

HISTORY

FORM 3 NOTES

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EUROPEAN INVASION & COLONIZATION OF AFRICA

Name the countries whose citizens/nationals interacted with Africans.

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

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

Introduction

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

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

- Exploration. Explorers like Vasco Da Gama, David Livingstone, John Speke, Johannes Rebmann, James Grant, Samuel Baker, HM Stanley and Mungo Park wanted to gain geographical knowledge about Africa. They revealed Africa's magnificent features, organized kingdoms and her vast resources to the world.
- Trade. The Europeans wanted to have a share in Africa's trade in gold, iron, slaves and other items and wished to directly derive taxable revenue from commerce in Africa.
- Religion. The Europeans wanted to Christianize the nonchristian Africans and to ally themselves with Prester John: a legendary Christian King of Africa, who, they hoped, would help them against the Muslims of North Africa. Besides, from the 16th to 19th century, Europe experienced the age of Religious revival, during which

many missionary societies and groups were formed with the aim of spreading Christianity within and outside Europe. Such groups and societies included the London Missionary Society, the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the United Methodist Mission, the White Fathers and the Holy Ghost Fathers, the Church Missionary Society, Africa Inland Mission, Etc.

- The desire to “civilize” Africa by spreading Western education and culture. They wanted to stamp out slave trade and replace it with legitimate trade.
- Improvement in ship building, particularly by the Portuguese, who led by multiplying the number of masts in their Caravel ships.
- Improvement in navigation by use of charts and a sophisticated compass marked with thirty points, with which navigators could locate harbours along the coastline and note the direction of winds and currents.
- Major advances in naval warfare. With guns and Cannons of superior quality, the Europeans could conquer whoever they came across.
- The Industrial and Scientific Revolutions in Europe in the 18th century, which placed Europe on the forefront in technological development apart from increasing her need for raw materials, most of which could be found in Africa and other overseas regions.
- Adventure. Some Europeans travelled overseas for sheer joy to be the first to find and conquer new lands as others were curious to see strange lands and their people.
- Imperialism. In late 19th century, merchants and other citizens of European nations urged and pressed their governments to acquire overseas colonies for national prestige. A spirit of national pride had gripped the entire Europe.

2012 9. State two European activities in Africa before 1850.

(2 marks)

- i. Were involved in trade;
- ii. Were spreading Christianity;
- iii. Were involved in exploration;
- iv. Were establishing settlements;
- v. Were signing imperial treaties/establishing colonial rule;
- vi. Were mining;
- vii. Were involved in farming.
- viii. Were involved in stamping out slave trade.
- ix. Were involved in spreading Western education.
- x. Were involved in establishing health facilities.

2013 20 a) Outline five European activities in Africa during the 19th century. (5 marks)

- i. Were involved in trade;
- ii. Were spreading Christianity;
- iii. Were involved in exploration;
- iv. Were establishing settlements;
- v. Were signing imperial treaties/establishing colonial rule;
- vi. Were mining;
- vii. Were involved in farming.
- viii. Were involved in stamping out slave trade.
- ix. Were involved in spreading Western education.
- x. Were involved in establishing health facilities.

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

The Scramble For & Partition of Africa**2006 P2 QN 9.****What is the difference between the scramble and partition of Africa in the nineteenth century? (2mks)**

The scramble was the struggle by competition/ rush by Europeans for colonies in African whereas partition was sharing/ dividing up of Africa into European spheres influence.

Define the following terms:

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

- To scramble means to rush for, compete or struggle with others in order to get or do something.
- To partition is to divide something among people or to apportion something among contenders or competitors.
- The Scramble for Africa refers to the rush and struggle for different parts of Africa by European powers.
- The Partition of Africa refers to the dividing up or the sharing of Africa among European nations.

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

By the last quarter of the 19th century, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal were in Africa, competing for colonies to boost their social, economic and political standing.

During the Scramble for and Partition of Africa, the Europeans used both persuasion and force to acquire as many colonies as possible for themselves. Africans who collaborated were offered a reward while those who resisted were punished.

At times, the Europeans risked fighting among themselves over colonies in Africa. The Europeans were scheming to exploit the economic resources that lay untapped in the continent.

Anxious for a peaceful division of Africa, Otto Von Bismarck (the German Chancellor) convened the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885. European powers discussed and divided Africa among themselves around a table overseas without involving the Africans themselves.

African reaction to European invasion varied. Most communities resisted while only a few collaborated with the Europeans. In spite of their resistance, most African societies except Liberia and Ethiopia had been colonized by 1914.

By 1915, many traditional kingdoms and chiefdoms in Africa had changed beyond recognition while others vanished almost without a trace.

Describe the methods used by the Europeans to acquire colonies in Africa.**1996 21 a) What methods did the European powers use to acquire colonies in Africa? (3mks)**

- i) They signed treaties with the local ruler
- ii) They used military force to subdue communities which resisted
- iii) They signed treaties among themselves to partition Africa e.g. the 1890 Angola-German agreement which German gave Witu to Britain and Britain gave Heligoland to German.
- iv) Use of treaty / tricks/ deception

2002 12. Give two methods that European powers used to occupy African during the nineteenth century.

- i) Diplomacy/treaty making/promises of protection/ giving gifts.
- ii) Trickery/use of missionaries explorers/traders
- iii) Military conquest e.g. the French in West Africa.
- iv) Divide and rule tactics i.e. playing off one community against another/promoting later state conflicts.

- v) Annexation
- vi) Setting up administrative posts

2009 20 (a) Identify the three methods used by the French to acquire colonies in West Africa

- (i) Signed treaties with the African rulers/ used diplomacy
- (ii) Played off one community against the other/ divide and rule/ treachery
- (iii) Used force to conquer the African / Military expedition (Any 3 x 1 = 3 mks)

2010 20. a) Give three methods used by European powers to establish colonial rule in Africa.

- vii) Military conquest/expeditions
- viii) They signed treaties/agreements with African rulers/diplomacy/collaboration
- ix) Deception/treachery/luring Africans with European goods.
- x) Chartered trading companies
- xi) Playing off communities against each other in order to weaken.

The treaties signed among Europeans during the scramble for and partition of Africa.

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

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

- The 1904 and 1911 agreements between the Maasai and the British.
- The 1900 agreement between Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and the British.
- The 1884 treaties between George Goldie of the United Africa (Royal Niger) company with African leaders, which brought the Niger delta, Yoruba land and the Gambia under British control.
- The 1890 Lochner treaty between the British and King Lewanika of the Lozi, through which Zambia was acquired.
- The 1884 treaties between Harry Johnston and the chiefs in the Mount Kilimanjaro and Witu areas to facilitate British trade.
- Treaties signed between Karl Peters and the chiefs of Uzibua, Ukami, Usagara and Ungulu in the Mount Kilimanjaro region, placing them under German protection.

Areas in Africa which were occupied through military force by the Europeans.

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

Reasons why Company rule was initially used by European powers in administering colonies in Africa

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

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

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

2005 10. Identify TWO chartered companies which were used to administer European colonial possessions in Africa

- (i) The Royal Niger Company
- (ii) The British South Africa Company
- (iii) The Germany East Africa Company
- (iv) The imperial British East Africa Company (Any 2 x 1 = 2mks)

2010 p2 qn 7. Name any chartered company that was used to administer Tanganyika during the process of colonisation.

- (i) The German East Africa Company 1 x 1 = 1 mark

Factors that undermined company rule

2001 9. Give one factors which undermined company rule in Africa during the 19th century.

- (i) Poor /inadequate transport and communication systems
 - (ii) Officials of the companies did not understand the local languages
 - (iii) Corrupt/greedy company officials
 - (iv) Inadequate capital/funds necessary for effective administration
 - (v) Company officials on the ground lacked administrative skills and experience
 - (vi) Few company official to administer large areas.
 - (vii) Resistance by Africans
 - (viii) Lack of co-ordination between co-offices in European agents in Africa.
- (Any 1 points, 1 mk (1mk))

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

Factors that led to scramble for colonies in Africa

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

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

- ❖ The Industrial Revolution in Europe, which increased the need for raw materials like cotton and palm oil, which could be obtained from the colonies.
- ❖ Colonies provided market for manufactured goods from European industries.
- ❖ Increased/surplus capital, which the Europeans wanted to invest in the colonies.
- ❖ Speculation that Africa was rich in minerals like gold and copper.
- ❖ Unification of Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. Germany became powerful under Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck as France lost her two mineral-rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. France turned her attention to Africa for colonies to compensate for her loss. Germany, not wishing to be left behind, was also out to acquire colonies.
- ❖ National prestige. Germany and Italy joined the race for colonies because of national glory and pride.
- ❖ European military officers encouraged their governments to participate in colonial expansion to give them an opportunity to be recognized and promoted.
- ❖ Public opinion in Europe favoured acquisition of colonies. For example, De Brazza signed a treaty with chief Makoko due to public opinion in France, creating a French colony: Congo.

- ❖ The Egyptian question. Egypt was of strategic importance to the Europeans because of the Suez Canal, built by the British and French, which shortened the route to British colonies in India and the Far East.
- ❖ French activities in West Africa and the Congo alarmed other powers, who joined the race for colonies.
- ❖ King Leopold ii) of Belgium, in 1879, sent Henry Morton Stanley to explore the River Congo and, through such activities, Stanley created the Congo Free State, which had become Leopold's empire by 1884. Leopold's activities alarmed the Portuguese, who claimed River Congo and the French turned their attention to west Africa. Germany and Britain made similar claims for colonies in the region.
- ❖ Missionaries came to spread Christianity, western education and culture and invited their mother-governments to occupy their areas to protect them.
- ❖ Influential people in Europe such as Karl Peters, Harry Johnston, William Mackinnon and David Livingstone encouraged colonialism.
- ❖ Europeans believed they had superior culture as compared to other races. They felt they had a duty to "civilize" the blacks on the African continent.
- ❖ Britain and Germany encouraged their surplus population to settle in Africa.
- ❖ European humanitarians came to abolish slave trade. William Wilberforce and Granville Sharp led in the abolition of slave trade and urged its replacement with legitimate trade.
- ❖ Africa was rich in raw materials and had good harbours.
- ❖ African communities were weakened by war, diseases,, drought and famine. This made the Europeans to easily conquer the Africans.

2000 11 State one economic factor which encouraged the Europeans to partition Africa during the nineteenth century. (1 mk)

- i) Need for raw materials for their industries
- ii) Search for the market for their manufactured goods
- iii) Desire by rich industrialists to invest their surplus capital

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

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

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

ECONOMIC FACTORS

These stem from the Industrial Revolution in Europe as follows:

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

POLITICAL FACTORS

- ✓ The Unification of Germany. Following her unification under Kaiser William and Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck, Germany emerged as a mighty nation, defeating France in the 1870-1871 Franco-Prussian war, which caused France to turn her attention to Africa, acquiring eight colonies in west Africa to compensate for her losses.
- ✓ Nationalism. Following the French venture in Africa, a spirit of national pride spread throughout Europe in the late 19th century. Urged by their citizens, the European nations felt they had to acquire overseas colonies for national prestige. For instance, Germany and Italy went for colonies in Africa to assert their newly found superiority.
- ✓ Militarism. Reduction of prolonged wars in Europe in the 19th century caused army officers to favour colonial wars and expansion to get opportunities for glory or promotion. Such officers were mostly given honours such as knighthoods and peerages. For instance, General Woseley Kitchener, who supported British imperial expansion into Africa became Lord Kitchener.
- ✓ Public opinion. With democratization of European states in late 19th century, governments had to pay more attention to public opinion, which favoured and persuaded them to acquire colonies, which the governments did to appease the electorate in order to remain in power. It was in the light of this that, for instance, the French Assembly agreed to ratify De Brazza's treaty with Chief Makoko to create a French colony in the Congo in 1882. Similarly, with the position of her government largely dependent on the success of her colonial policies, Germany took over Togo, Cameroon and Present-day Namibia. Britain also chose not to remain backward in what she termed as the Irresistible demand in claiming her share of Africa.
- ✓ The Press. Newspapers in Britain, France and Italy influenced public opinion on and strongly favoured acquisition of colonies.

