

Topic 5

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

Since 1895 when Kenya became a British protectorate, the Kenyans objective has been

1. A return to basic human freedom
2. Political independence.

Factors that led to the rise of African nationalism in colonial Kenya

- Introduction of taxation i.e. poll tax and Hut tax
- Introduction of Kipande system by colonial government
- Forced labour and poor wages for Africans.
- The question of land alienation,
- Racial discrimination in provision of social services;
- Disregard for African culture and traditions
- Poor working conditions for African in industries and farms.
- Imposition of de-stocking policy.
- Lack of participation for Africans in the government

Nationalism was expressed through the formation of several political associations.

Early Political Organizations in Kenya up to 1939

Emergence of many political associations between 1919 and 1939 was attributed to the participation of many African in World War 1. The war made many Africans communities meet and compare their experiences and they realized they had common problems. They also realized that the whiteman was not different from them. He could get wounded and also die. This encouraged them to strive for equal rights with the Europeans. It also gave them unity.

However after the war, the following took place

1. Governor **Edward Northey** introduced the soldiers' settlement scheme in 1919 that settled many ex-soldiers who fought in the First World War. The African ex-soldiers did not benefit, neither did they get compensation.
2. The Kipande system subjected Africans to forced labour.
3. The colonialists replaced the Indian rupee with the Kenya shilling therefore those with the Indian rupee found themselves with valueless money.
4. Reduction of the African wages by a third and the increase of the hut tax and the poll tax from 10/= to 16/=
5. The change of the status of Kenya from a protectorate to a colony in 1920 made Africans realize that the whiteman was determined to stay.

Characteristics of early political organizations

1. The political associations were ethnic/tribal/urban based before 1940.
2. They were non-militant
3. They were led by educated African chiefs
4. They were formed in response to socio-economic and lands problems of various ethnic groups.
5. Their demands focused mainly on the welfare of the people.

Kikuyu Central Association

It was the pioneer African political Association in Kenya. It was founded in 1920 by a number of Kikuyu chiefs loyal to the colonial government, but had realized that much of the African land was being taken away by the whites.

It was headed by paramount chief Kinyanjui wa Gathirimu (patron) and Chief Koinange wa Mbiyu as president. Other Members included Josiah Njonjo Philip Karanja, Mathew Njoroge and Waweru wa Mahui.

The association complained about land alienation, the reduction of African wages and the introduction of the kipande through the native Registration Ordinance.

In 1921 I.M Ishmael the secretary sent a letter to the East African Standard denouncing the two issues and equating the kipande system with slavery.

The Association did not achieve much for it was made up of loyal chiefs who didn't want to differ with the colonialists.

Later, the association attracted Christian converts in central Kenya and Nairobi. **Harry Thuku** and **Abdalla Tairara** joined it.

In 1931 Thuku and his followers disagreed with the leaders at a meeting in Dagoretti because of his radical views. He decamped and formed the *Young Kikuyu Association*.

Young Kikuyu Association

Formed in the June 1921 and had the following founders

Harry Thuku

Abdalla Tairara

Mwalimu Hamisi

Mohamed Sheikh

Thuku was educated at the Gospel missionary Society school at Kambui.

He worked as a telephone operator in Nairobi.

The main reason why the Young kikuyu Association was formed was that the Kikuyu Association which was dominated by the colonial chiefs had failed to press the colonial government for African demands.

Y.K.A under Thuku adopted a mere radical approach which the leaders of the Kikuyu Association disliked.

Thuku with the Y.K.A demanded for the following

1. All alienated land should be returned
2. Better working conditions for Africans
3. Reduction of taxes especially the poll tax
4. Withdrawal of Kipande system
5. The wages of African workers should not be reduced, but increased.
6. That all land owners be given title deeds.

This organization was not tribal. Later on, the founders saw the need to bring in many more ethnic groups since they argued that all Africans had similar grievances against the whites. They then made them change the name to the **East African Association**.

Harry Thuku, through his articles, activities and speeches stressed on the importance of inter-community unity.

The name E.A.A was adopted at a meeting attended by Harry Thuku as a Chairman,

George Samuel Okoth

Abdalla Tairara

Kibwana Kambo (Tanzanian)

Jesse Kariuki

Joseph Kangethe

Z.K Sentongo (Uganda)

Molanket Ole Sempole

James Mwanthi and Mohamed Sheikh

Thuku sought the help of the Asian politicians like M.A. Desai who published the East African Chronicles newspaper and helped to provide vehicles for transport.

He also got in touch with the Pan- African movement by writing a letter to Marcus Garvey and W.E.B Du Bois. He also wrote to the London colonial office and this led to his sacking from government.

He was now able to travel the country widely and publicize his ideas. The Asians gave him a vehicle that enabled him to travel to Kisumu and get in touch with James Beuttah of the Kavirondo Taxpayer Welfare Association.

E.A.A met with a lot of opposition from the Kikuyu Chiefs and Christian missionaries who felt that he undermined their authority by preaching against them.

In the 1920s Thuku became so popular that he organized a rally in Thika that attracted 10,000 people. In this, he basically attacked the colonial chiefs and the white settlers. This made the colonial government organize more rallies through the chiefs to counter Thukus influence.

The E.A.A demanded for the following (at a rally at Ngara 10th July 1921)

1. The revocation of the colonial status of the country by the British government.
2. Organisation of Legco elections on a common roll for all races
3. Abolition of the hut tax that was mainly paid by Africans.
4. Return of the land taken by the white settlers and the colonial government.
5. An end to the forced labour.
6. An increase in wages for urban Africans labourers.
7. Provision of better education for Africans.

The E.A.A. bitterly opposed the introduction of Kipande in 1920 through the native ordinance which stated that it was a criminal offence for any adult African not to have registered as a adult. Africans who left duty were easily arrested and taken back to their employers.

The Africans also got offended by the kipande which apart from stating the wage paid; it was put in a tin hung on the neck like dogs collar.

Harry Thuku was arrested on 15th March 1922 and detained at the Kingsway police station (Central Police Station). This attracted a large crowd of people who demanded for his release. A shootout began and 21 people were killed including Muthoni Nyanjiru who incited the crowd.

Thuku was deported to Kismayu. His friends like Waiganjo and Mugekenyi were banished to Lamu and E.A.A was banned.

Thukus arrest and final deportation led to the following.

1. Kenyans realized that the colonial government was determined to maintain an iron rule.
2. They were to be more radical while calling for change
3. Positively the colonial government secretary Sir Winston Churchill recalled the governor of Kenya Sir Edward Northey for he had mishandled Thukus affair, leading to the death of many innocent Africans.
4. The colonial government banned the formation of any political parties in Kenya till after the Second World War.
5. It earned Thuku a name as the undisputed flag-bearer of Kenyan nationalism.

Kikuyu Central Association

It was formed from the remnants of Harry Thuku East African Association.

Jesse Kariuki and Joseph Kang'ethe were among the founder members.

It was formed in 1924 at Kahuhia (Fort Hall) now Murang'a with the following

- Joseph Kang'ethe (President)

- Henry Gichuru as Secretary
- Job Muchuchu as Treasurer
- James Beuttah as secretary general
- Jesse Kariuki as vice president

They were regarded as extremists by the colonial government and their activities were closely monitored.

Its objectives

1. Getting back the land that was taken from the Kikuyu
2. Pressing for the reduction of taxes
3. Putting an end to racial discrimination
4. Lifting the ban on cash crop growing among Africans.

The Kikuyu were bitter because their arable land had been taken by the Whites at a time when their population was increasing very fast.

The association demanded for

1. The release of Thuku
2. The appointment of a well educated paramount chief elected by the majority of the Kikuyu.
3. They demanded for the putting up of a secondary school, training facility for hospital workers and a school for girls.
4. They sought for permission to grow coffee and cotton and an end to compulsory demolition of houses.
5. They demanded that all colonial laws be translated to Kikuyu so that all members of the community could understand them.
6. That the government should respect African culture e.g. circumcision.

However the colonial government saw them as people without direction and didn't consider the demands of K.C.A seriously. By 1925 the Association had begun to attract a large membership. The members began to take an oath of total loyalty to the association.

In 1925 they shifted their headquarters from Fort Hall to Nairobi so as to get into contact with the majority of the Kikuyu elites. In 1928, Kenyatta became the secretary general.

In 1929 the Hilton Young Commission was established to look in to the question of the Federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Beuttah, the K.C.A secretary was appointed to present their views to the commission. He was transferred from Nairobi to ensure he does not appear before Hilton Commission. It was for this reason that Jomo Kenyatta replaced him as secretary.

