elephant and other big game.

TENDE - (KURIA)

The Tende are a fragment of the Kuria tribe of Tanzania, living in a portion of the southern part of Nyanza, close to the border. They are an offshoot of the Masai who gave up their nomadic habits some time ago for more settled customs; their fly-inhabited country

being traditionally unsuited to cattle-rearing on any scale. The Tende are renowned for their dancing, the men performing some dances with wooden blocks strapped to their feet to provide small platforms.

BAJUN

The Bajun are a branch of the Swahili people with a large admixture of Arab blood. They inhabit the islands around Lamu and to the north and are found in many of the fishing villages of the Kenya coast. They live almost entirely as fishermen and sailors. They are also actively engaged in the mangrove pole (Boriti) industry along the coast.

MODERN AFRICA

A growing percentage of Kenyans living in the urban areas of Kenya are becoming detribalized, having little or no contact with their compatriots in the reserves.

Kenya citizens of all tribes and races occupy nearly all leading places in government services. While some assistance from abroad is still required in a few technical fields, far-reaching training schemes are under way for local people.

Similar progress can be recorded by some of the large commercial companies who have given increased responsibilities to suitably qualified Africans.

Kenya women still fall behind their menfolk in this progress, but they too, have been making headway. In the field of medicine, for instance, the stream of African girls coming forward from secondary schools to begin training as fully-qualified nurses is helping to raise the standards throughout the country.

Valuable work is being done by the "Women's Progress" movement. Women sit on most county councils.

POPULATION OF KENYANS OF AFRICAN ORIGIN

(Based on returns from the 1969 population census)

Bantu

Kikuyu	2,201,632
Meru	554,256
Embu	117,969
Pokomo/Riverine Giriama, Duruma and Digo (Mijikenda)	35,181
Abaluhya	520,520
Kisii	1,453,302
Kamba	701,679
Taita and Taveta	1,197,712
Kuria	114,818
Swahili/Shirazi	59,875
Tharaka/Mbere	9,971
	101,130

Total	7,068,045
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NILO-HAMATIC

Masai	154,906
Samburu	54,796
Turkana	203,177
Nandi	261,969
Kipsigis	471,459
Pokot	93,437
Elgeyo and Marakwet	190,621
Tugen and Njemps	136,775
Iteso	85,800

Total	1,652,940
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HAMITIC

Somali	266,037
Rendille and Gabbra	73,292
Total	339,329

NILOTICS AND OTHERS

Luo	1,521,595
Ban jun	24,387
Boni/Sanye	3,972
Sabaot	42,468
Dorobo	21,034
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Total	1,613,456

TOTAL KENYANS

10,673,770

POPULATION BY RACE 1911 - 1962

<u>RACE</u>	<u>CENSUS YEAR</u>		
	1911	1931	1963
African and Somali	-	-	8,365,942
Non-African:			
Asian	11,787	43,623	176,613
European	3,175	16,812	55,759
Arab	9,100	12,166	34,048
Other	99	1,346	3,901
Total non-African	24,161	73,947	270,321
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Total	-	-	8,636,263
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