SOCIAL FACTORS

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

2011 p2 qn 8 State two social factors that led to the scramble for colonies in Africa by European Powers.(2 marks)

- i. The need to abolish slave trade
- ii. The desire to spread Christianity/to protect missionaries
- iii. The desire to spread western civilian/education/western civilization
- iv. The need to settle surplus population (any 2x1 = 2 marks)

THE PULL FACTORS IN AFRICA

- The vast resources in Africa such as minerals, ivory, Game products, palm oil, copra, spices and kola nuts as well as good harbours for ships were very enticing to the foreigners.
- The existence of well developed trade, with trade routes and centres as well as navigable rivers in the African interior attracted Europeans, who competed with one another to exploit these rich resources.
- African communities at that time comprised small highly decentralized weak vulnerable political units, which were frequently at war, especially during slave raids.
- Diseases and natural calamities such as drought, famine, Smallpox and Measles weakened African societies and rendered them easy to conquer.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

These were characterised by:

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

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

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

THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION

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

FRENCH ACTIVITIES IN CONGO AND WEST AFRICA

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

THE ACTIVITIES OF KING LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM

- With an ambition to establish a personal empire, King Leopold convened the Brussels Geographical conference in 1876, which led to the formation of the International African Association, whose members were drawn from many European countries, aimed at abolishing slave trade, supporting free trade and opening centres of civilization. He tried but failed to send an expedition to the interior.
- In 1879, Leopold sent Henry Morton Stanley to explore the river Congo. Stanley reported that the River Congo was and would be the grand highway of commerce in west and central Africa. Stanley had established communication links between the coast and Stanley Falls.
- As a result, Stanley created the Congo Free State, which had become Leopold's personal empire by 1884.
- The Portuguese, who claimed to be the initial explorers of the River Congo were distressed by Leopold's

activities. Portuguese claim over the Congo was recognized by Britain but rejected by France and Belgium. Having lost their control over Egypt, the French turned to West Africa, which explains why France sent De Brazza to sign treaties with King Makoko of the Congo.

- Germany and Britain voiced their desire for colonies in the Congo region, over which the Portuguese, Belgians, and French wrangled too,, which threatened to spark off war among European nations in Africa.
- To avoid war, Otto Von Bismarck (the German Chancellor) convened an international conference that became known as the Berlin Conference.

THE PROCESS OF PARTITION

2008 P2 QN 10. Identify the main aim of the Berlin conference between 1884 and 1885.

(1 mk)

2012 p2 qn 11. Give the main reason why the European powers held Berlin Conference on 1884 to 1885.
(1 mark)

To discuss how to participate/share/divide Africa among themselves

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

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

2012 11. Give the main reason why the European powers held Berlin Conference on 1884 to 1885.
(1 mark)

- To discuss how to participate/share/divide Africa among themselves. (1mark)

Describe the Berlin conference (1884-1885).

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

2003 11 State one way through which the European maintained peace among themselves during the partition of Africa.

- (i) By signing treaties among themselves/agreements
- (ii) By organizing the Berlin Conference to lay down the guiding principles of the partition/recognize spheres of influence.

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

- Britain,
- Germany,
- France,
- Portugal,
- Belgium,
- Italy,
- The United States of America.

Africans themselves were excluded.

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

- To set or lay down the rules of the partition.
- To eliminate conflict among European nations over their expansion into Africa.
- To define any area effectively occupied by each nation to avoid interference.
- To sort out different European views on the slave trade and its abolition.
- Establishment of authority in regions under occupation.
- To safeguard native African interests.

- To protect traders, scientists, explorers and Christian missionaries from local attacks.
- To guarantee religious tolerance.
- To guarantee free trade.
- To draw the borders of regions under occupation on a map.

State the terms of the Berlin Act.

- Any state laying claim to any part of Africa had to inform other interested parties. The claims had to be discussed and ratified if they were justifiable.
- All signatories had to declare their spheres of influence I.E. an area under each nation's occupation.
- Effective occupation had to be established in an area once the area was declared a sphere of influence.

2009 P2 QN 11. Define the term " sphere " of influence as used by the European powers in Berlin conference of 1884 and 1885

- Any power acquiring territory in Africa had to undertake stamping out of slave trade and safeguard African interests.
 - The River Congo and River Niger basins were left free for any interested power to navigate.
 - If a European power claimed a certain part of the African coast, the land in the interior or behind the coastal possession became the coastal claimant's sphere of influence.
 - Any country that wished to declare a protectorate in Africa had to show that its authority in the region was firm enough to protect existing European rights and guarantee free trade.
- Analyse the Partition of Africa among European powers.** (Explain how the European powers divided up Africa among themselves.)
- Britain got Kenya and Uganda in east Africa, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe in central Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland and the Union of South Africa in southern Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone in west Africa, Egypt and Sudan in North Africa and British Somaliland in north-eastern Africa.
 - France got Ivory Coast, Senegal, Benin, Bokinaphaso, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Niger in West Africa, Chad, French Central Africa and French Congo in central Africa, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco in North Africa and French Somaliland and Eritrea in North-Eastern Africa.
 - Germany got Tanganyika in east Africa, Rwanda and Burundi in Central Africa, Togo and Cameroon in west Africa and Namibia in south-west Africa.
 - Belgium got Belgium Congo (former Zaire but now the Democratic Republic of Congo) in central Africa.
 - Portugal got Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.
 - Spain got Spanish Guinea and Spanish morocco.
 - Italy got Libya and Italian Somaliland.
 - The Niger went to Britain as King Leopold's claim over Congo was recognized.

2006 P2 QN 10. Name one colony of British in West Africa (1mk)

- (i) Nigeria
- (ii) Ghana/ Gold Coast
- (iii) The Gambia
- (iv) Sierra Leone

(Any 1 x 1 = 1 mks)

2011 p2 qn 9 Name one African country that was not colonized by the European powers. (1 mark)

- i. Ethiopia
- ii. Liberia

(any 1x1 =1 marks)

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

2011 p2 qn 21(b) Explain six effects of the partition of Africa on African communities.

- ii. Africans lost independence as European established colonies

- iii. African economies weakened by the European exploitation of the resources
- iv. The Africans system of government were replaced by European system
- v. Africans adopted European language which became official languages in the colonies
- vi. Modern African state were created by the boundaries drawn during the partition
- vii. Some African communities were split by the boundaries which were drawn during the partition
- viii. Africans lost land as Europeans established permanent settlements
- ix. Africans lost their lives/property as they resisted occupation
- x. African culture were undermined through the introduction of Western education/spread of Christianity/health
- xi. Closer ties were forged between Africans and Europeans which created overdependence on Europe.
- xii. Intensification of warfare among African community
- xiii. Infrastructure was developed in ling major mini and Agricultural areas
- xiv. Introduction of new policies e.g forced labour

2004 20 (b) Discuss the immediate results of the partition of African by Europeans. (10 mks)

- i) Boundaries demarcating spheres of influence were drawn.
 - ii) The European powers took control of areas where their trader/companies and missionaries had operate/ stated development, spherical of influence.
 - iii) African communities sometimes found themselves split aprt by arbitrary boundaries.
 - iv) It led to the establishment of colonial rule/Africans lost their independence.
 - v) African interest
 - vi) Some African resettled/against Europeans in entrenching their rule/collaboration.
 - vii) Some African leader gained power and fame/were make paramount chiefs
- Any 5x2=10mks

African Reaction to European Colonization

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

In what ways did Africans react to European colonization?

African reaction to foreign invasion could be classified into:

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

Describe two types of African resistance against European colonization

There were two forms of resistance. These were:

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

Into what categories could African collaboration to European invasion and colonization be classified?

(Describe the types of Collaboration as exhibited by some African communities towards European invasion and colonization.)

There were various categories of collaboration such as:

- Diplomacy, whereby the concerned communities used delaying tactics to enable them to reorganize themselves before facing the colonizers.
- Signing treaties, whereby some African communities went into nonaggression agreements with the colonizers.
- Alliance I.E. cooperation with foreigners in order to acquire Western education, gifts or other goods.

- Conspiracy, whereby, amidst many inter-ethnic hostilities during European invasion of Africa, some communities undermined the strength of or sought protection from their local enemies by siding with the Europeans.
- African Hospitality, whereby some African communities welcomed the newcomers in good faith as friends and treated them as part of them.

Resistance

THE MAJI-MAJI REBELLION (1905-1907)

DEFINITION

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

Communities involved

2013 11 Name one African community that took part in the Maji Maji uprising between 1905 and 1907. (1 mark)

- i. Ngindo;
- ii. Matumbi;
- iii. Pogoro;
- iv. Ngoni;
- v. Mpunga;
- vi. Ndendeule.
- vii. Wamera
- viii. Luguru;
- ix. Zaramo;
- x. Bena;

Causes of the Maji-Maji rebellion

2008 20. (a) Identify five causes of the Maji Maji rebellion in Central Tanganyika between 1905 and 1907. (5 marks)

- (i) Africans resented the forced labour introduced by the Germans.
- (ii) Africans were forced to grow cotton on infertile land.
- (iii) The Africans disliked the rule by Akidas and Jumbes who were hired by the Germans
- (iv) The Germans mistreated African rulers
- (v) Africans were against the introduction of tax by the Germans
- (vi) The German officials sexually abused the African women,
- (vii) The Africans were inspired by the prophecy of Kinje Kitile Ngwale.
- (viii) Africans wanted to recover their land from the Germans,
- (ix) The Ngoni fought to seek revenge over the Boma massacre of 1897.
- (x) Africans wanted to regain their lost independence.
- (xi) Germans despised/looked down upon the African way of life.

(Any 5 x 1 = 5 marks)

1997 18. (a) Explain why the Maji Maji uprising occurred between 1905 and 1907. (6 mks)

- i) Cruelty and brutality of the German colonial administration especially the Akidas and Jumbes
- ii) Forced labour on the German plantations and other works which dehumanized the Africans.
- iii) Imposition of taxation e.g. hut tax provoked resentment among Africans
- iv) Compulsory growing of cotton on unsuitable soils and hence poor yields
- v) The Africans desired to regain their lost independence.
- vi) Disrespect for African culture by the German administration e.g. in Uganda, the Germans misbehaved

with Gin'do women.

- vii) The charismatic role played by Kijikitle in using religion to unify the people of southern Tanzania against the Germans.

2006 11. Give one reason why the Africans in Tanganyika were against the use of Akidas by German colonial administrators. (1mk)

- i) Akidas were foreigners
 - ii) Akidas took Africans' chance in administering their country
 - iii) Akidas were brutal/ harsh to the Africans/ Whipping Africans E.g. flogging
- (Any 1 x 1 = 1mk)

Course or process of the rebellion

- The resisters were mobilized and united against the Germans in 1904 through religion by their leaders: Kinjekitile Ngwale, Abdala Mpanda and Ngamea. Kinjekitile appealed to the resisters by telling them that their ancestors would be resurrected. He assured them of immunity to German bullets by sprinkling magic water (a mixture of millet and maize flour and water drawn from River Rufiji) on the forehead of each fighter, who he then committed to war. Kinjekitile's ideas spread rapidly and secretly through a whispering campaign called Njwiywia or Jujila by the Matumbi.
- In July 1905, Matumbi workers boycotted cotton picking in their region. The Pogoro followed by uprooting cotton from an Akida's farm at Nandete. They then attacked government posts and officials.
- Rapid spreading of news caused the people of Kichi, Uzaramo, Uluguru and Ungindo to join the war. The fighters combined Guerrilla tactics and open battles.
- In August 1905, the town of Samanga was burnt down. European farms, offices and missions were attacked while a number of Arabs, Swahilis as well as the Germans themselves and Africans working for the Germans were killed.
- In the very August 1905, the Germans began killing Africans, especially the leaders of the revolt.
- In 1907, the Germans, under Governor Graf Von Gotzen, got reinforcement from Germany and from other German administered African regions. The Germans then adopted a Scorched-Earth policy, destroying all property on sight.
- The resisting Africans either surrendered or fled to Mozambique since the magic water failed to protect them from bullets, leaving them demoralized due to the defeat they suffered.
- Earlier on, the Nyamwezi, the Chagga, the Gogo and the Hehe revolted but suffered enormously in the hands of the Germans, which explains why they did not join the Maji-Maji rebellion.

Role of religion in the Maji Maji Rebellion

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

1998 12. State the main contribution of religion in the Maji Maji uprising against German rule in Southern Tanzania.

- A religious leader Kijingetile used magic water which claimed to have magic power from the ancestors against German bullets in spite to mobilize, encourage and unite the people of Southern Tanzania to rise against rule.