Kenyatta worked hard to strengthen and broaden the organization e.g. he began a party magazine called **Muiguithania** (The Conciliator) of which he was the editor.

The following were the demands that Kenyatta presented to the Hilton Young Commission on behalf of the K.C.A

1. Introduction of free primary education by the government for Africans
2. Provision of secondary education and higher education for Africans.
3. Abolition of the Kipande law
4. Appointment of African representative to the Legco.
5. Release of Harry Thuku
6. Granting of the title deeds to Africans as a guarantee against further land alienation
7. Rejection of the proposed East African Federation since K.C.A felt that such a federation would make the whites too powerful in the region.

A conflict between K.C.A and the Christian missionaries emerged in the late 1920s over the Agikuyu female circumcision tradition. The Protestants led by the Church of Scotland

mission opposed the rite. They argued that it would lead to complications at childbirth and secondly, it was a mutilation of women's genitals.

K.C.A argued that it was a beautiful cultural practice which would eradicate prostitution in the community.

By then the elites were worried about the increased number of young unmarried women engaging in prostitution in Pangani and Kileleshwa slums in Nairobi.

The old men felt bad about the dowry they were losing from such unmarried women.

The Church of Scotland Mission (CSM), Gospel Missionary Society (GMS) and African Inland Mission (AIM) all fought against female circumcision.

In 1929 K.C.A sent Kenyatta to London to present the Agikuyu grievances to the colonial office. He went with **Parrmenas Mukiri**. The delegation main issue was land.

It continued to struggle for the African welfare until 1940 when it was banned together with the Ukambani Members Association and the Taita Hills Association.

Kavirondo Tax Payers and Welfare Association

It emerged as the Young Kavirondo Association in western Kenya in 1921.

It was founded by mission educated Young men graduates of the C.M.S school at Maseno.

It was started at a Baraza meeting at Ludha in central Nyanza in December 1921. Here, the mission educated Luo and Abaluyia met to discuss various issues affecting the African communities. The meeting called itself 'Piny Owacho' (*Voice of the People*)

The officials included

Jonathan Okwiri as Chairman

Simeon Nyende as treasurer

Benjamin Owuor as Secretary

Reuben Omulo

Ezekiel Apindi

George Okoth

Mathayo Otieno

Joel Omino

Jolmeo Okaka

Demands of Young Kavirondo Association

1. Abolition of the Kipande law
2. End to forced labour
3. End of land alienation
4. Scraping of high taxes for Africans
5. Better wages
6. Revocation of the change of status from a protectorate to a colony
7. A separate Legco for Nyanza province with an elected African president
8. Setting up of more government schools in Nyanza
9. Creation of a paramount chief for Nyanza just as it was in Western Province for Mumia
10. Giving of individual title deeds for land to guard against land alienation

In 1922, the Y.K.A met with the Nyanza Provincial commissioner to discuss the grievances. They also met with Governor Edward Northey at Nyahera in Kisumu. He then gave in to the following demands

1. Closed down all labour camps in the region
2. Reduced taxation
3. Reduced forced labour

4. Declared that the revocation of the crown colony was out of question.

Y.K.A became so popular in Nyanza till a C.M.S Archdeacon Owen was asked by the government to intervene as he had good relation with them. Finally Jonathan Okwiri was convinced to hand over the presidency of the association to Archdeacon Owen in 1923. By then, the leadership of Y.K.A feared that they would be banned like the E.A.A. To them, Owen would

1. Protect their members

2. Air their grievances to the colonial administration

Under Archdeacon Owen, the associations name was changed to **Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare association**. Its objectives also changed from political grievances to social concerns which included better food, clothing, education and hygiene.

They resorted to the use of written memorandum to express their grievances to the colonial government. However, those in authority did nothing to address the grievances.

Owen went ahead and started campaigning for

1. Digging of pit latrines

2. Killing of rats

3. Keeping compounds clean so as to eradicate diseases.

In 1931 the association faced serious problems that led to its splitting into the Abaluyia and Luo factions. The Luo continued to follow Owen while the Luyia formed the **North Kavirondo Central Association** which remained close to the K.C.A

The Luyia formed the N.K.C.A because they were unhappy with the Kakamega gold rush and land alienation.

By 1944 K.T.W.A had died because many of its top leaders were co-opted into the colonial administration e.g. Jonathan Okwiri was promoted to being a chief, Benjamin Owuor, Simeon Nyende and Jonathan Okwiri were made members of the Local Native Council. This meant that they would not contradict the wishes of the colonial administration.

Ukamba Members Association

It was founded by the Akamba in 1938. The founders were

1. Samuel Muindi Mbingu as Chairman
2. Elijah Kavula as Vice Chairman
3. Isaac Mwalonzi as secretary
4. Simon Kioko as treasurer.

Like the E.A.A, K.C.A, Y.K.A, the Akamba were concerned about the loss of land to European ranches, taxation and forced labour. They were overcrowded and practiced overstocking which led to serious soil erosion in Kitui and Machakos.

In response to this, the colonial government introduced a destocking policy. A company known as Liebig's Group set up as a meat processing plant in Ukambani. The government began to seize the Akamba animals and sell them to the plant at low prices. This finally provoked the Akamba into forming the **Ukambani Members Association**.

The founders of U.M.A were close to the E.A.A. e.g. Ali Kironji, James Mwanthi, and Mohammed Sheikh. U.M.A also got support from Indians such as Isher Das.

On 28th July 1938, U.M.A organized for a protest march to Nairobi. The Kamba men, women, and children walked with their animals to Nairobi to protest the seizure of their animals. They were led by Muindi Mbingu. They staged a protest for six weeks demanding to see the governor who talked to them and also gave in to their demands at a meeting in Machakos.

This action didn't please the colonial administration. Muindi Mbingu was arrested in September 1938 and deported to Lamu.

U.M.A was banned together with K.C.A. Muiguithania journal for K.C.A helped to educate the cause of the Akamba through various activities.

The only unique thing about U.M.A was their ability to mobilize the whole community in a peaceful protest against the government.

Coast African Association

Its formation was influenced by Arabs and Asians who had already formed the Coast Arab Association and the Indian Congress.

The Key leaders of the association included

1. Noah Mwana Sele as President
2. Mohamed Bin Mwichande as Vice President
3. E.W Timothy as Secretary General
4. H.G Banks as treasurer

Committee members included

1. Mohammed Bin Omar
2. Enoch Benjamin
3. H. Harrison

It demanded for the following

1. Removal of the uneducated chiefs from the local native council and the replacement with educated Africans.
2. The appointment of African colonial officials.
3. Elevation of Shimo La Tewa School to a high school.
4. Setting up of evening classes in the region to give adult Africans a chance to pursue western education.
5. Use of taxes collected from African traditional drinks to improve the African facilities.
6. Revocation of land allocated to Arabs and Asians who now owned large tracts of land at the expense of the Mijikenda.

This organization was led by educated African men. They adopted a method of sending memoranda to the government because they were careful not to be punished like the leaders of the E.A.A. and U.M.A.

This approach pleased the colonialists who did not ban the association.

C.A.A set up a newspaper '*The Coast African Express*' whose editor was **Elkana Young**. The paper was used to articulate the grievances of the association, and by 1947 it was demanding for representation of the region in the Legco.

In 1955 it began to disintegrate when two of its members, Francis Khamisi and Ronald Ngala joined the Mombasa African Democratic Union and the Legco. This led to leadership wrangles among the members.

Achievements of the Coast Africa Association

1. Education facilities were improved with the elevation of Shimo La Tewa school
2. The Mijikenda were rewarded with Legco positions and other appointments.

Taita Hills Association

It was closely modeled on the K.C.A and U.M.A styles. They had two key grievances

1. Land alienation i.e. most of the fertile land of the community had been occupied by European settlers and converted into coffee plantations
2. Forced labour. They were to uproot the coffee and ferry it over long distances.
3. They protested against kipande system and destocking policy

Daniel Mapinga, a young catechist began to mobilize the Wataita against the oppressive measures, but he died in 1937.

He was succeeded by

1. Woresho Kolandi Mengo
2. Jimmy Mwambichi
3. Paul Chumbo who established the Taita Hills Association.

They used the system of protest letters to the colonial government. This made the government to shelf the plan of moving the Wataita from their ancestral land

On the other hand, the government also reduced the land initially carved out for European settlers.

They stopped the destocking measures against the Wataita.

The association faced two problems

1. They failed to attract prominent people in Taita
2. Not all groups in the region supported them, e.g. Taveta and Wagisiga.

Finally the association was banned in May 1940. Mwambichi was arrested and deported.