Reasons for the failure of the rebellion

2008 20 (b) Why were the African communities defeated by the Germans during the Maji Maji rebellion? (10 marks)

- (i) Africans had inferior weapons which could not match the German modern weapons.
- (ii) German soldiers were well trained as opposed to the African soldiers who used traditional methods of fighting.
- (iii) The disunity/hatred that existed among African communities made it possible for the Germans to defeat them with ease.
- (iv) The Germans used the scorched earth method which led to famine and hence weakened the Africans
- (v) The magic water failed to protect the Africans from German bullets.
- (vi) Capture/imprisonment/execution of African leaders demoralised the fighters.
- (vii) German administrators received reinforcement which strengthened their fight against the Africans.
- (viii) The large/powerful communities who had been defeated by the Germans before did not join the war.
- (ix) Africans were not well coordinated/organised in their fight against the Germans. (Any 5x2 = 10 marks)

2002 21. a) What reasons led to the failure of Maji Maji rebellion in 1907.

- i. Africans were not well organized in their assistance. Each community fought on its own / lack of proper coordination.
- ii. The magic water failed to protect Africans from German bullets leading to the death of African soldieries into the battle.
- iii. The Africans did not unite to face the common enemy for example to Hehe and Nyamwesi did join the revolution / lack of unity.
- iv. The Germans received reinforcement from Germany and other colonies and thus their number overwhelmed the African Soldiers.
- v. African soldiers lacked enough weapons to use against the Germans.
- vi. The Africans did not have a well-trained army / lack of military skills.
- vii. The ruthlessness of the German soldiers in crushing the rebellion e.g use of scorched earth policy.

Effects of the rebellion

1997 18. b) What was the outcome of the Maji uprising (9 mks)

- i) The uprising led to destruction of property in southern Tanzania e.g. houses and crops.
 - ii) There was loss of many lives through the war and resulting starvation.
 - iii) Many people were displaced as they escaped from the war torn region of Southern labour.
 - iv) The German colonial government changed its policies e.g. abolition of forced labour.
 - v) Change of German colonial administration structure from direct to indirect rule, henceforth Africans were used as administration because they understood their systems better.
 - vi) The uprising laid foundation for future African nationalism in Tanganyika/Tanzania.
- High death rate on the side of the Africans due to disease, starvation and the might of the German force.
 - Great destruction of property as a result of the Scorched-Earth policy applied by the Germans.
 - Severe famine due to disruption of agriculture, trade and other economic activities.
 - Loss of leadership, which disorganized and demoralized African communities due to capture, arrest and killing of their leaders by German forces.
 - Displacement as people fled in different directions in search of food and security.
 - The war undermined the German economy in Tanganyika as numerous economic activities came to a standstill.

- Disillusionment due to failure of the war, which led to keener tribal differences, characterised by ill feelings on their varied roles during the war.
- Loss of confidence in African traditional religion as Kinjekitile's magic water failed to protect the resisters from German bullets.
- The resisters had to submit to colonial rule following their defeat. They realized the need for better weapons and organization to tackle the colonialists.
- The uprising later united more communities in Tanganyika than ever before, laying the foundation for Tanganyika's nationalism.
- The people of south-eastern Tanganyika resorted to constitutional protest in their struggle for independence, having learned of the folly of taking up arms against a colonial master with better, organized and superior weapons.
- Future Tanzanian nationalists drew inspiration from lessons learnt during the revolt.

❖ The Germans reformed their colonial system to avoid recurrence of such a war.

In what ways did disunity and poor coordination among the revolters undermine the Maji-Maji rebellion?

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

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

2002 21.b) Explain five reforms that were introduced by the German administration after the Maji Maji uprising.

- i. Communal cotton growing was stopped and Africans were encouraged to plant their own cotton and get profit from it.
- ii. Forced labour for settler farms was abolished.
- iii. Corporal punishment was forbidden and those settlers who mistreated their workers were punished.
- iv. Better educational and medical services for Africans were introduced.
- v. Africans were involved in administration of the regions as Akidas and Jumbes.
- vi. The new governor censured newspapers that supported settlers against Africans.
- vii. A new governor who was sympathetic to the cause of the Africans
- viii. A colonial department of German government was formed in 1907 to closely investigate the affairs to German East Africa.
- ix. Extra taxation of Africans was rejected by the new governors.
- x. Kiswahili was accepted as the official language.
- xi. Colonial administration in Tanganyika was tailored to suit the Africans.
- xii. Created division between those communities which resisted and those which collaborated.

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

pursuit of independence.

THE MANDINKA RESISTANCE

1996 9. Name the Empire that was ruled by Samori Toure during the European invasion of Africa (1mk)

i) The Mandinka Empire

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

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

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

Organisation of Samori's administration

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

Causes of Samori's resistance

1997 10 State the main reason why Samori Toure fought the French during the nineteenth century (1 mk)

- i) To preserve the independence of the Mandinka kingdom/ empire
- ii) To stop French colonization

2003 21. (a) Give three reasons why Samori Toure resisted French colonization in Africa

- (i) He wanted the mandika to retain their independence
- (ii) He wanted to safeguard Islam from Christian influence/ he was fighting a holy war
- (iii) He wanted to preserve the Mandinka culture
- (iv) He wanted to protect the Mandinka land from European occupation
- (v) He wanted to protect the economic resources of gold mines
- (vi) He wanted to retain his authority

Course/process of the Franco-Mandinka war

- The French organized their forces against Samori to force him to withdraw his claims over the Kita Bamako railway area in 1883. This increased Franco-Mandinka hostility.
- To calm the situation, the French approached Samori for a boundary settlement, which led to the treaty of Bisandugu in March 1886, by which France was given the northern river Niger territory in return for her friendship, to avert further conflicts and, hopefully, to establish an Anglo-Mandinka alliance for arms procurement from Freetown to boost Samori's military might.
- Realizing the French intension of confrontation with his people and occupation of his territory, Samori again unsuccessfully sought British protection, for the British accepted France's claim over the Mandinka empire in return for French concessions elsewhere in Africa.
- In 1890, France sparked off conflict between the Tukolor and the Mandinka by attacking Segu. They also quietly urged Tieba of Sikaso to attack Samori, who repudiated the treaty of friendship.
- In 1891, war broke out between the French and the Mandinka, each accusing the other of breaking the Bisandugu treaty. Samori faced the French alone after failing to get British support. Through Guerrilla warfare, he used the south-east forestlands to launch night attacks.
- He armed his soldiers with Repeater Rifles, avoiding pitched battles and the massing of his troops in fortified camps as he slowly retreated eastwards.
- From the new site, Samori intensified his resistance against the French. He unsuccessfully sought alliances with the Asante of what is now Ghana as well as the British once more. But Samori fought and defeated a French column in 1895 and a British one in 1897.
- After putting up a strong and long resistance, Samori surrendered in 1898 and was deported by the French to Gabon. He had run short of food, guns and horses.
- Samori Toure died in 1900, having failed to defend his empire against French imperialism, though he succeeded in waging a long war.
- Indeed, Samori's resistance was an inspiration to modern African nationalists and leaders in Guinea.

WHY SAMORI RESSISTED THE FRENCH FOR LONG

Techniques that Samori Toure applied in his resistance against French invasion.

He applied modern techniques such as:

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

Divisions of Samori Toure's army.

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

Reasons why Samori Toure resisted the French for long.

2001 22. a) What factors which enabled Samori Toure to resist French colonization in West Africa between 1882 and 1898.

- i. He had a large well organized army which was a formidable force for the French.
- ii. He equipped his army with modern weapons which were acquired from the Europeans and also manufactured some locally
- iii. He used Mandinka nationalism and Islam to unify the soldiers/army
- iv. He had adequate food supply which sustained the army
- v. He used guerrilla warfare and scorched earth policy which proved effective against the French.
- vi. Some of his solders had served in the French colonial army and were thus familiar with the French war tactics.
- vii. Use of horses by Samori during the war enhanced the solders effectiveness
- viii. Samori's soldiers were familiar with the terrain. This enabled them to effective/French not familiar with geography of the area.
- ix. He was a competent military leader who inspired his soldiers democratically in assignment of duties.
- x. He used diplomacy e.g. he signed the Bissandugu Treaty. (1886) to get more time to organize himself. (Played British against the French)
- xi. Samori shifted his empire and capital further inland to give him more time to re-organize his forces.

- xii. He was able to pay his soldiers well. (Any 7 points, 1 mk (7mks))

Reasons why Samori Toure finally defeated by the French

2009 P2 QN 20(b) Explain six factors that led to the defeat of Samori Toure by the French

- i. The constant movements of his army and people denied them time to concentrate on gainful activities. This resulted to inadequate food supplies
- ii. The scorched earth policy that he used when fighting made his people to be impoverished and thus turned against him.
- iii. Some African communities in the area supported the French against Samori Toure. E.g. Liebba of Sekosso & Ahmiadu Sekou of Tuklor
- iv. The Diplomatic tactics of playing off the British against the French worked against him as the British refused to give him support when attacked by the French
- v. The determination by the French to establish an overseas empire made them to use their superior weapons on Samori Toure
- vi. The non- Mandinka and non Muslim communities in his empire supported the French against him because he had conquered/ mistreated them.
- vii. The British refused to support Samori Toure against the French due to their policy of non – interference.
- viii. The French besieged Samori Capital/ blocking his retreat thereby forcing him to surrender
- ix. The establishment of the second empire from the East denied him access to the coast thus affecting supply of arms
- x. The loss of Bure gold mine cleared him the finances to sustain his forces.

(6 x 2 = 12 mks)

Results of the Franco Mandinka war/ results of the Mandinka resistance

2013 20 b) Explain five effects of the Mandinka resistance against the French invasion in the late 19th century (10 marks)

- i. Many lives were lost due to the protracted war between the two groups;
- ii. There was destruction of property as the Mandinka applied scorched earth policy during the war;
- iii. The Mandinka were defeated and hence subjected to French colonial rule/ loss of independence;
- iv. The traditional institutions of the Mandinka were disrupted/weakened rendering them
- v. ineffective in discharging their duties/functions/loss of leadership;
- vi. The Mandinka experienced famine as most of the people were engaged in the war at the expense of farming activities;
- vii. Many people were displaced by the war, thereby becoming refugees in the neighbouring states;
- viii. The war created suffering /misery among the people leading to a state of despair;
- ix. Samore Toure was captured and deported to Gabon;
- x. Disruption of economic activities eg. gold mining and trade;
- xi. It laid down ground for African nationalism.

NDEBELE RESISTANCE BACKGROUND

Origin of the Ndebele and their resistance to European invasion and occupation.

- The Ndebele descended from the Nguni-speaking Bantu of South Africa.
- Under Mzilikazi, the Ndebele migrated from South Africa to Mashonaland in Zimbabwe and to central Africa

during the 1820-1828 Mfecane wars.

- By 1837, the Ndebele had subdued and captured parts of Mashonaland, which they occupied and renamed Matebele.
- The Shona were pushed farther north but still remained under Ndebele domination politically, economically and socially.
- By the 1870s, the Portuguese, Germans, British and Boers had visited Matebeleland for hunting and mining concessions.
- Lobengula, who reigned in the course of the coming of the Europeans, delayed for some time in granting them concessions.
- In 1888, Lobengula met Cecil John Rhodes: a South African Millionaire, whose aim was to colonize central Africa for Britain. Rhodes convinced the British High Commissioner at the Cape colony to obtain a treaty from Lobengula with the help of Reverent Robert Moffat, who seemingly was on good terms with the Ndebele. Robert Moffat was the leader of the London missionary Society, who in 1859 became the first group of missionaries to settle in Matebeleland.
- That same 1888, Lobengula was persuaded to sign the Moffat Friendship Treaty, which stated that Lobengula was not to sign any other treaty with other European groups without the permission of the British. This treaty therefore paved way for British occupation of Zimbabwe, which was not in Lobengula's intention.
- To ensure British monopoly over Matebeleland, Cecil Rhodes sent Charles Rudd, Thompson and Maguire to Lobengula, which led to the signing of the 1888 Rudd Concession.
- In 1890, Cecil Rhodes obtained a charter allowing him to do more than agreed in the Rudd concession. With this charter from the British government, Rhodes planned to occupy Mashonaland and sent a group of 200 settlers (together known as the Pioneer Column), who arrived and were sent to settle in Mashonaland in September 1890.
- In 1891, the British recognized the occupation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Company, which was given the duty to administer the region. An administrator and a judge were then sent by the British government to Mashonaland, which alarmed Lobengula who sent messengers to Cape town to state the terms of the Rudd Concession.

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

- That the Europeans protect Lobengula's people: the Ndebele.
- That there be not more than ten Whites on the land at any one time.
- That other Whites be notified through the mass media to stay away from Matebeleland.
- However, these conditions were not incorporated in the final text of the Rudd concession. When the terms of the Rudd Concession were interpreted to Lobengula, Lobengula learnt that he had been tricked into surrendering his kingdom to the Europeans.

State the terms of the Rudd concession (1888).

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

State the implications of British occupation of Mashonaland.

- The Ndebele no longer had power over the Shona.
- Since the Shona enjoyed British protection, the Ndebele could not raid the Shona for cattle and women.
- Trade, which was controlled by the king, was now in the hands of the British.
- The powers and influence of the Ndebele king were greatly minimized.

THE NDEBELE WAR (1893)

Causes of the Ndebele War

- The British treacherously occupied Mashonaland, determined to permanently destroy Ndebele power. This was the main course.
- The Ndebele were prevented from raiding the shona.
- Lobengula and the NDEBELE lost control over their subjects.
- They resented forced labour in the mines by the company officials.
- The British incited the Shona to raid the Ndebele for cattle and other commodities in order to provoke the

Ndebele to attack the Shona, in which case the British would then fight the Ndebele under the pretext of protecting their interests in Mashonaland.

- The Ndebele had lost their property(cattle) and land. Indunas attempted to punish some Shona who had disobeyed Lobengula by pursuing and attacking the Shona and raiding White settlements to recapture their stolen cattle.

Course of the war

- The war broke out in October 1893. Given the might of the British Army and the fact that Ndebele warriors had inferior weapons and had been weakened by smallpox, Lobengula chose not to confront the British forces in an open war.
- The Ndebele were easily and decisively defeated. Lobengula and his people fled northwards from their Bulawayo capital.
- With Lobengula's death in 1894, Ndebele Indunas were so demoralised that they surrendered to the British.

2005 12. Give one reason why the Shona supported the British during the Ndebele resistance of 1893.

- To stop raids from the Ndebele
- They did not want to be ruled by Ndebele (1 x 1 = 1 mk)

2006 20.a) Give three reasons why Lobengula was defeat by the British in 1893? (3 mks)

- The British had superior weapons compared to the Ndebele
- The British army was better organized than the Ndebele
- Lobengula and his soldiers were weakened by small pox
- The British had better trained army. (Any 3 x 1 = 3 mks)

Results of the war

2006 20.b) What were the results of the British Ndebele war of 1893? (12mks)

- The Ndebele lost their independence/ company rule was established over Matebele land
- There was massive loss of life
- The Ndebele lost of property through destruction
- Bulawayo the capital of the Ndebele Kingdom was destroyed
- The Ndebele lost land to British settlers the Ndebele were moved to Reserves
- The economic activities of the Ndebele such as agriculture, trade and mining were disrupted
- There was widespread fear and insecurity among the Ndebele
- The war provoked anti- British feelings which Party contributed to the Chimurenga wars of 1896 and 1987
- The Ndebele military power was weakened
- The Shona were made policemen over the Ndebele
- The Ndebele were subjected to taxation
- The Ndebele cattle were confisatead
- The Ndebele were subjected to forced labour

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

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

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

THE CHIMURENGA WAR (1896-1897)

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

Settlers.

Factors that led to the Chimurenga war

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

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

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

favoured by Cecil Rhodes. After listening to the grievances presented by Ndebele Indunas, Rhodes agreed to disband the Shona police and give Ndebele headmen some power. The Indunas became headmen, but the African chiefs were severely punished.

- The Shona continued, but with the Ndebele warriors out of the way, the British were able to crush the Shona uprising in October 1897. In spite of long resistance, the Shona and Ndebele were eventually defeated, making way for imposition of colonial rule on them and the entire Zimbabwe.

Reasons for the defeat of the Chimurenga war

- Disunity among the Africans, whose lack of coordination made it easy for the British to deal with one group at a time. Ending of the war with the Ndebele in 1896, which eased the quashing of the Shona revolt in 1897.
- Futility of the strong religious belief in the Mwari cult, which worked against the people..
- Rhodes' determination to suppress the resistance and establish effective occupation, which called for negotiation for peace with the Ndebele Indunas.
- Superior weapons on the British side.
- Arrest and execution of Shona and Ndebele leaders e.g. Nehanda, Kakubi and Singinyamatshe.
- The fact that the British army was large and comprised well trained and more organized soldiers, unlike the less-skilled African warriors.
- The fact that the British got reinforcement from Botswana and South Africa.
- Natural calamities such as drought, livestock diseases and locusts, which had devastating effects on Africans, making them too weak to deal with aggressors.
- The Indunas' lack of military practice by the time of the uprising as the British broke African social and political institutions.

Results of The War

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

2010 12. State one way in which the Ndebele benefited after the British-Ndebele War of 1893 to 1896.

- The Ndebele Indunas were made headmen.
- The Shona police were removed from Matebeleland. Any 1 x 1 = 1 mark

Collaboration

Is the process of accommodating European occupation without resistance.

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

Reasons for collaboration

2000 12 Give one reason why some African communities collaborated with the European imperialists. (1 mark)

- i) To get assistance against their enemies/ hostile neighbours
- ii) Show them courtesy assuming that they would soon leave
- iii) To get material gain/ benefit e.g. guns, clothes e.t.c
- iv) To retain their independence/ traditional ruler
- v) Influence of the missionaries
- vi) Ignorance of the initiation of the European imperialists

2012 10. State one way in which African collaboration with Europeans hastened colonization of Africa. (1 mark)

- (i) It encouraged Europeans to settle and loss of African land
- (ii) It created disunity among Africans
- (iii) It assisted the Europeans in conquering other communities
- (iv) It assisted/enabled Europeans to establish their control/entrench themselves(1marks)

THE BAGANDA COLLABORATION

Origin of Buganda kingdom.

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

BUGANDA UNDER KABAKA MUTESA 1

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

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

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

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

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

KABAKA MWANGA (1884-1889)

When Mutesa 1 died in 1884, his eighteen-year-old son: Mwanga took over leadership in Baganda.

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

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

Kalema as the ruler.

- With the help of the Christians and the Banyoro, Mwanga recaptured his position in 1890. By that time, he was socially very weak, for even his Katikiro was a Christian.
- Advised by the French Catholic White Fathers, Mwanga accepted the offer of a protection treaty by Karl Peters and his team in the very 1890. but he rejected a treaty offered by Frederic Jackson of the Imperial British East Africa Company.
- Fortunately for the British, the 1890 Anglo-German agreement made Uganda a British sphere of influence. Captain Frederic Lugard of the Imperial British East Africa Company was sent to Uganda in 1890 and was the first British administrator there.
- To avert the threat by the Muslims and neighbouring Bunyoro, Mwanga signed a Protection treaty with Lugard, giving the Imperial British East Africa company control over Baganda.

Reasons why the Baganda collabollated

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

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

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

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

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

- In what became known as the Anglo-French (Franza-Ingleza) war between Protestants (British) and Catholics (French) in 1892, a catholic killed a Protestant in self defence.
- Lugard publicly supported the protestants by ordering Kabaka Mwanga to execute the Catholic, which Kabaka did not do.
- Lugard therefore armed the Protestants, who attacked and destroyed Catholic missions. Mwanga soon realized that he was just a puppet ruler since administrative authority was vested in the hands of the British administrators.
- Influenced by some Catholics and Traditionalists, Mwanga revolted against the British in 1897, but was defeated due to lack of full support from the Baganda.
- The British captured Mwanga, whom they exiled to Kismayu in Somalia in 1899 and later to the Seychelles, where he died in 1903.
- Daudi Chwa (Mwanga's infant son) was enthroned, assisted by three ministers.
- British administration of Uganda was still expensive due to the many revolts the British had to suppress. To solve this problem, discussions were held between British officials under Sir Harry Johnston and Baganda chiefs and ministers under Sir Apolo Kagwa: the Prime minister. This led to the signing of the Buganda Agreement of 1900.

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

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

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

Explain the terms of the Buganda Agreement of 1900. Or:

Explain the factors that the 1900 Buganda agreement considered.)

The Buganda agreement (1900) considered the following factors:

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

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

IMPACT OF THE BUGANDA AGREEMENT

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

2010 p2 qn 20b) Explain results of the collaboration between the Buganda Agreements of 1900.

- i. It led to the loss of independence.
- ii. Introduction of Christianity and European influence in buganda.
- iii. Islamic influence declined.
- iv. Buganda got protection from the British against their traditional economic e.g Bunyoro.
- v. Kabakas powers were reduced in the peace of the growing educated member of the Lukiko.
- vi. Kabaka gained recognition and was referred to as his lugiliness.
- vii. Buganda an administration position in the colonial administration and was used to conquer other communities.
- viii. Buganda advanced more economically than other communities as it acquired European manufactured goods e.g. cloth, guns.
- ix. Buganda benefited from Western Education and medicine. Any 6 x 2 = 12 marks

LOZI COLLABORATION

Trace/explain the origin of the Lozi.

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

Reasons why King Lewanika of the Lozi collaborated with the British

1996 21 b) Explain six factors which influenced Lewanika of the Baloz to collaborate with the British.(12mks)

- i) In order to protect his Kingdom against the Germans and Portuguese
- ii) Lewanika desire western education and civilization and wanted the British to introduce it in his country
- iii) Lewanika wanted the British to protect him against his internal enemies e.g. in 1884 Lewanika forced an internal rebellion.
- iv) Lewanika was encouraged to collaborate with the British by King Khama of Botswana who has already sought British to protect his Kingdom from attacks by other African communities such as the Ndebele and Shona.

- v) Lewanika wanted the British to protect his kingdom from attacks by other African communities such as the Ndebele and Shona.
- vi) Desire to promote trade between his people and British
- vii) Lewanika was influenced by the European missionaries who had visited earlier, to collaborate.

2007 11. Give one reason why the Lozi collaborated with the British during the colonization of Africa. (1mk)

- i) Lewanika collaborated with the British in order to protect his Kingdom against the Germans and Portuguese / European enemies.
 - ii) Lewanika desired Western education and civilization and wanted the British to introduce it in his country / wanted his son to be educated.
 - iii) Lewanika wanted the British to protect him against his internal enemies e.g. in 1884 Lewanika faced an internal rebellion / safeguard his position.
 - iv) Lewanika who had already sought British protection against the Boers.
 - v) Lewanika saw the futility of resisting a strong power like Britain, so he chose to collaborate.
 - vi) Lewanika wanted the British to protect his kingdom from attacks by other African communities such as the Ndebele and Shona / African enemies.
 - vii) Lewanika was influenced by the European missionaries who had visited earlier to collaborate.
 - viii) In order to preserve the economy structure of his people.
 - ix) Desire for the promotion of trade between Britain and his people.
- He was urged by chief Khama of the Ngwato to accept British protection. Khama spoke

Identify the treaties that Lewanika signed with the British.

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

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

2013 10. State two ways in which chief Lewanika of the Lozi collaborated with the British in the late 19th century. (2 marks)

- i. He allowed Christian missionaries to settle/operate in his territory;
- ii. He allowed the British to exploit minerals in his land;
- iii. He accepted the British protection over his territory;
- iv. He allowed a British resident to perform administrative duties in the area.

Any 2 x 1 = 2 marks

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

- In 1885, Lewanika met Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Mission, who helped him to write a letter asking for British protection and therefore repudiate the rivalry between the Boers, British and Portuguese over central Africa. He hoped that, being the strongest, the British would protect the Lozi from other Europeans.
- In 1889, after consultation with his councillors, Lewanika sought British protection. Shortly later, he was visited by Harry Ware (a British citizen) for a Mineral Concession, which Lewanika granted by signing what became known as the Ware treaty, allowing Ware to mine in Buluzi for twenty years.
- Ware sold his concession to two other prospectors, who in turn sold it to the British South Africa Company, which sent Frank Lochner to explain these matters to Lewanika.
- Lochner met Lewanika in 1890. Lewanika signed the Lochner treaty.
- In 1897, the British South Africa company sent Major Robert T. Coryndon (a former police officer) as the British Resident in Buluzi. Coryndon established his headquarters at Sesheke.
- In 1898, Lewanika met Arthur Lawley: the Matabeleland administrator, with whom he signed the Lawley treaty, which, in addition to its terms, repeated most of the provisions of the earlier treaties.
- In October 1900, Robert T. Coryndon arranged for and drew another agreement (the Coryndon treaty) with Lewanika.
- With the 1900 Coryndon treaty, Buluzi kingdom was dealt a Death blow. Lewanika's powers were reduced,

making him just an employee of the British South Africa Company. However, Lewanika signed treaties believing that the British were genuine, only to lose his kingdom and independence.