Problem faced by Early Political Organizations

1. Harassment by the colonial government
2. Deportation of their leaders e.g. Harry Thuku, Muindi Mbingu and Mwambichi which demoralized members of the association
3. Political wrangles/disagreements between members e.g. C.A.A which died upon the departure of the leaders.
4. Lack of skills in running political parties which led to mismanagement of the offices.
5. Lack of funds to run the association, since the Africans were faced with the problem of land alienation, taxation and poor working conditions.
6. Disunity as most associations were ethnic based.
7. Banning of the associations by the colonial government.
8. Poor means of transport and communication

Characteristics of early political organizations

1. Were led by mission educated young men who had the organization ability e.g. Harry Thuku, Jonathan Okwiri and Jimmy Mwambichi.
2. They confined to one or two ethnic communities except the E.A.A.
3. They got the support from Asians both material and moral.
4. Had familiar grievances, of great importance being land alienation
5. Most of them agitated for better living conditions and end to European exploitation and oppression.
6. They failed to attract a large membership due to the ethnic concerns.

Methods used to air their grievances

1. The use of mass media such as newspapers like Coast African Express.
2. Protests e.g. the Akamba trek to Nairobi
3. Writing memorandums
4. Addressing protest letters to the governor e.g. Taita Hills Association

Achievements of early political parties

1. They provided political education to the African communities. This was done through the rallies where the people were taught the injustices done by the colonial government and how to stop further exploitation and repression.
2. They communicated the feelings of their communities through publications, memoranda or speeches.
3. They defended African culture against erosion
4. They awakened the masses and made them aware of the political situations in the country
5. They played the role of trade unions by fighting for the welfare of the Africans in the absence of formal trade unions.
6. They publicized the grievances of the Africans to the international community e.g. Jomo Kenyatta did this to the British.
7. They helped to promote wider nationalism by forging inter-community relations in the struggle for freedom.
8. Poll tax and hut tax were reduced.

Emergence of Independent Churches and Schools

This was an expression of African protest against European colonialism which had interfered with the traditional African economic and political organization.

Why they were formed

1. The missionaries taught against African customs such as female circumcision and polygamy. Africans wanted to join Christianity and retain their cultural values.
2. Africans disliked the 3Rs education that prepared them for low positions in government. They aspired for an education that could put them on equal terms with European and Asian children.
3. They were formed to resent against colonial domination and exploitation expressed through the kipande system, forced labour and racial discrimination.
4. The desire for leadership in their own churches by the Africans. They had little say in the mission churches and all major decisions were made by the missionaries.
5. Rise of some Africans e.g. John Owalo and Elijah Masinde who had received a divine calling from God.
6. Some were formed after they felt dissatisfied with the interpretation of the Christian scriptures e.g. the Holy Spirit church broke away from the mainstream churches on such account.
7. Mission churches disregarded the traditional African expression of worship e.g. dancing, singing and divine healing; therefore some churches were formed to allow Africans to express their Christianity freely. They wanted to preserve their cultural heritage.
8. To create more job opportunities for educated Africans.

The majority of such schools and churches emerged in Kikuyuland, Luyialand and Luoland in 1920s and 1930s.

Characteristics/results of Independent churches and schools

1. They all accommodated African cultural values
2. Both valued Christianity and western education but were against westernization by missionaries.

3. Africans held leadership positions in the schools and churches.
4. They worked closely with the African political associations. They led to formation of nationalism.
5. Some churches adopted peculiar attire for their members.
6. Their leaders were educated and Africans.

The independent Churches movement in Nyanza

The most outstanding church was that of John Owalo. He received western education from the mission. He started off as a Roman Catholic but soon joined the Church of Scotland mission at Kikuyu near Nairobi, then the church missionary society (CMS) in Nairobi and later in Maseno.

There were two main problems in the mission churches.

1. African cultural values were ignored, and a lot of support was given to western education.
2. Africans were denied a say in the liturgy.

In 1907 Owalo claimed to have received direct call from God instructing him to start his own church. The CMS at Maseno dismissed him as a lunatic.

Finally John Ainsworth the P.C. in Nyanza allowed him to start his own church as his teaching upheld law and morality in the society.

In 1910 he founded the Nomiya Luo Church which was the first independent church in Kenya that operated in large urban centres.

He proclaimed himself a prophet of God and doubted the divinity of Jesus.

Other independent churches in Nyanza included:

Dini Ya Roho was founded among the Luyia in 1927 after followers broke away from the Friends African Mission. The members believe in baptism by the Holy Spirit, they spoke in tongues and confessed their sins openly.

The Joroho church was founded by Alfayo Odongo Mango in 1932 among the Luo.

The Universal Evangelical Union was founded by Ismael Noo who was a teacher in a school at Maseno.

Revivalism in Nyanza was led by Noo. The revival movement emphasized on two things:

1. Salvation by the blood of Jesus Christ.
2. Public confession of sins.

Noo attracted many women into his movement, provoking complaints from their husbands. He differed with other mission churches in Nyanza over his preaching that men and women should have sexual intercourse since they were all saved.

Eventually Noo broke away from the Anglican Church at a convention at Nyabondo in Nyakach when he established his own church by the name 'The Christian Universal Evangelical Union' which changed its name to Christian Evangelical Church in 1965.

The Independent Churches and schools in Central Kenya

Central province experienced the presence of colonial rule more than any other region due to its proximity to Nairobi which was the headquarters of the colonial government in Kenya.

The Gikuyu community came into contact with the C.M.S, C.S.M, Consolata Fathers, Gospel Missionary Society, and A.I.M in the 1890s.

The result was that the missionaries put up many schools, where they taught people basic literacy and numeracy skills that aimed at converting Africans. Africans were to develop ability to read the Bible, the hymn books and the prayer books.

In their evangelization, they condemned polygamy, consumption of traditional brews and female circumcision. This later sparked off the formation of independent churches and schools in central province in 1929.

To the Kikuyu, female circumcision signified attainment of womanhood. To the missionaries, the rite had to be eradicated for it complicated delivery of a child and it was a brutal operation, painful and barbaric.

Kikuyu Independent Schools

The Kikuyu elders wanted their children to acquire education without being Europeanized. This made them put up their own schools since those who supported female circumcision were expelled from mission schools.

The first was built at Gaithieko in Kiambu in 1913 by elders. The land was donated by an elder by the name Mukunga Wa Njehu.

In 1925 a second school was built in Githunguri.

Two independent schools associations were formed:

1. Kikuyu Independent schools Association (K.I.S.A)
2. Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association (K.K.E.A.)

KISA was closely associated with the African Independent Pentecostal Church while KKEA was closely associated with the Kikuyu Central Association.

KKEA was strong in Kiambu and KISA was prominent in Murang'a, Nyeri and Embu.

Kikuyu Independent Schools Association

Gituamba in Fort Hall provided a base for the Kikuyu movement towards Independence from CMS control in education and religion.

The elders got permission to build a prayer house around Gituamba and soon the Gituamba School was set up between 1929 and 1932.

The success of the Gituamba Independent Church and school inspired the emergence of independent churches and schools in central. KISA was set up to coordinate the naming of those schools. The leaders of KISA were:

1. Daudi Maina Kiragi
2. Musa Muriithi
3. Hezekiah Gachui
4. Peter Gathecha
5. Johana Njoroge.

Its responsibilities were

1. Establish more schools
2. Maintain the schools
3. Mobilise funds for teacher training programmes.

At the beginning, the colonial authorities had a negative attitude, but they later realized that the Kikuyu elders were serious. They then insisted that the schools be registered at the D.Os and they also be managed well.

By 1935, there were 34 independent schools with a population of 2518, by 1936 they were 3,984. Similar schools were coming up in the Rift Valley among the Kikuyu squatters.

Problems facing KISA

1. Inadequate funds to support the large number of pupils and schools.
2. Many teachers were untrained.
3. Many KISA leaders lacked proper management skills.
4. Mission churches fought their efforts.

5. Lack of proper curriculum and facilities such as books.
6. Disagreement among the KISA leaders with some demanding back the money and the land they had donated for the promotion of the independent churches and schools.
7. It was banned in 1952 when the state of emergency was declared.

Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association

There was a female circumcision standoff at Gituamba Church leading to a split that led to the formation of KKEA. There was the Fort Hall group and the Kiambu members. The Kiambu members supported KKEA which was radical and more closely associated with KCA.

The term Karing'a means 'pure' meaning that the association advocated for pure Agikuyu customs and values which were not polluted by mission churches and western traditions.

By 1940 KKEA had put up 12 schools in Kiambu and in the Rift Valley. By 1952 it had 28 schools not only in central Kenya and the Rift Valley, but also at Moshi and Arusha in Tanganyika.

In 1932, KKEA put up its own church and the church ministers were trained at the Gituamba Seminary. It was named the **African Orthodox church of Kenya**. The Church was led by Arthur Gathuna and Philip Kiande.

In 1939 the Kenya Teachers Training College was put up at Githunguri in Kiambu with Mbiyu Koinange as the first Principal.

The aim of the college was to train teachers for the Kikuyu Independent Schools. By 1947, it had over 500 students.

It was closed down together with other independent schools during the Mau Mau uprising.

Problems faced by independent churches and schools

1. Constant harassment from both the missionaries and the colonial government, i.e. they looked for every opportunity to close them down and arrest its leaders.
2. Many lacked trained personnel who could run the institutions well
3. Constant shortage of funds as they relied on African support.
4. Leadership squabbles as all founders wanted to be recognized as leaders.
5. Mission churches and schools competed with independent churches and schools for followers.

Political Organizations and movements after 1945

There were radical demands for better conditions and full political independence in 1940s due to the following factors:

1. Acquisition of western education by many Africans enabled them to articulate their grievances more forcefully as well as understand political developments internationally.
2. The experiences of the World War 2 ex-soldiers who discovered that the Europeans were not superior to them in any way. Also, the colonial government failed to fulfill promises made at the time of war, i.e. giving them land and employment. The European ex-soldiers were rewarded with large tracts of land after the war and this provoked bitterness in them towards the colonialists.
3. The granting of independence to India and Pakistan in 1947 gave Kenyans the confidence that they could also achieve independence.
4. The Atlantic charter signed in World War II in 1941 by the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt declared that with the end of the war, all subject people should enjoy the right to self-determination
5. The spirit of Pan Africanism spearheaded by African-Americans led by W.E.B Dubois and George Padmore urged that Africans should enjoy political freedom in their continent. In 1945 African leaders namely Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkurumah and Kamuzu Banda took part in the congress and resolved to press for self-determination.
6. The rise of the **Labour Party** to power in Britain after World War II which favoured decolonization.
7. The emergence of the USA and USSR as super powers who wanted the colonies to be granted full independence so that they could produce raw materials and also provide market for the expanding industries. The Soviet Union promoted decolonization believing it would lead to weakening of the capitalist nations.
8. The World War II drained the treasuries of European countries including Britain and France. Their taxpayers were becoming reluctant to support the cost of running the rebellious colonies.
9. The establishment of the United Nations after the World War II in 1945 called for the granting of independence to all subjects as the first step towards achieving international peace and security. France and Britain were members of U.N.O and could not afford to ignore its anti-colonial stand.
10. The liberation of Ghana in 1957 was a big influence on the other colonized like Kenya. President Kwame Nkurumah championed the cause of the nationalists struggle in other parts of Africa.

This led to the formation of nationwide political parties, including the following:-

1. The Kenya National Study Union

On 10th October 1944 Eliud Mathu, a graduate from Fort Hare University and Oxford University and a former teacher at Alliance School was nominated to the Legco by the colonial governor.

Later, he together with well educated Africans led by Francis Khamisi met in Nairobi and they formed the Kenya African Union (K.A.U)

Aims of K.A.U

1. Assist Mathu in his new task in Legco
2. Provide multi-ethnic organization for the development of African interests
3. Fight for better living and working conditions for Africans.

4. To advocate for more constitutional reforms for Africans

Its officials were

1. Harry Thuku as Charirman
2. Francis Khamisi as Secretary
3. Albert Owino as Treasurer

Committee members were

1. James Gichuru
2. John Kebaso
3. Simeon Mulandi
4. Harry Ole Nangurai
5. S. O. Josiah
6. F. M. Ng'ang'a
7. J. D Otiende etc

Two weeks after its formation, the officials were ordered to change the name to K.A.S.U since it was to be involved in studying the problems facing the Africans.

In 1945 James Gichuru became the president after Harry Thuku stepped down.

Under Gichuru, KASU made a lot of progress e.g. it published a newspaper 'Sauti ya Mwafrika' with Khamisi as editor. Gichuru and Khamisi travelled widely in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika to convince Africans not to accept the proposed federation.

In 1946, the leaders of the association felt that the name KASU was inappropriate since they involved in the political affairs of the country with a view of improving African life. In February 1946, they changed the name to K.A.U.

2. Kenya African Union (K.A.U)

In 1946 Mzee Jomo Kenyatta came back from London. In June 1949 he was elected president of KAU after Gichuru stepped down. He was assisted by W.W.W Awori as vice president, Ambrose Ofafa as treasurer and Gikonyo Muchohi as secretary.

Objectives

1. Unite the Africans towards an African nation
2. To foster economic, social and political interests of the Africans.
3. To support Eliud Mathu

Its demands

1. Abolition of the forced labour and the kipande system
2. Self government for Africans
3. More seats for Africans in the Legco
4. Free and compulsory education
5. Equality in wages and salaries among all races.
6. More trade opportunities for Africans.
7. Improvement in the living and working conditions of Africans.
8. Compensation for the ex-service men
9. Racial discrimination and undermining of cultural practices of Africans to be done away with.

To build KAU, Kenyatta appealed for unity and hard work. He travelled and addressed meetings in Nyeri, Kisumu, Eldoret, Mumias, Kakamega, Kiambu and Meru where he urged people to form and strengthen KAU.

In 1947 KAU experienced a major rift in the party between the radicals and the moderates. The radicals led by Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, and Bildad Kaggia advocated for the use of force while the moderates led by Kenyatta called for the use of a peaceful constitutional reforms.

The radicals took over Nairobi KAU branch. They demanded for the removal of the moderates from the executive committee.

However Kenyatta insisted that the party leadership had to be multi-ethnic and the secretary general had to come from Western Kenya.

When the national delegate's conference met in 1951, the following were elected

1. Jomo Kenyatta as President
2. J. D Otiende as secretary General
3. Paul Ngei as assistant secretary
4. Harry Ole Nangurai as treasurer.

Other problems facing the party were

1. Lack of enough funds to support its programmes including rent payment.
2. Poor inadequate leadership e.g. Kenyatta was the Party president and also principal Githunguri T.T.C
3. Ethnic divisions
4. Threats from large communities like the Gikuyu who had dominated the party.
5. Lack of political awareness by the Africans who lived in the urban areas.
6. Poor means of communication channels to air their grievances to colonial government.
7. Interference from the colonial government e.g. when they were forced to change the name from KAU to KASU.

The Nairobi branch of KAU was led by Fred Kubai as chairman, J.M. Mungai as vice and Kaggia as secretary. The radicals worked closely with members of the Mau Mau movement in Nairobi. This caused a lot of tension between the radicals and the moderates.

The activities of the radicals increased when the British colonial secretary refused to meet the KAU representatives, Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng' Oneko who had a memorandum on the land question.

By 1951, several KAU branches were opened in Kisumu by Oneko, Maragoli by Johana Adala, and Mombasa by Muinga Chokwe. They also held frequent rallies to revitalize the party.

In 1952 Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Kaggia and Oneko held a rally in Nyeri which attracted over 25,000 people. This event shocked the colonial government thus the party was banned.

Reports also noted that settlers were attacked and their property destroyed in the rift Valley. In 1952 Sir Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergency following the murder of Chief Waruhiu wa Kung'u by the Mau Mau

This led to the arrest of most KAU leaders, who were believed to be behind the violence. Therefore Walter Odede became the acting president, Joseph Murumbi acting secretary and Awori as treasurer.

KAU continued to press for the release of their detained leaders.

Oliver Lyttelton, the secretary of state for colonies came to Kenya during the state of emergency. KAU presented to him a 24 point memorandum of grievances understood as the major causes of the violence in Kenya, i.e.

1. Denial of a voice of the Africans in politics.
2. Detention of African leaders unlawfully
3. Land alienation
4. Unequal economic practices
5. Release of Jomo Kenyatta and his KAU colleagues.

They then engaged a British lawyer known as D.N Pritt to defend the Kapenguria six namely Kenyatta, Ngei, Kung'u, Kaggia, Oneko and Kubai.

On 9th March 1963 Walter Odede was arrested while Joseph Murumbi escaped to Bombay.

On 8th June 1963 KAU was finally banned.

Achievement of KAU

1. Provided guidance and political support to Eliud Mathu the African representative to the Legco.
2. Laid down the foundation for the growth of KANU which ushered Kenyans into political independence.
3. Some of the members e.g. Fred Kubai and Bildad Kaggia were active as Mau Mau fighters.