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

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

TERMS OF THE LOCHNER TREATY

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

TERMS OF THE LAWLEY TREATY

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

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

TERMS OF THE CORYNDON TREATY

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

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

2005 21. (b) What were the result of the collaboration between Lewanika of the Lozi and the British in the nineteenth century

- (i) Lewanika received payment of £ 2000 yearly
- (ii) He lost his authority as the administration was taken over by the British South Africa Company
- (iii) The British South Africa Company took over the control of the minerals
- (iv) The Lozi land was alienated and given to British settlers
- (v) The Lozi were forced to pay taxes in order to maintain the administration
- (vi) The Lozi were forced to work as labourers on settler's farms
- (vii) The Lozi were employed in the civil service
- (viii) The British South Africa Company developed infrastructure in Barotseland
- (ix) The British established their rule peacefully in Northern Rhodesia
- (x) Lewanika was honoured with the title paramount chief until his death
- (xi) The British used Barotseland as a base to conquer the neighbouring communities.

(Any 6 x 2 = 12 mks)

- Other leaders in the region E.G. Kasempa of Kaonde were persuaded to accept British protection.
 - Lozi aristocracy was broken and the royal class reduced to tax collectors of the British South Africa Company.
 - Lewanika's power was reduced to that of a mere figurehead with the title of Paramount Chief as more white settlers arrived in Buluzi.
 - Lewanika gradually lost control over the former subordinate (vassal) chiefs, who could no longer pay tribute to him as they were all under the British.
 - Barotseland (Buluzi) was finally incorporated into northern Rhodesia (later Zambia), a British protectorate.
 - Colonial rule was established over northern Rhodesia without any bloodshed.
 - The British used their foothold in Barotseland to conquer the surrounding communities that did not collaborate with them.
- Lewanika remained Paramount Chief of the Lozi, a position he was helped to safeguard up to his death in 1916.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL RULE IN KENYA

Background to the scramble and partition of east Africa

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

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AND PARTITION OF EAST AFRICA

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

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

It was the source of the River Nile.

The east coast of Africa was strategic along the way to the east.

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

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

The reasons for the European Scramble for and Partition of east Africa revolve around the changes in Europe and the prevailing conditions in Africa. Such reasons include: Nationalism in Europe, which led to competition over colonial possessions.

Strategic significance. East Africa is the source of River Nile and has a coastline, which is vital for international trade.

Economic imperialism. In the 19th century, industrialized states in Europe were in the race for colonies as they were interested in tapping raw materials for their industries, E.g. Trona, iron, etc.

European desire to "civilize" the Africans, whom they regarded as culturally backward. European nationals, particularly missionaries, who were already based in Africa, who appealed for protection from their home governments.

Some powers wanted to secure territories in East Africa just for prestige.

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

Nationalism in Europe.

Strategic significance.

Economic imperialism.

NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

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

STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE

Britain and France were trying to undo each other over ownership of Egypt and the Nile's source in Uganda.

The construction and opening of the Suez Canal shortened the distance to the Far east by half, which attracted British and French interests over Egypt and regions around the Red Sea.

East Africa was a reliable source of fresh supplies, which attracted Anglo-German rivalry and competition in the region.

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

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

Tap raw materials for their factories.

Find ready market for their manufactured goods.

Get new avenues for investment.

Create jobs for their people.

Speed up their economic development.

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

In 1884, Harry Johnston signed a treaty with the Chagga.

Together with the activities of Sir William Mackinnon, Johnston's presence in the Mount Kilimanjaro area caused Karl Peters to appeal to the German government for support in preventing the British from pushing the Germans out of Tanganyika.

Karl Peters' declared protectorates over Usagara, Ungulu, Usage and Ukami. This was when the Anglo-German agreement (1886) became necessary.

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

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

The sultan of Zanzibar was to be recognized as the custodian of the 16km coastal strip and the off-shore islands of Pate, Mafia, Lamu, Pemba and Zanzibar as well as the towns of Kismayu, Prava, Merca and Mogadishu.

The Witu coastline between river Unga and River Ruvuma would become the German sphere of influence.

The territory between river Unga and River Juba would become the British sphere of influence.

The western boundary was not defined. Uganda was left for whichever power got there first.

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

The Imperial British East Africa company (the British East Africa Association) under William Mackinnon

The German East Africa Company under Karl Peters.

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

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

Sultan Bagash of Zanzibar granted the Imperial British East Africa Company judicial and political powers and the right to levy customs duties over his mainland dominion, which disappointed the German East Africa Company.

That same moment, Egypt was competing with the British over Kismayu, Manda, Mogadishu and Warsheikh in the northern coast, which were owned by the sultan. Determined not to allow the Sultan's northern ports into German hands, the British handed Lamu over to the Sultan, who in turn left the northern ports in British hands.

The ports were then given to Italy, which also gave them up to Britain

In 1889, the Imperial British east Africa company, through Frederic Jackson, sought a chance for British prospects in Buganda, Only to find that Karl Peters had already signed a treaty with Kabaka Mwanga, placing Uganda under German protection.

In Europe at that moment, Negotiations were going on between the British and the German governments to end the Baganda crisis, which led to the signing of the 1890 second Anglo-German (Heligoland) treaty.

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

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

Germany recognized Uganda as part of the British Sphere of influence.

Germany gave up her claim over Witu in return for Heligoland island in the North Sea.

Germany accepted a British protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba.

Germany acquired a strip of land on Lake Tanganyika from Britain and purchased the coast of Tanganyika from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The Sultan of Zanzibar retained the 16km coastal strip.

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

The western boundary was defined.

Britain successfully laid claim over Kenya and the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Britain and Germany were now mandated to administer their areas of influence.

It ended the period of the Scramble for and Partition of east Africa.

THE RESPONSE OF KENYANS TO BRITISH INVASION

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

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

Active resistance.

Passive resistance.

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

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

The Nandi,

The Giriama,

The Bukusu,

The Somali,

Sections of the Agikuyu

Sections of the Luo,

Some of the Akamba.

THE NANDI UPRISING

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

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

Explain the reasons for Nandi resistance against British rule).

The Nandi regarded themselves as superior to other people they had so far met. British occupation threatened Nandi predominance in the region, for they had subdued neighbouring communities e.g. Luo, Luhya, Abagusi and the much feared Maasai. A stranger had to seek permission to enter Nandi territory, which the British did not. The Nandi regarded the Europeans as evil because of their skin colour and strange clothes.

Their prophet: Kimnyole's prophecy, which cautioned them to resist the newcomers in order to preserve their pride and independence and to protect their land. Kimnyole had earlier on told the Nandi of a big snake belching smoke and fire, which would come with foreigners, who would take control of Nandi territory.

The Nandi had a long history and tradition of resisting whoever intruded into their territory e.g. Arab and Swahili traders.

The Nandi were well trained and equipped for battle in addition to raiding expeditions and other cultural practices, which gave them military superiority.

The British planned to relocate the Nandi away from their ancestral land to make way for white settlement and agriculture,, railway construction and trading caravans.

Numerous Nandi victories at the close of the 19th century proved their unity and strength against foreigners (b) Analyse the process/course of Nandi resistance against British occupation of their land.

In 1895, following Nandi Guerrilla attacks against British interests, Andrew Dick murdered two Nandi warriors who had strayed into his administrative camp at Guava Mesa.

The Nandi swiftly reacted by killing Peter West (a trader) and his team.

In 1897, the British dispatched a punitive expedition. It however failed to stop the raids.

When the Kenya-Uganda railway reached Nandi territory in 1899, the Nandi kept stealing building material. They ambushed and murdered railway builders.

From 1901-1905, British administrator: Walter Mayes conducted a campaign to pacify the Nandi, but the Nandi did not cooperate.

In 1901, Nandi warriors attacked the railway in protest against British settlement and farming on their land.

The British responded by destroying crops and villages in addition to confiscating Nandi cattle.

In October 1905, an all-powerful British military team made up of 1500 Indian, Swahili, Maasai and Somali fighters was sent for a decisive show-down with the Nandi. This followed Nandi attacks on European farms to the north and east of Nandi country. Realizing that the Europeans were becoming a threat, Nandi leaders under Koitalel Arap Samoei called for an end to the eleven-year Nandi-British confrontation.

On realizing the importance of the Orkoiyot as the unifying factor without which the Nandi would be demoralized and disorganized, the British (through captain Meinertzhagen: the British officer in Nandi) arranged a meeting with Koitalel, who was Orkoiyot at that time.

At the meeting (which was held at Koitalel's home), scuffles ensued, followed by a brief conflict in which Koitalel and most of his advisors were killed.

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

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

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

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

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

They were strongly united behind the Orkoiyot.

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

They got help from Kipsigis fighters.

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

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

They had skills to manufacture iron weapons.

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

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

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

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

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

Why were the Nandi eventually subdued by the British?)

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

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

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

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

Nandi traditional weaponry was no much for the European guns.

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

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

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

What were the consequences of Nandi-British confrontation?)

The Nandi lost their independence to the colonizers.

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

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

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

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

The Nandi military organization disintegrated

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

Nandi warriors were recruited into the colonial police force.

Many white settlers occupied Nandi land and started tea plantations.

The Nandi became squatters in the farms of the British settlers.

Disruption of Nandi economic lifestyle.

Separation of the Nandi from their cousins: the Kipsigis to prevent any future alliance against the British.

Loss of Nandi dignity and leadership in the region.

GIRIAMA RESISTANCE

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

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

i) Mazrui Arab and Swahili resistance to colonial rule in 1895.

The bad manner in which the Imperial British East Africa company was conducting its business at the coast.

Encroachment of Omani and Al-Busaidi Arabs on Mijikenda territory.

Forced conscription of Agirama warriors into the King's African Rifles for military service.

Massive land alienation, making the Agirama to seek wage employment on white farms.

Insult to Agirama culture by British officials, who raped Agirama women.

Agirama dislike of British-appointed headmen, who disregarded Agirama interests.

viii) The British middlemen took over the Giriama trade in ivory and foodstuffs.

ix) Forced payment of taxes in form of labour instead of paying from the sales of cattle or grains.

x) The Agiriama were forced to work for the British for little or no pay on the land that had been snatched from them.

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

Inspired by their prophetess: Mekati Lili Wa Menza and an elder called Wanje Wa Madorika, the Agiriama engaged in a mass resistance against British rule by rejecting forced labour, military conscription to the First World War army and the collection of taxes. They barred their young men from moving outside their villages and caused some to migrate to marginal areas such as Taru desert to avoid or escape from British administrators.

Mekati Lili and Wanje Wa Madorika called on the Agiriama to return to their ancestral shrine at the Kaya Fungo and offer sacrifice. They denounced all puppet rulers, emphasizing their support for the Agiriama council of elders.

Traditional oaths (Mukushe-kushe for women and Fisi for Men) were administered to unite and inspire Agiriama warriors to wage a serious war against the British.

Unfortunately, Lili and Wanje were arrested and deported to Kisii, paving the way for easy British suppression of the resistance by bombarding the Kaya villages, where the Giriama were staying.

Under Fadhili Bin Omar, the Arabs offered themselves for mediation between the British and the Agiriama, which brought the resistance to an end.

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

She rallied the people together against a common enemy.

She administered oaths to encourage and unite the Agiriama in facing the British.

Her leadership shows the importance of women in the struggle for Kenya's independence.

She presented Agiriama grievances, some of which the British later addressed.

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

Disruption to the community's economic activities e.g. trade at Takaungu, where they served as middlemen.

Agiriama defeat due to the ruthlessness adopted by the British.

Prohibition of the brewing of traditional liquor, which for the Giriama was a crucial social and economic activity.