Other roles played by KAU in promoting nationalism

4. It influenced the British colonial government to increase African representation in Legco.
5. It opened up branches in various parts of the country to educate the Africans on the need to unite against European domination.
6. It published its own paper, *Sauti ya Mwafrika* to popularize its objectives throughout the country.
7. It supported trade unions
8. It presented the grievances of the Africans internationally for it supported the activities of the Mau Mau freedom fighters by giving them moral and material support.
9. It provided leadership to the nationalist struggle
10. It organized rallies in most parts of the country to create awareness on the rights of the Africans.

Mau Mau

The meaning and the source of the name are not clear. To J.M Kariuki the name was derived from the Kikuyu phrase 'Uma Uma' which means 'get out, get out' It was used to urge people to flee from colonial forces.

The freedom fighters used various names to refer to the organization e.g.

1. The land and freedom army
2. The forty group

Most of the members of Mau Mau were young men who had been circumcised and some had taken part in World War II.

By 1947 those young men were showing defiance against the colonial government by

1. Refusing to provide labour for public projects.
2. Digging terraces

They had embarked on a serious oathing sessions in central and parts of Rift Valley.

KAU formed a central committee in Nairobi known as '*Muhimu*' which co-ordinated Mau Mau activities, all over the country.

Causes of the Mau Mau uprising

1. Land alienation. Many communities lost their lands. The Kikuyu were the most affected due to their closeness to Nairobi. Africans were pushed to the reserves. Many of them opted to settle as squatters in the Rift Valley. This led to bitterness among the Africans.
2. The poor living and working conditions. The labourers on the settler farms lived in poor houses, were fed on carbohydrates leading to malnutrition, and were severely punished at the slightest mistake. In the urban areas they were pushed into slums, were not allowed to have their families with them and their movements were restricted. This made African women resort to prostitution as a survival strategy.
3. Oppressive policies such as increased taxation, forced labour and low wages. The introduction of the Kipande system too irritated the Africans for they felt discriminated and humiliated.
4. The colonial government had totally failed to make any constitutional reforms e.g. Africans associations were banned and their leaders detained. This led to underground movement activities (by KCA) which involved oathing as a measure of secrecy.
5. Preservation of culture at whatever cost, especially the female circumcision. To prove this, Africans at the Kijabe A.I.M forcefully circumcised an elderly white missionary who later died due to heavy bleeding.
6. Colonial brutality. The killing of Africans on flimsy excuses caused a lot of attention e.g. on 5th September 1947; a number of Africans were massacred following a strike at the Uplands Bacon Factory. The killers were not punished.
7. Cruel evictions. Africans were mistreated in the Rift Valley on the European farms. Eviction of Africans from the Olenguruone settlement scheme to the Arid Yatta region of Machakos bred a lot of hostility. The squatters lost their houses, livestock and crops during such evictions.
8. Unemployment as African population continued to grow. The closure of the Karatina vegetable factory provoked Africans who lost employment.
9. Africans were given the worst education, health and social facilities and low wages. The African adults were addressed as boys. This annoyed them.
10. Conduct of police and chiefs. They were so brutal and many of the colonial chiefs brutally forced the African workers to provide labour for public works for white farms.

11. Disillusionment of ex-soldiers. When African ex-soldiers returned home they were ignored as their counterparts from other races got land. This led to a lot of bitterness.

The course of the uprising

The uprising got support from the unemployed Africans, many of whom were ex-soldiers in the urban centres. Others were traders and the landless squatters in the rift valley.

In Nairobi, its activities were co-ordinated by the Muslim committee which. The Muslims committee organized for oaths

1. To ensure that the members remained loyal and honest therefore could keep the secrets of the movement.
2. To inspire courage and unite the members to one cause.

Betrayal of the oaths led to instant death. The movement had headquarters in several places and fighting was mobilized at the district level. The Nyandarua, Aberdares and Mt. Kenya forests were used as hideouts.

The leaders of the movement included Dedan Kimathi, Waruhiu Itote, Stanley Mathenge, General Ndung'u Gicheru, General Mwariama and General Matenjawo.

The leaders had different armies in different areas such as the Aberdares, Nairobi, Kiambu, Ngong', Murang'a and Rift Valley. They knew how to use guns and they used guerrilla warfare.

During the war, the guerrilla targeted European settlers, government officials, government buildings, settler farms, Christian converts and all collaborators.

They made their own guns, and robbed others from police stations or snatched them from the Europeans.

Hymn books in Kikuyu were used to spread Mau Mau ideas and to encourage peasants to revolt. By 1952 the Mau Mau ideas had been embraced and most of the peasants boycotted the soil conservation measures imposed on them.

The killing of loyalists to the government like Tom Mbotela and Waruhiu Kung'u made Sir Evelyn Baring declare a state of emergency followed by the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta, Ramogi, Achieng' Oneko, Fred Kubai, Bildad Kaggia, Kung'u Karumba and Paul Ngei who were KAU leaders. They were jailed for seven years.

Many Africans fled from the reserves and urban areas to go and join others in the forests.

Methods used by colonial government to discourage activities of Mau Mau movement

1. During the war, the government moved scores of Kikuyu, Meru and Aembu communities from Nairobi to detention centres and reserves in a bid to cut the fighters off from their communities.
2. Ditches were dug around the villages where they were detained so that they could not get food or any equipment to the guerrillas.
3. Fighters of Mau Mau were dealt with ruthlessly to discourage others from joining. Bodies of those killed were displayed in villages.
4. They also engaged spies among the Africans who reported on the movement of mau mau fighters.
5. Europeans got reinforcements and fighting equipments from Britain to assist.
6. They arrested and executed leaders of Mau Mau e.g. Kimathi Dedan.

Women and children played a role in Mau Mau. They

1. Supplied food and ammunition to the guerrillas.
2. Supplied them with vital information.

The Asians also gave support by trafficking arms and ammunition to the fighters.

Mau Mau movement was crushed by the superior military of the British. Fighting subsided in 1956 following the shooting and arrest of Field Marshall Dedan Kimathi.

Factors that facilitated the Mau Mau movement (why it lasted for so long)

1. Oathing helped to unite the fighters and sealed their commitment to the struggle.
2. Fighters used the guerrilla tactics which made it difficult for the British to suppress the rebellion.
3. Civilian population supplied the fighters with food and equipment e.g. guns and ammunition. They also gave them relevant information.
4. Resourcefulness and courageousness of their leaders such as Deddan Kimathi and Stanley Mathenge.
5. The natural forests of Mt Kenya and the Aberdares ranges provided good hideout for the fighters.
6. Accessibility to swords, guns and ammunition. Some of them had homemade guns while others were seized from the European settlers
7. Military experience due to participation in World War II. The World War II soldiers taught them fighting skills.

Problems that Mau Mau fighters faced

1. They lacked transport and communication facilities.
2. They died due to cold and other diseases that they were exposed to in the Aberdares.
3. They were attacked by wild animals.
4. They lacked proper fighting equipment.
5. Suffered from anxiety due to the brutal retaliation by the British forces.
6. Division arose among the fighters due to disagreements.
7. Spies infiltrated the movement and exposed their military strategies.
8. They lacked proper co-ordination due to the use of forest hideouts and mountainous terrain by the guerrillas.
9. Arrest of their leaders such as General China, and Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi

Results of the Mau Mau uprising

1. It exposed the attention of British citizens and the international community to the crimes that Kenyans were suffering from.
2. The war speeded up the march to independence. The government used a lot of resources to quell the uprising at a time when the British treasury was depleted due to the costs of the World War II.
3. It reduced the powers and influence of the settlers.
4. Kipande system was modified to a pure identity card
5. British accommodated African grievances and demands.
6. Land reform measures such as land consolidation were adopted.
7. Led to destruction of property. This included villages, houses, farms and other facilities.
8. It changed the social life of Africans through the establishment of emergency villages which were set up to alienate the civil society from the Mau Mau fighters.
9. The Agikuyu, Aembu and Meru communities were removed from the capital Nairobi as their jobs/occupations were taken by Africans from western region and the rift valley who were not associated with the uprising.
10. Lose of lives e.g. 50,000 Mau Mau fighters died.
11. It led to the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952, hence curfews and other restrictions became the order of the day among the Africans.

12. It bred bitterness among the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru. The Gikuyu were divided into government loyalists and Mau Mau supporters leading to suspicion.
13. Arrest and detention of thousands of Africans in which many died while others were injured in the infamous Hola massacre.