Closure of the Agiriama shrine at Kaya Fungo and building of a new one at Mangea.

Impoverishment of the Agiriama as the British burnt, looted and confiscated foodstuffs, livestock and other valuables.

Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Agiriama.

Loss of Agiriama independence to the British.

Disunity and disintegration of the Agiriama, especially after Lili and Wanje were deported to Kisii.

THE BUKUSU RESISTANCE

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

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

To safeguard Bukusu independence.

Forced Bukusu recognition of Nabongo Mumia as overall leader of the Luhya.

British demand for Bukusu surrender of all the guns they possessed.

British confiscation of Bukusu livestock, grains and other valuables.

British interference with and disregard for Bukusu culture and tradition.

Introduction of forced labour and taxation.

Forced conscription of the Bukusu into the British military and police force.

Ruthlessness of British agents and officials.

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

The British and the Bukusu confronted each other at:

Lumboka fort near Bungoma

Chetambe on the Webuye hill.

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

The Commanding Officer at Kavirondo in western Kenya had sent a trade caravan to the Ravine station. Sadly, the caravan was ambushed by the Bukusu and all rifles taken.

The British authorities unsuccessfully commanded Bukusu surrender of all the arms in their possession.

The British then sent a punitive expedition, which was defeated by the Bukusu.

On hearing the news, Charles Hobley: the British administrator based at Mumias, appealed for help from the Uganda protectorate, which they got, for Major William Grant sent a contingent of Sudanese and Baganda Mercenaries.

In 1895, two battles were fought at Lumboka near Bungoma and at Chetambe on the Webuye hill, in which the Bukusu were summarily defeated and were therefore subjected to British occupation and eventual colonization.

The Bukusu launched more resistance attempts, but without any success, because their spears, bows and arrows, coupled with their lack of knowledge on how to use guns meant nothing much for the British and their superior weapons.

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

Total disruption to the Bukusu economy as their livestock and other valuables were looted, confiscated or destroyed by the British and their agents.

Alienation of the Bukusu from their land and territory, which was declared British protectorate.

Capture and imprisonment of Bukusu women and children.

Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Bukusu.

Interference with and disruption of Bukusu culture and tradition as some Bukusu were converted to Christianity while the rest became atheists, aping European ways.

Loss of or poor leadership as British-appointed puppets took control, disregarding Bukusu interests.

THE SOMALI RESISTANCE

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

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

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

Their strong opposition to Christian British domination, which would undermine Islam.

Punitive expeditions sent on their land by the British.

British prevention of cattle raids against neighbouring communities, which the Somali saw as interference with their normal cultural practice.

Division of Somaliland into Italian and British spheres of influence, which in turn divided the Darod and Hawiye clans in 1890.

Desire to secure their pastureland and watering points from British interference.

Desire to carry on with their nomadic lifestyle while the British compelled them to settle down.

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

In reaction to the injuries inflicted by British expeditions, the Somali raided the

Kismayu neighbourhood in 1898, a neighbourhood that was by then a British sphere of influence.

The British initially made very limited attacks against the Somali.

In 1900, the Somali murdered Jenner, who was British sub commissioner for Jubaland.

In response, the British sent a successful but not decisively victorious punitive expedition of Indian contingents against the Somali.

In 1905, the Somali, who by then had procured fire arms, launched a nine year Hit-And-Run battle, which was contained in 1914 with the change of boundaries.

In 1925, parts of British Somaliland were put under Italian Somaliland, thereby ending the conflict.

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

Such attacks were enormously expensive in terms of arms and military personnel.

Suppressing the Somali was difficult and time consuming due to their nomadic lifestyle.

It was not economically justifiable to wage a war only to gain a small highly unproductive territory.

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

Loss of Somali independence following the declaration of Protectorate status.

Confiscation of Somali cattle by the British and their agents.

Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Somali.

Division of the Darod and Hawiye clans.

The Europeans began to venture more into northern Kenya.

Many Somali were recruited into the colonial force.

COLLABORATION

Explain why some Kenyan communities collaborated with the British.

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

They stood to lose and were at a disadvantage.

Their weapons were inferior.

Their fighters were ill-trained.

They were weakened due to natural calamities.

Identify Kenyan communities that collaborated with European rule.

The Maasai,

The Wanga,

Sections of Abaluhya.

The Agikuyu.

The Akamba,

The Luo.

MAASAI COLLABORATION

BACKGROUND

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

The Maasai, Nilotic-speaking people who inhabit the plains of the Rift Valley were basically cattle keepers, though some of them (the Kwavi) were mixed farmers.

Although the Maasai were greatly feared, especially by European explorers and foreigners, their history dramatically changed with the death of Mbatian (the leader of the Purko Maasai) in the 19th century, because succession struggles gripped the entire Maasai community, with devastating consequences.

By 1878, the Purko Maasai had split into two i.e. those under Sendeyo and others under Lenana. Sendeyo and Lenana were the two sons of Mbatian.

Due to great rivalry between the two groups, Lenana's Maasai were greatly weakened, making Lenana look for an ally to rescue him and his people from this state of affairs.

Lenana's collaboration with the Europeans perplexed many, given the fierce reputation of the Maasai community.

State the reasons for Maasai collaboration with the British.

Numerous human and cattle diseases like Rinderpest and Smallpox, which had weakened the community by the time of British penetration.

They were afflicted by natural calamities like drought, locust invasion and famine, which caused massive loss of livestock: the lifeblood of Maasai economy.

High Maasai death toll due to severe famine and other natural calamities.

They suffered devastating raids from the Nandi, who had emerged as a strong power.

Civil wars among the Maasai, which greatly undermined Maasai power for half a century.

Hope for British provision of the much needed military support.

Need for food to save the Maasai from near starvation.

Lenana's desire to consolidate his position and that of his kingdom.

Desire to get back Maasai women and children, who had sought refuge among the Agikuyu due to famine in 1891 but who the Agikuyu were refusing to surrender.

The community reconsidered resistance against the British after a Scottish trader: Andrew Dick and his two French companions killed 100 Maasai people in the Kedong massacre.

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

To secure assistance against Sendeyo, the Maasai warriors accepted to get and were recruited as mercenaries in the British army in return for cattle confiscated from communities such as the Nandi and the Luo of Ugenya.

Maasai warriors attacked and killed some Agikuyu and Swahili caravan traders who were on their way from Eldama Ravine across the Kedong valley.

In response, a Scottish trader called Andrew Dick and his two French companions opened fire on and killed 100 Maasai.

Filled with fear and awe as to how just three men could kill as many as 100 people within a short moment, the Maasai immediately sought peace.

An agreement was arranged for and signed between the British and the Maasai in 1904, by which Maasai reserves i.e. Laikipia plateau to the north and the Ngong' area to the south, with a 5km corridor and road set aside and constructed to connect the two reserves.

Another Anglo-Maasai treaty was arranged for and signed in 1911, by which the Maasai were shifted from Laikipia and pushed to the southern reserve.

Although the Maasai collaborated to gain support and other benefits, they lost more and benefited least from their cooperation with the British.

What were the results of Maasai collaboration with the British.

An end to their custom of livestock cross-breeding with their Samburu neighbours.

British recognition of Lenana as Maasai Paramount chief in 1901.

British use of some Maasai as mercenaries against resisting communities.

Total disruption of Maasai Cattle economy.

Division of the Purko Maasai into Loita and Ngong' groups, which led to separation of related Maasai clans.

Disruption and disintegration of Maasai territory and integrity.

Loss of Maasai independence as their land was declared British Protectorate.

Massive land alienation as the British took up Maasai land, confining the Maasai in reserves.

Interference with and limit to Maasai initiation and other cultural practices and rites due to creation of a five-square-mile reserve, which was too small for them.

The Maasai got rewards in form of cattle and grains looted from their hostile neighbours and leaders such as the Nandi, Agikuyu and the Luo.

WANGA COLLABORATION

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

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

Nabongo Mumia led the Wanga into collaboration with the British colonialists because: He wanted his people to benefit from British Western civilization, Particularly education and Christianity.

He wanted to consolidate his position as king and to be made paramount chief of the Wanga and the entire Western Kenya Region.

He knew that the British would most likely declare Western Kenya their sphere of influence, especially after they declared Uganda a protectorate in 1894.

He hoped for British protection against his traditional rivals i.e. the Luo of Ugenya, the Bukusu and the Nandi.

He knew that his small Wanga community would not cost much to the might of the British force, which was much larger. He had seen the futility of resistance and wanted to spare his people from blood-shed.

He sought help to acquire more territory for his people. He sent his agents to lay claims to Buholo, south Bukusu, Kabaras, Marama, Butso, Samia and Kimilili.

He wanted to acquire more powerful modern weapons like fire arms for his army.

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

When the British declared Uganda their protectorate in 1894, Mumia was ready to be their ally, hoping that just like the Arab and Swahili had earlier done, the British would pass through and not occupy Wanga territory on their way to Uganda.

The Swahili and Arab traders, who Mumia had earlier befriended, later teamed up with the Imperial British East Africa Company merchants.

Overwhelmed by Mumia's hospitality, Company agents and caravan traders built a fort and trading station at Mumia's capital: Elureko.

In 1909, Mumia was declared Paramount chief by the British as a reward for his help in subduing the Luo, Bukusu and Nandi. His men were used as British agents.

Elureko (the capital of Wanga kingdom) was later named Mumias in honour of Nabongo Mumia himself and in recognition of his hospitality.

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

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

Explain the importance of Wanga Kingdom to the British.)

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

They needed and used Wanga warriors to fight against the Luo and the Nandi.

Elureko, which was the Wanga capital, was important as a calling station as the British travelled to Uganda.

The British would easily obtain food from Wanga territory without using force. They gave the food to their officials and army.

They were impressed by Nabongo's hospitality, unlike other hostile and resistant communities.

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

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

Explain the outcome of Wanga collaboration with the British.)

Intensified enmity and hostility between the Wanga and other Luhya subsections.

Mumia's honour and declaration as Paramount Chief.

Material benefit for the Wanga through trade, Western education and religion.

International use of Wanga warriors as agents of British colonialism by subduing resisting communities.

Use of Wanga agents by the British to rule indirectly over western Kenya.

Use of Mumias as a major terminus for trade caravans to Uganda, from where Mumia and his people benefited a lot.

expansion of Wanga kingdom by annexing new territories in Samia, Bunyala and

Busonga.

Establishment of a base by the Imperial British East Africa company at Mumias, which became the centre for colonial administration in western Kenya up to 1920.

Ready provision of vital information over the appointment of chiefs and headmen in western Kenya.

Eventual loss of Wanga independence after the British declared Kenya their colony in 1920.

MIXED REACTION

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

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

The Akamba,

The Agikuyu,

The Luo.

THE AKAMBA REACTION

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

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

British attempts to prevent Akamba raids on their neighbours which the Akamba saw as interference with a normal cultural practice. The British even established garrisons at Muala and Mukuyuni to prevent Akamba warriors from engaging in raids.

Disruption of Long-Distance trade by Company agents.

Subjection of the Akamba to forced labour especially for public work.

Loss of independence for the Akamba.

Raping of Akamba women among other forms of abuse to Akamba culture.

Frequent disruption of Akamba peace by sending British military expeditions against them.

Confiscation and looting of Akamba property.

The building of a fort at what is now Machakos by the local British administrators in 1890.

British lack of respect for Akamba traditions e.g. by cutting down and using sacred lthembu (shrine) trees as flag-poles at Mutituni in 1891.

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

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

Nzivu Mweu, who organized a boycott and refused to sell goods to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1890.

Syonguu: a prophetess, who ordered warriors in Iveti to attack the Masaku fort in 1890.

Mwatu Wa Ngoma: an Akamba warrior, who ordered the warriors to attack the British.

Mwana Muka from Kangundo, who incited the Akamba against the British camps at Mukuyuni and Mwala, leading to the killing of six members of the British force.

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

In 1890, Under Nzivu Mweu, the Akamba boycotted sale of goods to Agents of the Imperial British East Africa Company.

In the same 1890, Syonguu: a ritual prophetess, organized and led an Iveti Akamba rebellion against the British stationed at Masaku for cutting down an lthembu tree for a flag-pole.

In 1894, inspired by the blessing from their medicine men, the Akamba under Mwatu Wa Ngoma attacked the British at their Masaku fort for stopping them from raiding their neighbours. They were however stopped by John Ainsworth: the District Commissioner. For self-interest, Mwatu became Ainsworth's ally.