The colonial government realized that it made a mistake to ignore some of the grievances of the Africans regarding land. It made some reforms.

- **Sywnerton Plan of 1954** which sparked off the resettlement of Africans in the countryside.
- Political reforms whereby there was the lifting of the ban on all African political parties. In 1955, African political parties were authorized to operate in all regions except central Kenya.

3. Kenya African National Union

KANU was formed on 21st March 1960 at Kirigiti, Kiambu during a meeting convened by ex-KAU strongman James Gichuru and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. The meeting comprised of attendants from over 30 African political groups. Jomo Kenyatta was detention but was elected as president in absentia.

Formation of political parties was allowed by the 1st Lancaster House Conference which was attended by Ngala as chairman, Mboya as secretary and Daniel Arap Moi.

The colonial government refused to register K.A.N.U with Kenyatta as the president. A meeting in May 1960 led to

- James Gichuru being elected president
- Odinga as vice-president,
- Mboya as secretary general,
- Arthur Ochwada as assistant secretary general,
- Moi as treasure
- Ngala as assistant treasurer.
- Mwai Kibaki and Mboya helped in drawing up of constitution.

Objectives of K.A.N.U

1. To attain political independence for Africans in Kenya.
2. Achieve national unity through a unitary national constitution.
3. Create a society based on African socialism
4. Eradicate poverty, ignorance and diseases.
5. Get back all African land
6. Have all political detainees released
7. Unite with other liberation movements in other countries in Africa in a bid to end imperialism and colonialism in the continent.
8. To encourage good neighbourliness in the East African region.

Role of KANU in the struggle for independence

1. It mobilized Africans and united them in the struggle for independence.
2. It provided political education to the Africans in Kenya.
3. Took part in the constitutional talks in London in 1962 where the independence constitution was formulated.
4. It acted as a training ground for political leaders who took over leadership of the country after independence.

Challenges that KANU faced

1. Inadequate funds
2. Undermining of small communities by the big communities i.e. Gikuyu and Luo who were looked at with a lot of suspicion as having taken up all key leadership positions.
3. People were dissatisfied with the way the leaders were running the affairs of the party.
4. Rift within the leaders over party ideologies. Some were advocating for a unitary system of government while others favoured a majimbo (federal) system. This led to a split within the party. Some joined K.A.D.U and others A.P.P.
5. Party elections were not held in a transparent manner.

The release of Kenyatta boosted the party. He was viewed as an eloquent natural leader of the Africans in Kenya, and also a political martyr. He made the party popular.

On 1st June 1963 Jomo Kenyatta became the Prime Minister as Kenya achieved self-government or Madaraka. The Queen of England remained the head of state.

4. Kenya African Democratic Union (K.A.D.U)

It was formed in 1960 as a way of avoiding Kikuyu and Luo dominance in the political arena

Its senior leaders were

- Ronald Ngala as president
- Masinde Muliro and vice president
- Daniel Arab Moi as chairman
- Martin Shikuku as secretary general
- Justus ole Tipis as treasurer.

They were from the small tribes and they represented the Kalenjins, Abaluyia, Maasai and the coastal communities.

In May 1961, the first general elections along party lines were held. KANU got 19 seats, KADU got 11 and other parties got 3.

KANU refused to form the government as long as Kenyatta was still in prison. Ronald Ngala was then requested by Sir Patrick Renison to form a minority KADU government in coalition with the European and Asian members who belonged to the New Kenya Party of Michael Blundell. Ronald Ngala became leader of government business and minister for education.

In 1962 KANU and KADU formed a coalition government while awaiting the 1963 general elections. Ngala became the minister of State in charge of constitutional affairs.

At the 2nd Lancaster House conference, Ngala led the KADU group of parliamentarians thereby challenging Kenyatta as the overall nationalist leader.

During the independence elections in May 1963 KANU won 73 seats, KADU had 31 seats and African Peoples Party had 8.

KADU became the major opposition party. In 1964 it disbanded and its members crossed the floor to join KANU after being persuaded by Oginga Odinga and Jomo Kenyatta.

KADU operated for a few years and was able to achieve the following

1. United the smaller tribes such as Kalenjin, Abaluyia and Maasai.
2. Mobilized Africans against the colonial domination.
3. Contributed to the formulation of the independence constitution
4. Provided political education to Africans
5. It served as the opposition party and helped in ensuring checks on the KANU government.

Problems faced by KADU

1. Pressure from their rivals in KANU to decamp

2. Wrangles between senior officials undermined its operations.
3. Suspicions that certain ethnic groups were dominating the party
4. Persistent lack of funds
5. Illiteracy of the majority of its members
6. Determination by the colonial government to manipulate the party.

5. African Peoples Party (A.P.P)

It was founded by Paul Ngei, a leader of both KAU and mau mau. Ngei formed the party due to the divisions in KANU and KADU that made the Somalis and coastal Arabs threaten to move from the country. He too feared for the Akamba, hence he formed A.P.P.

However during the 1963 elections KANU won by a landslide followed by KADU, APP and other minority parties got only 8 seats.

In 1964 Kenya became a republic and both APP and KADU decamped from the opposition to join KANU.

Trade Union Movement

A trade union is an association of workers whose main purpose is to improve the welfare of the members through collective bargaining.

The unions worked hand in hand with political parties to achieve political independence for Kenya.

Indians were first to form trade unions i.e. the **Indian trade union** in 1914. Most trade unions were formed after the Second World War. They were formed along racial lines. Artisans and labourers were not allowed to join them for they would cause many strikes.

Up to 1914 there existed no African trade union because

1. Africans were illiterate lacked the knowledge to run workers unions.
2. The migrant labour systems discouraged them from joining such unions.
3. The colonial government fought attempts by Africans to form workers organizations

In 1922 the Asian artisans in the railway department formed the **Railways Artisans Union**. Soon their leaders were sacked and the union was closed down.

In the 1930s, the artisans of Mombasa who included masons and labourers held a mass meeting and establish a trade union named **Trade Union Committee of Mombasa**. This was after Africans got provoked with a tragic accident in which some road constructors died but were not compensated. R.M Shar was appointed the president of the Union.

Indians played a very important role in that they had more experience with workers organizations.

In 1934 the Indian trade Union became the **Kenya Indian Labour Trade Union (K.I.L.T.U)** to reflect the fact that it drew members from across the whole nation.

In 1935, one of the trade unionist Makhani Singh advised the union to accept membership from all races. They then changed the name to the **Labour Trade Union of Kenya**, then to **Labour Trade Union of East Africa (L.T.U.E.A)**

African Workers Federation

The Second World War was important in the development of trade unions in Kenya. The demands of trade unionists in Kenya were

1. They were against low wages hence demanded for higher wages
2. Food shortages
3. Poor working conditions for African workers
4. They were against the Kipande system
5. They demanded the release of arrested and detained trade unionists
6. They were against forced labour
7. They problem of restricted movement of workers
8. They were against racial discrimination in places of work

All this led to major strikes in Nairobi and Mombasa.

On 14th January 1947, the striking workers in Mombasa formed the **African Workers Union**

The strike paralyzed work in offices, banks, hotels, docks and railways. It was on this day that AWU was born with

1. Mohammed Kibwana as President
2. Mwangi Macharia as Secretary
3. Mbaruk Kenze as treasurer
4. Chege Kibachia as executive Officer

A committee of 12 members was also appointed to assist the elected officials.

On January 21st 1947 the union sent a letter to the East African Standard Newspaper in which it outlined the workers grievances that led to the strike. These were

1. A salary increase due to the high cost of living
2. Implementation of the policy of equal pay for equal workers regardless of race.
3. Respect for African workers whereas they were employed
4. Payment of enough allowances to cater for African wives and children
5. Elimination of deliberate strategies applied by employees to keep Africans in their places of work all the time.

During the strike, the Mombasa D.C invited the newly appointed member to the Legco, Eliud Mathu to talk to the workers. He

1. Suggested a change of the name from AWU to African Workers Federation (AWF)
2. He convinced the workers to return to work on 25th January 1947.

Later, a trade dispute tribunal was set up by the government to look into the African grievances in Mombasa. It was led by:

1. Justice Thacker
2. Hope Jones
3. F.T. Holden
4. V.C Merrit
5. A.H. Noor Mohammed

The Africans who made contribution to the tribunal were

1. Chege Kibachia
2. Fred Kubai
3. John Mungai
4. Willy George
5. S. Osore

The success of the Mombasa strike made AWF more popular. Chege Kibachia travelled all over the country to educate Africans on the importance of trade unions. He put up branches in Nairobi, Thika, Kisumu and Nakuru.

His activities like threatening to call a nationwide strike alarmed the government and he was arrested and detained at Baringo. His colleagues were repatriated to their respective reserves where they were monitored.

Achievements of A.W.F

1. It mobilized Africans from various communities to come together and fight for better wages.
2. Educated Africans on their rights.
3. Introduced the concept of Kenyan workers
4. Fought for better living and working conditions
5. Advocated for better allowances for African workers, wives and children.
6. Made the colonial government change its attitude towards labour unions and it began to give much attention to workers grievances.
7. It exposed the African grievances to the international community.

Kenya Federation of Labour

After the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952, the government took drastic measures against Africans. This involved:-

1. Mass deportation
2. Detentions
3. Banning of all political activities
4. Revival of forced labour

This led to the loss of members for the unions and the membership dropped from 40,000 in 1952 to 14,000 in 1956.

A trade union ordinance was enacted in 1952 which allowed formation of unions. Various small African trade unions united to form the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (K.F.R.T.U). The small unions included

1. Kenya local Government Workers Union led by Tom Mboya
2. Domestic and Hotel Workers Union
3. East Africa Federation of Building and Construction Workers Union

The officials of K.F.R.T.U were

1. Mwichigi Karanja as president
2. Aggrey Minya as secretary general.

The members were S. Ondiege, Elkana Okusimba, Silas Okeya, David Jomo, S. Osore, James Wainaina and Dishon Sambili.

K.F.R.T.U did the following during the time of emergency

1. Fought for the rights of the workers and better living conditions.
2. Campaigned against low wages.
3. Campaigned against poor conditions of the workers
4. Campaigned against the detention of trade union leaders.
5. Protested against the forceful evacuation of the Ameru, Aembu and Agikuyu from Nairobi
6. By 1955 it protested against the increased prices of tea and bread.
7. It protested against continuation of the state of emergency.

When elections for K.F.R.T.U were held later on, the following were elected as officials

David Njomo as president
Stephen Obwaka as vice-president
Tom Mboya as secretary general
G.W Owuor as assistant General Secretary
Daniel Ng'ethe as treasurer
John Opiyo as assistant Treasurer

In 1955 K.F.R.T.U changed its name to the Kenya Federation of Labour (K.F.L). By 1956 the organization was representing 35,000 African trade unionists.

Tom Mboya travelled widely and established links between K.F.L and other international trade unions. As a result, K.F.L was affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** (I.C.F.T.U) which helped to check the excesses of the colonial government. This alarmed the government and the white settlers.

In 1956 a letter from the register of societies was sent to KFL notifying it that it would be dissolved. KFL mobilize its members locally and internationally to petition against its cancellation. The cancellation was withdrawn.

Role of K.F.L in the campaign for Workers Welfare

1. It kept the spirit of African nationalism alive after the ban of KAU i.e. it expressed the grievances of the Africans in the absence of political parties
2. It secured international support for the cause of African nationalism.
3. It educated Africans on their rights.
4. It helped to improve the living and working conditions of African workers e.g. in 1956 it secured a salary increase of 68% for the workers.
5. It prepared some African nationalists for leadership roles in the struggle for independence e.g. Tom Mboya and Martin Shikuku.

The Role of Trade Unions in the struggle for independence

1. They contributed to the improvement of workers and working conditions. This was done through strikes, go-slows, sit-ins and therefore reviewed the terms of the workers.
2. They introduced the concept of collective bargaining i.e. workers raised their complains as a group rather than as individuals. This helped to reduce victimization.
3. They opposed colonial rule and raised the people's political awareness, thus replacing the political parties. They educated African workers on their rights and this encouraged them to struggle for independence.
4. They kept the spirit of African nationalism alive when political parties were banned.
5. Trade unions secured international support for the cause of African nationalism.
6. They promoted regional co-operation i.e. in East Africa, they worked together for the good of the workers in the region.
7. They promoted co-operation between employers, employees and the government through consultation. This reduced industrial disputes.
8. Trade unions provided relevant training ground for potential nationalist leaders, e.g. Mboya Tom
9. They pressed for release of political leaders such as Harry Thuku
10. Trade Unions contributed money to political parties that struggled for independence.

Problems faced by Trade Unions

1. The trade unions were harassed by both the white settlers and the colonial government e.g. Chege Kibachia was exiled to Baringo due to his role in AWF.
2. The migrant nature of the Africans workforce made the people ignorant about the role of trade unions.
3. They lacked trained personnel with knowledge of trade unionism.
4. They experienced shortage of funds. This was due to
 - a) Meager contributions from the workers
 - b) Mismanagement of funds
5. Choice of leaders which was based on ethnic consideration rather than competence
6. Constant wrangling among the leaders of the trade unions.

To date, trade unions continue to play an important role in fighting for the welfare of workers. Examples of trade unions are Kenya National Union of Teachers and C.O.T.U

Role of women in the struggle for independence

In Kenya women played an important role in the struggle for independence

1. During the Abagusii resistance, the Kitutu prophetess Moraa incited a Kisii warrior to spear General Norhcote in 1908.
2. In Ukambani Syotune wa Kithuke used a dance called kilumi in 1911 to mobilize the Akamba to protest against the colonialists. In the dance which was performed by medicine men to ward off evil spirits, Syotune gathered the people and urged them not to pay taxes, and provide labour. She was later exiled to Kismayu.
3. Makatilili wa Menza among the Agiriama mobilized and administered oaths to the Kaya elders so as to instill confidence and unity in the community. Mekatilili was arrested and deported to Kisii to ensure that she did not inspire another resistance.

Role of women in political association

1. In 1922 during the arrest of Harry Thuku as the crowds swelled and feared to attack the police, a woman by the name Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru, a strong follower of the E.A.A

challenged the men to remove their trousers and wear skirts if they could not free Thuku by force. This made the men to become fierce and surge towards the cells. Fearing that the crowd would free Thuku, the colonial police opened fire and massacred many people including her.

2. In 1924, Women gave financial and moral support to the former members of E.A.A who ran short of funds.
3. In response to the attempts of the protestant missions to ban female circumcision practice, women together with their husbands abandoned the mission churches and also withdrew their children from the schools. This then led to the formation of independent schools in Western, Nyanza and Eastern.
4. In western Kenya, the Legio Maria sect was founded by a woman called Aoko who claimed to have received a divine calling.
5. Songs were composed and dances by women to ridicule the colonial chiefs and their agents.
6. In 1930s some Kikuyu women felt that K.C.A was not recognizing their role in the association therefore a number of women formed as association mainly for women which worked closely with K.C.A It was called the **Mumbi Central Association**.
7. Sarah Sarai was detained in 1952 due to her participation in nationalist activities in the Ziwani African location in Nairobi. She was a strong member of KAU.

Role of Women in the Mau Mau movement

The following are some of the contributions of women to the freedom movement.

1. They took part in armed resistance and some of them proved to be better soldiers than the men. Such included Marshall Muthoni from Nyeri, Nduta wa Kore, Elizabeth Gachika and Wambui Wagarama.
2. The Agikuyu, Aembu and Ameru community formed the fighters in the forests. The women coordinated the rural networks.
3. They provided the fighters with food, medicine, guns and ammunition, clothing and shoes. The elderly women hid their supplies of guns and ammunition in the loins and the policemen felt ashamed to strip them naked while looking for the guns.
4. They acted as spies e.g. some women befriended the home guards and gathered useful information about the colonial forces.
5. They composed songs to mobilize support for the Mau Mau and also to ridicule the home guards and other colonial agents. The songs inspired warriors to fight on.
6. They mobilized men and women to join the liberation by using ridicule for those who resisted joining the movement.
7. They were the chief oathing administrators and the oath bound the members to secrecy.
8. They were raped and subjected to forced labour and physical torture by the colonial officers in search of vital information but they still refused to betray the fighters, despite the inhuman treatment which they got.
9. Over 8,000 women from the Agikuyu, Ameru and Aembu were detained at Kamiti. Others were put in concentration camps
10. More women lived in villages encircled with barbed wire and ditches. They were subjected to curfew and starvation though they were still monitored by the colonial government so as not to give information to the Mau Mau.

After Mau Mau, a good number of women were recognized, such as Jemimah Gechaga who was the first woman nominated to Legco, Priscillah Abwao was the first woman at the 1st Lancaster House conference 1960, an Grace Onyango became the first mayor of Kisumu after independence.

Role of civilians during the struggle for independence

1. They provided material support to the warriors who were involved in the war with British
2. They provided moral support to those who were fighting
3. They acted as spies for their forces
4. Provided hideout for the soldiers
5. Stole ammunition and guns from Europeans and gave them to their soldiers
6. Refused to volunteer information to the whites about African forces despite being tortured
7. Endured hardship for the sake of independence e.g. curfews and starvation.