Akamba resistance continued under Mwana Muka from Kangundo, who urged the Akamba to attack Mwatu Wa Ngoma's village and the British garrisons in Mwala and Mukuyuni, for such garrisons were established to prevent the Akamba from going on raids.

In response, Ainsworth unsuccessfully sent 950 Maasai warriors against Mwana Muka and his people, who organized more attacks and put a blockade at Lukenya, cutting off communication between Machakos and Fort Smith.

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

The British established a detachment of the Kenya African Rifles at Kangundo. However, Akamba resistance continued well into the 20th century.

Explain why some Akamba collaborated with British colonial rule.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some of them were weakened by the 1899 famine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Burning and looting of villages.

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

Large-scale land-alienation for white settlement.

Introduction of Poll tax.

Massive loss of Akamba lives.

Declaration of Protectorate status over Akamba territory.

The British interfered with Akamba culture.

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

THE LUO REACTION

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

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

Need to protect their land.

Fear of losing their freedom.

Frequent British attacks on them for grains and livestock.

Frequent and numerous punitive expeditions against them.

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

To expand their territory, the Luo of Ugenya invaded Wanga Kingdom and accommodated Wanga deserters.

Then they attacked and vandalized German stations and British telegraph wires.

In response, the British sent an expedition (which was successful) against the Luo of Ugenya in 1896.

The Luo on Winam gulf in Kisumu attacked a British canoe party for taking fish from them without paying.

After several punitive raids, the Luo of Ugenya were also overcome.

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

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

Influence by neighbouring Wanga community.

Need to subdue the Luo of Sakwa, Seme, Uyoma and Ugenya.

Superiority of the British force and weapons.

Internal leadership disputes.

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

Hatred (increased hostility) between collaborators and resisters.

Land alienation to pave the way for British occupation and settlement.

Massive loss of life, especially among the Luo of Ugenya.

Replacement of African political leadership systems with British ones.

Loss of independence for both resisters and collaborators.

Establishment of schools and missions in Luo areas for spreading Western education and religion.

Looting and burning, which caused loss of property and poverty in Luo territory.

THE AGIKUYU REACTION

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

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

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

They got personal wealth and prestige through company trade.

They wanted protection and recognition of their positions of leadership.

They needed protection from their local enemies, whom they suppressed with British support.

They knew very well that, with their inferior weapons, they would not mean much to the might of the British force and weaponry.

They wanted to benefit from Christianity and Western education.

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

Why did sections of the Agikuyu resist British rule?)

Fear for loss of independence and power, particularly for leaders such as Waiyaki Wa Hinga.

Forced supply of grains to railway, trade and mail caravans.

Imperial British East Africa Company raids for grains and cattle in the Agikuyu countryside, during which the people, especially women were harassed.

Interference with Gikuyu culture, especially by Missionaries, who the Agikuyu saw as

not different from Imperial agents.

Massive land alienation for white settlement.

Excessive force, which the British applied to enforce their policies. Many punitive expeditions were sent to force them to accept British rule.

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

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

In 1890, captain Lugard established a fort at Dagoreti for procurement of food from the local people. He entered into an understanding with Waiyaki Way Hinga: the Agikuyu elder who was in charge of the area.

When Lugard left for Uganda, captain Wilson took charge. But Wilson could not manage his soldiers as Lugard had done.

Caravan traders started stealing food and livestock from the Agikuyu, who reacted by setting fort Dagoreti on fire.

John Farnsworth: the then sub commissioner, sent a punitive expedition against Waiyaki. Waiyaki was arrested and died through mysterious circumstances while he was being deported to Mombasa.

Fort Smith was closed down in 1899 and another fort was opened in Murang'a by Francis Hall. It was called Fort Mbiri, but was renamed Fort Hall after Hall's death in 1901. This fort was built after subduing and forcing the Agikuyu in the area to accept British rule.

Waiyaki's land was given to the settlers and missionaries who came after 1902. Kinyanjui Wa Gathirimu, who had worked with the British just before Fort Dagoreti was destroyed, succeeded Waiyaki.

The Fort Hall and Nyeri Agikuyu were conquered with the help of John Boyes, who arrived at Fort Hall looking for food and ivory for his railway survey parties. He forged alliances with two Gikuyu leaders i.e. Karuri Way Gakure of Fort Hall and Wang'ombe of Gaki (Nyeri), both of who supplied him with Agikuyu mercenaries, who supported the British in return for the loot confiscated from resisting groups.

In 1904, the Agikuyu of Iriaini were subdued ruthlessly, causing the Aembu, who were their allies to petition for peace in 1906 after Meinertzhagen turned against them. Similarly, the Ameru gave in without much of a struggle, having seen the effects of resistance. By 1910, the entire Mount Kenya region had been subdued by the British. Many Agikuyu were confined in reserves, where they settled peacefully up to the 1920s when political agitation surfaced again.

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

Emergence of Home guards, colonial headmen and many other agents of British rule in Kenya.

Massive destruction of property.

Western education and conversion to Christianity for those who collaborated.

Shift of base by the British from fort Dagoreti to Fort Smith and later Fort Hall due to constant Agikuyu raids.

More hatred and animosity in Kikuyuland, with each section lacking trust for the other.

Massive loss of life, especially on the side of the Agikuyu, many of whose leaders and fighters were killed.

Enormous wealth and rise to prominence by some leaders due to collaboration.

Loss of Gikuyu independence as their resistance was highly segmentary and isolated into a few sections that were easily suppressed.

Massive land alienation, which was carried out with the help of collaborating leaders for white settlement in Kikuyuland.

Eventual declaration of British Protectorate status over Kikuyu territory, leading to British colonization.

Death of Gikuyu leaders and warriors such as Chief Waiyaki Way Hinga.

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

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

The communities were not united. While some like the Nandi resisted, Others like the Wanga collaborated with British rule.

They had inferior weapons which were no much for British fire-arms.

African soldiers had little knowledge of the British military tactics.

They had been weakened by catastrophes such as famine, Rinderpest outbreak and civil strife in the 1890s.

Their leaders lacked organizational skills to mobilize the people against the British.

The British used treachery when dealing with some communities e.g. the Nandi.

The British destroyed the economic base of the communities, thus making them weak.

The warriors got demoralized when many of their colleagues and leaders were captured and killed.

The Kenya-Uganda railway facilitated faster movement of British troops.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN KENYA

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

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

They lacked both funds and experts to facilitate colonial administration in Africa, let alone Kenya.

They lacked a Reference model of an administrative system like that of the traditional Buganda that could be emulated by Kenyan communities for the purpose of administration.

Most of the chiefs selected by the British lacked legitimacy, for they were rejected by the African elders, who regarded them as nonentities as well as the young generations, who saw them as instruments of colonial exploitation and oppression.

Many chiefs used their power to acquire riches in terms of tracts of land, Livestock and wives.

British-appointed African leaders depended on the British for military support, which the Africans disliked and which was difficult for the British to provide.

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

Explain three main duties of chiefs as stipulated by the 1902 Village Headman

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

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

Maintenance of public order.

Hearing of petty cases.

Clearing of roads and foot-paths.

In 1912, through another ordinance, the chiefs' powers and responsibilities were increased.

For instance, they and their assistants were allowed to employ other persons to assist them such as messengers and retainers.

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

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

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

Central Government management was coordinated through the advisory and Executive Council, which guided the Governor and effected colonial policies.

The Legislative Council was established in 1907 to give legitimacy to laws enacted for the colony.

The Governor was in charge of the entire colony and was answerable to the Colonial Secretary.

The Kenya Protectorate was divided into Provinces headed by Provincial Commissioners, who served as representatives of the Governor.

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

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

The Governor, who was based in Nairobi and represented the British government in the colony.

Provincial Commissioners (P.C).

District Commissioners (D.C).

District Officers (D.O).

Chiefs.

Headmen.

Explain the functions of the following in colonial Kenya:

The colonial Secretary,

The Governor,

The Provincial Commissioner,

The District Commissioner,

The District Officer,

The Chief,

The Village Headman.

FUNCTIONS OF THE COLONIAL SECRETARY DURING COLONIAL RULE IN KENYA

Was the political head of the British colonial administration.

Was overall coordinator of colonial policies discussed by the cabinet and the British Parliament.

FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNOR IN COLONIAL KENYA

Represented the British government in Kenya.

Reported to the Colonial Secretary in conjunction with the advisory council.

Headed the Executive Council, which implemented colonial policies and programs.

Gave assent to laws from the Legislative Council before they were implemented.

FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER IN COLONIAL KENYA

Represented the Governor in the province.

Implemented the policies and laws enacted.

Would supervise the work of District Commissioners, District Officers and the entire provincial administration on behalf of the Governor.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER IN COLONIAL KENYA

Was in charge of policy implementation in the district.

Maintained law and order and ensured security in their areas of jurisdiction.

Presided over District advisory Committees.

Coordinated the work of Chiefs and District officers.

FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT OFFICER IN COLONIAL KENYA

Implemented orders from the District Commissioners.

Coordinated the work of Chiefs.

Maintained law and order in their divisions.

Represented the Governor at divisional level.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEF IN COLONIAL KENYA

Linked people to the governor at local levels.

Maintained law and order within the Locations.

Coordinated the work of headmen.

Tax collection.

Labour recruitments for public works and for European settlers.

FUNCTIONS OF THE VILLAGE HEADMAN IN COLONIAL KENYA

Linked people to the Government at the grassroots level.

Mobilized their people for development within their villages.

Maintained law and order at the Village level.

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

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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

Local government was established in 1902 when, through the Village-Headman Ordinance, the Provincial Commissioner was empowered to appoint natives as village headmen.

It had the task of providing specific services to the people residing in particular localities.

Unlike central Government which dealt with administration of the whole country, Local Government formed an important part in administering the political process of Kenya.

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

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

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

Provision of a legal forum for the local people to make decisions on their day to day affairs through committees.

To make use of local resources to achieve development.

To link central government to the rural community.

To provide a means through which the government would understand the Africans better.

To involve the local people in administration.

Trace the origin of Local Native councils in Kenya.

Local Native Councils were established in 1922 after the Legico had passed the Native Authority Ordinance, following a request from the African leadership for a forum through which their grievances would be addressed by the colonial government.

In 1924, District Advisory Councils were renamed Local Native Councils.

Members of the Local Native Councils were appointed by the Provincial Commissioners from among the Chiefs, Headmen and Religious Leaders.

The Councils' decisions could not be implemented unless approved by the provincial Commissioner and the Governor.

The Council was chaired by the District Commissioner, who had overriding powers.

For instance, he would decide on the agenda, refuse to allow discussion of certain issues or suspend any councillor whenever he wished.

In many cases, the Provincial Commissioner overruled the decisions of the Council.

These councils started with the system of nomination, but they later became elective.

In 1948, Local Native councils were renamed The African District Councils (A.D.C), with Paschal Nabwane as their first African chairman.

In spite of their change of name, the African District Councils remained the Local Authority organ in African areas until independence in 1963.

To maintain law and order, the police and the King's African Rifles were used.

In 1902, an Inspector-General from India was appointed to coordinate their activities. Later, the Kenya Police Reserve, regular police and the Prisons Service were created to maintain discipline,, law, order and good governance in the entire colony.

In White-Settler areas, District Councils were established much earlier than any others. They had wide powers and considerable independence.

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

To encourage and develop a sense of responsibility and duty among Africans.

To provide a mechanism of educated Africans to articulate their requests at the District level.

To ensure proper restriction of Africans in their Reserves.

To provide a means for the government to understand and contain the African.

Achievement of these objectives would be realized through:

Restriction of African activities, especially political agitation.

Provision of basic social needs such as water, cattle dips, public health, education and markets.

Maintenance of basic infrastructure.

Collection of taxes to finance their operation.

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

African political agitation was confined to the Reserves.

Some developments like provision of water, cattle-dips, markets and schools in African areas took place in the reserves.

The basic infrastructure like roads were established in African Reserves.

The collection of taxes was streamlined through the Local Native Councils.

They helped in the arbitration of disputes against Africans.

They helped in the maintenance of law and order.

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

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

Nakuru,

Uasingishu,

Nairobi,

Kisumu,

Naivasha,

Trans-Nzoia.

Aberdare District Council, which was set up in 1939.