Constitutional changes leading to independence

Factors that promoted decolonization in Africa

1. The experiences of the ex-soldiers encouraged them to demand for more political rights.
2. The Pan-African movement pressurized the colonial government to grant political independence to their subjects
3. Colonial powers began to realize that colonies were becoming expensive due to the constant revolts e.g. in Britain and France, the citizens were reluctant to finance colonial empires.

All these led to

1. African representation in the Legco

African demand for representation in the Legco led to Eliud Mathu becoming the first African to be appointed in the Legco.

Ohanga Beaniah became second following KAU demands.

After Mau Mau, the government set came up with several commissions which included

- a) The Sywnnerton Plan of 1954 which recommended the consolidation and registration of African land for better management.
- b) The report on African wages and the Lidbury Commission on civil service recommended better pay for African workers.
- c) The East African Royal Commission in 1955 which recommended
 - an end to racial segregation
 - increased involvement of Africans in the colonial administration
 - opening of the Kenya highlands to all races

2. Lyttleton Constitution

In 1954 Oliver Lyttelton, the British colonial Secretary visited Kenya and made proposals for the following constitutional reforms.

- a) The creation of a multi-racial society where all races would share equal power.
- b) A multi-racial council of ministers to replace Governor's executive council. The unofficial members of the new council would now include 1 African, 2 Asians and 3 Europeans. Africans and Asians would be represented by members with executive power over their ministers. The first African unofficial member to be appointed was **B.A. Ohanga** who became minister for community development and African Affairs in 1954.
- c) Each race should elect its representatives to the Legco. Elected members to the Legco should be 29. Nominated members should be 30. This led to the registration of 127,000 Africans as voters.

In March 1957 the first African elections to the Legco were held. The winners were

1. Tom Mboya for Nairobi
2. Masinde Muliro for N. Nyanza
3. Oginga Odinga for Central Nyanza
4. Lawrence Ogunda for S. Nyanza
5. Ronald Ngala for Coast
6. Daniel Arap Moi for Rift Valley
7. Bernard Mate for Central
8. James Muimi for Ukambani

After the elections, the elected African members of the Legco formed an organization known as **African Elected Members Organisation** (A.E.M.O) with Jaramogi Odinga as Chairman and Tom Mboya as secretary.

Demands of AEMO

1. Equal representation in the Legco
2. Every African 21 years and above be allowed to vote
3. Registration of voters be done on a common roll
4. An end to the state of emergency

Two Africans in the council opposed the Lyttelton constitution because it strengthened the position of the Europeans.

The Europeans led by **Captain Briggs** objected the involvement of Africans and Asians in the political management of the economy.

In 1955 the government lifted the ban on political organizations, except in central where mau mau was still on. The Africans were allowed to form local district based political organizations. This led to the formation of

1. The Nairobi Peoples Convention Party led by Mboya
2. Taita African Democratic Union led by D. Mwanjumba
3. Abagusii Association led by John Kebaso
4. The Kenya National Congress led by Argwings Kodhek
5. The Maasai Front led by John Keen.

3. Lennox-Boyd Constitution

Oliver Lyttelton was succeeded by Lennox-Boyd as secretary of state for colonies in 1957. On his visit to Kenya he made proposals for further constitutional changes. These were

1. African seats in Legco to be increased by six bringing the total representation to 14 which was same as that of the Europeans
2. He proposed special membership in the Legco with four members from each race
3. Suggested that the number of African ministers be doubled.

AEMO members opposed the idea of the specially elected members of the legco saying that this was undemocratic. They boycotted Legco from 1958-1959.

However Musa Amalemba and Wanyutu Waweru were elected to the Legco as special members. They were then branded traitors. Amalemba later was appointed the 2nd African minister for Housing in 1958.

The AEMO members were sued by the government for libel, i.e. they discourage candidates from accepting special seats. They then called on D.N. Pritt, Kenyatta's lawyer to defend them. They were fined 75 pounds each.

There was division between moderates led by Blundell and extremist led by Captain Briggs.

In 1959 Michael Blundell resigned from his Agricultural ministerial post and formed the **New Kenya Party** (N.K.P) He was backed by 46 non-African members of the Legco who supported his ideas.

The European radicals formed the **United Party** (U.P) led by Captain Briggs. They demanded that the Legco be abolished and be replaced with regional assemblies. Their aim was to preserve the white highlands for the whites.

A division also emerged in AEMO. The moderates led by Ngala, Muliro, Mate, Moi, Towett and Jeremiah Nyagah resigned from AEMO and formed the **Kenya National Party** (KNP). It advocated for multipartism. The party was joined by all the Asians, Arab members and one white member of the Legco.

The radical members of AEMO led by Odinga, Mboya, Gikonyo Kiano formed the **Kenya Independent Movement** (KIM). They opposed multiracialism. Their party was purely for Africans. They demanded for

1. Convening of a full constitutional conference to discuss Kenyas future.
2. The release of Kenyatta.

Lennox Boyd was later succeeded by Ian MacLeod

Lancaster House Conferences

By 1959 the colonial government was committed to remove all racial barriers and grant political independence to Africans. The Lancaster house conferences were convened to iron out these differences whereby there was an open opposition between the radical Europeans and AEMO who were opposed to multi-racialism.

The first Lancaster House Conference (1960)

This meeting was convened in London at the Lancaster house, the Headquarter of the British colonial office in January 1960.

It was convened by the secretary of state for colonies Sir Ian MacLeod. All members of the Legco attended the conference. They were led by Ronald Ngala as chairman and Tom Mboya as secretary.

The Africans demanded for

1. A vote on the common roll based on one man one vote.
2. A majority in the proposed council of ministers

The following decisions were reached

1. 12 elective seats in the Legco would remain intact.
2. There were to be 33 seats in the Legco vied for on a common roll
3. 20 seats would be reserved 10 for European 8 for Asians.
4. The council of ministers was to be altered to bring in 4 Africans, 3 Europeans and 1 Asian.
5. It authorized the formation of countrywide political parties for Africans. This led to the formation of KANU and KADU.

This conference was an important milestone in African political development in Kenya. In this, the Europeans lost their bid to dominate in Kenya. Some began to leave the country.

On the other hand, Africans felt that it failed to give them a responsible government though 4 of the elected African members of the Legco accepted ministerial positions reserved for Africans

1. Ronald Ngala Minister for Labour, Social Security and Adult education
2. Julius Gikonyo Kiano, minister for Commerce and Industry

3. Musa Amalemba, Minister for housing, common services, probation and Approved schools.
4. James Nzau Muimi, minister for health and Welfare.

Among the African communities, new alliances were formed due to the high hopes of independence

- **Kalenjin Political Alliance** led by Taita Arap Towett
- **Coast African Political Union** led by Ronald Ngala
- **Kenya African Peoples Party** led by Masinde Muliro

These political groups were formed due to the fear of political domination by the larger ethnic groups e.g. the Luo and the Agikuyu.

In 1960 more members of the Legco joined KANU and KADU.

When the first general elections were held in 1961 KANU beat KADU and KANU gave the release of Jomo Kenyatta as their condition for agreeing to form a government. Ronald Ngala was requested by the colonial government to form the government with KADU together with other European and Asian members.

When Kenyatta was released, Kariuki Njiri offered him his Murang'a constituency seat therefore enabling him to join the Legco.

The Second Lancaster House Conference

It was called by the Colonial secretary Reginald Maulding in 1962. The main goal was to draw an independence constitution acceptable to the two major African parties KANU and KADU. KANU was led by Kenyatta and KADU was led by Ngala. KANU favoured a unitary system of government while KADU was for a federal constitution.

After a lengthy discussion KANU gave in to the wishes of KADU for a federal government. This was for the sake of speeding up political independence.

A Constitution was therefore formed on a majimbo system with a provision for six regions. The Legislature was to consist of two chambers, the senate and the lower house.

In May 1963 elections, KANU won 73 seats while KADU won 31 and APP won 8 seats. Jomo Kenyatta then became the Prime Minister on 1st June 1963 (Madaraka day). This meant that Kenyatta controlled only the internal affairs and defense dockets were still under the control of the British government.

On 12th December Kenya attained full independence meaning that Kenya could now run all her internal and external affairs. Kenyatta was the Prime Minister while the Queen of England remained the head of state.

On 12th December 1964 Kenya was declared a republic with Kenyatta as an executive president. In this the Queen of England ceased to be head of state.