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

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

Urbanization was mainly associated with European and Asian economic activities.

Urban Councils were dominated by Europeans, followed by Asians.

Although Africans were the majority in towns, they were seen as foreigners and migrant labourers.

Africans relied on self-help schemes, with no hope of receiving reasonable social services from the councils.

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

Maintenance of law and order through a small police force set up in 1896.

Arbitration of African disputes through the District African Courts.

Exploitation of local resources and initiatives in development..

The 1906 Indian police act, which established a police force for the Kenya colony.

Development of infrastructure and the general welfare of the African sector.

Creation of a link between the central government and the local people.

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

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

Chronic shortage of trained and experienced personnel.

Poor transport and communication.

Inadequate coordination.

Lack of mineral resources.

Rivalry between settlers and locals.

More revolts as African struggle for freedom intensified.

Inadequate revenue for Development programs, projects and day To day operations.

British occupation of Kenya

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF KENYA

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

Describe the methods used by the British to occupy Kenya.

Signing treaties. Treaties were signed among Europeans themselves and between the Europeans and local leaders in the areas they occupied e.g. The Heligoland treaty as well as the 1904 and 1911 Maasai agreements.

Treachery. Here, African communities such as the Wanga and the Maasai were lured through gifts and other incentives to agree to form alliances with the British.

Military expeditions. Communities that resisted British occupation such as the Nandi, Bukusu and Turkana were forcefully subdued through punitive military expeditions.

Operational bases. Forts, posts, commercial centres and communication lines were constructed to enhance British political control. Fort Smith (Kabete) and fort Hall (Murang'a) are good examples.

A blend of diplomacy and force. This involved signing treaties and the use of military force among communities such as the Luo and Agikuyu, sections of who collaborated with as others resisted British occupation.

Company rule. The British initially used the Imperial British East Africa Company in occupying Kenya to limit administration expenses or costs among other factors.

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

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

To establish political authority, general order and security in British East Africa.

To develop and regulate trade by facilitating the movement of goods and people between the coast and the interior.

To collect taxes and to institute custom duty in the area.

To develop and "civilize" the indigenous people, closely scrutinized by the imperial consul based in Zanzibar.

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

Quelling of community aggression e.g. that of the Nandi, Maasai, Akamba, etc.

Establishment of forts, posts, commercial centres, communication lines and other operational bases, some of which developed into towns and cities.

Development of a Rubber industry along the coast and within the interior.

Abolition of slavery and slave trade, especially within the coastal region.

Building of roads and other infrastructure, which facilitated transportation of railwaybuilding and other equipment.

Administration of the British spheres of influence between 1888-1895.

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

Company rule in Kenya. Or:

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

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

The region lacked strategic natural resources for exports like gold, diamonds and copper.

The company lacked sufficient funding.

Lack of navigable rivers, which made transportation of goods slower and expensive.

Lack of proper communication between East Africa and the headquarters, which caused confusion and unnecessary delays.

Many of the company officials were corrupt.

African resistance, which made the company's work very difficult.

Incompetence of some of the Company agents.

The hot and dry tropical climate and diseases such as Malaria and sleeping sickness took a heavy toll on company personnel.

Penetration of the interior and day to day operations of the administration were very costly.

Company directors' lack of the drive, initiative, business, acumen and administrative shrewdness to manage a newly acquired territory.

Methods used to establish colonial rule in Kenya

Resistance

Collaboration

Mixed reactions

The process of colonial administration in Kenya.

CHAPTER 3 COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

1996 11. Name two systems of colonial administration which were used by the British to administer their colonies in Africa. (2mks)

- i) Indirect rule
- ii) Direct rule

1998 11. Give two economic reasons which made Europe powers to scramble for Africa.

- i. Search for market for their manufactured goods.
- ii. Search sources of raw materials for their industries.
- iii. Desire by the entrepreneurs to invest excess capital.
- iv. Need to protect European traders and investments in Africa.

Any 2 points, 1 mark each.

1998 12. State the main contribution of religion in the Maji Maji uprising against German rule in Southern Tanzania.

1. A religious leader Kijinetile used magic water which claimed to have magic power from the ancestors against German bullets in spite to mobilize, encourage and unite the people of Southern Tanzania to rise against rule.

Introduction

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

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

- ✓ Britain,
- ✓ Germany,
- ✓ France,
- ✓ Italy,

- ✓ Spain,
- ✓ Portugal,
- ✓ Belgium.

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

- ✓ Indirect Rule, which was a British policy of administration in which the African traditional chiefs were allowed to rule their people with instructions from British officials.
- ✓ Direct Rule, which was another British system of administration whereby indigenous political and administrative institutions and leaders were replaced with European systems. In it, the British officials ruled directly without intermediaries.
- ✓ Assimilation, which was a French system of administration in which the Africans were to be similar to the French in terms of their culture and other aspects of life.
- ✓ Association, which was another French system of administration that implied partnership, whereby the French government was to respect the culture of people in her colony and allow them to develop independently rather than force them to adopt the French culture and civilization.

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

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

2008 13. Give one method used by the French to administer their colonies in Africa. (1 mark)

- i. Assimilation
- ii. Association (Any 1 x 1 = 1 mark)

Indirect Rule

Define Indirect Rule. (What was Indirect Rule?)

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

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

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

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

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

- ✓ It had succeeded in Uganda and India.
- ✓ Extending Direct Rule over distant territories would have been expensive.
- ✓ Britain lacked enough manpower to handle all the administrative responsibilities.

- ✓ Africans under Direct Rule would most likely resist.
- ✓ Britain was keener on her Indian colony than with her African possessions.
- ✓ Traditional African rulers were enthusiastic about and were to acquire new responsibilities in addition to retaining their positions and almost all their powers.
- ✓ British citizens were reluctant to serve in the tropics, which they perceived to be prone to diseases and other physical hardships.
- ✓ Very little funding was set aside for colonial administration by the parent government.
- ✓ Local systems of administration were already established in many African communities.
- ✓ Use of the existing traditional political systems helped to cut down on administrative costs.

THE BRITISH IN NIGERIA

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

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

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

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

2008 22.(a) Give five reasons why the British used Indirect rule to administer Northern Nigeria. (5 marks)

- (i) To avoid resistance from the people of Northern Nigeria,
- (ii) The British had inadequate personnel for the vast territory,
- (iii) There was an established system of administration.
- (iv) There was a communication barrier between the British and the local communities.
- (v) It was difficult to reach all parts of the territory due to inadequate transport and communication systems,
- (vi) To reduce the cost of administration.
- (vii) The method had successfully been used in some of their colonies.

(Any 5 x 1 = 5 marks)

Administration of northern Nigeria

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

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

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

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

2012 22(b) Describe the structure of the British Colonial administration in Northern Nigeria. (12 marks)

- i. The colonial secretary was the governor in charge of the colony
- ii. Under the colonial secretary was eh governor who was in charge of the administration of the colony
- iii. The colony was divided into provinces headed by a resident/provincial commissioner who co-ordinate administration in the province
- iv. The provinces were further subdivided into districts headed by District Officers who were answerable to the provincial commission
- v. Districts were subdivided into location /emirates headed by the chiefs
- vi. There were headmen who were in charge of the villages and assisted the Emirs in matters of administration
- vii. Both the Resident/Provincial Commissioner and the District Officers were British
- viii. Each province had a protectorate court/court of appeal which was presided over by the resident.

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

201110 State two roles played by the African chiefs in British Colonial administration in Nigeria. (2 marks)

1. They represented the colonial government at the local level
2. They recruited labour for public works
3. They collected taxes for the colonial government
4. They communicated colonial government policies to the people
5. They tried/heard cases in the local courts (any 2x1 = 2 marks)

After the merger of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914, Lugard tried but failed to establish Indirect Rule in southern Nigeria

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

Explain the setbacks to Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria.)

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

characterised by riots e.g. those of 1918 and 1929.

- ✓ There was a lot of communication breakdown, since Southern Nigeria lacked a common language, which made it difficult to administer.

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

In what ways did Governor Donald Cameron modernize Indirect rule in Nigeria? (Explain how Governor Donald Cameron reformed Indirect rule in Nigeria.)

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

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

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

What were the weaknesses/disadvantages of Indirect Rule?

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

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

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

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

2008 22.(b) Explain five effects of the use of Indirect rule by the British in Northern Nigeria. (10 marks)

- i. Traditional rulers became unpopular among their people due to their new roles of collecting taxes/forceful recruitment of fellow Africans as labourers for European/as soldiers to fight in the world wars.
- ii. The African Chiefs became wealthier than the rest of the people because they were paid for their services.
- iii. It helped to preserve African cultures in Northern Nigeria because the British did not want to interfere with the African way of life.
- iv. It led to the abolition of slavery and slave trade in Northern Nigeria.
- v. The British abolished the Fulani systems of taxation and replaced it with a single tax levied on each village.
- vi. Retention of muslim law/sharia in the North made the area lag behind.
- vii. The British modified the previous systems of administration thus making the traditional African rulers lose their independence.

(Any 5 x 2 = 10 marks)

Direct Rule

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

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

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

THE BRITISH IN ZIMBABWE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ✓ Because company officials were gradually outnumbered by the European settlers, the British South Africa Company decided to give up control over Southern Rhodesia, which was left with an option of either becoming a Crown Colony or merging with South Africa.
- ✓ Through a vote, majority of the settlers chose to become a Crown Colony. They feared Afrikaner domination if they merged with South Africa and were worried that their economic interests would be neglected in favour of those of the Afrikaners.
- ✓ In 1923, southern Rhodesia became a Crown Colony.
- ✓ After these changes, the government formulated a new policy: the Two-Pyramid (parallel) development policy to run the colony. In this way, the white settlers had entrenched themselves even more firmly in Southern

Rhodesia.

- ✓ In 1925, the Government set up a commission to make recommendation on the future of unallotted land in the colony. As a result, the land Apportionment act was passed in 1930. It became the Greater Charter (Magna Carter) of southern Rhodesia.
- ✓ In 1934, the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed. This act was designed to protect white workers from African competition. For example, it empowered the government to prohibit Africans from setting up trade unions.
- ✓ Alarmed by continuing African political agitation, the government invited more and more settlers, who in turn agitated for formation of a federation comprising the three central African territories i.e. Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). They hoped that if all the settlers in the three territories ganged up, they could wield more power at the expense of the African communities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What were the results of the Industrial Conciliation act (1934) in Zimbabwe? (In what ways was the 1934

Industrial Conciliation act in Zimbabwe designed to protect white workers from African competition? Or:

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

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

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

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

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

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

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

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

- ✓ Each territory had its own government, responsible for local administration.
- ✓ Each territorial government was responsible for all aspects of native affairs within its boundary.
- ✓ The British government was directly involved in the administration of the two northern protectorates.
- ✓ An African Affairs Board was established to ensure that no racist legislation against the Africans was passed in the federal parliament.
- ✓ The federal parliament was given powers to deal with all matters involving more than one territory.

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

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

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

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

Discuss political developments in Zimbabwe after 1953.)

- ✓ In 1958, Todd was forced out of office by his cabinet colleagues and was succeeded by Sir Edgar Whitehead, who abolished Todd's reforms and started an era of repression, in which Africans were exploited.
- ✓ Whitehead was succeeded by Ian Smith.
- ✓ In 1963, the Central African Federation was dissolved. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland became politically independent while Southern Rhodesia remained a self governing colony.
- ✓ In 1965, Ian Smith proclaimed Southern Rhodesia's independence from Britain, but, on Britain's request, the United Nations Organization (UNO) imposed trade sanctions on southern Rhodesia in certain goods, but South Africa and Portugal continued to trade with Southern Rhodesia, which prevented Southern Rhodesia's complete isolation by Britain.
- ✓ With the new constitution of 1969, African rights were ignored and the white minority was more dictatorial.

- ✓ In 1970, Southern Rhodesia broke completely from Britain as it was declared a republic by Ian Smith's government. By that time, what was Northern Rhodesia had become Zambia while what was Nyasaland had become Malawi, leaving what was Southern Rhodesia to be simply known as Rhodesia.
- ✓ In 1971, Britain announced a settlement with the minority whites in Rhodesia, which stated that Black rule would be achieved in Rhodesia as more and more of the African majority qualified to vote and that Britain was to grant legal independence to Rhodesia if the settlement was implemented and if a majority of the Africans accepted it. Africans were not included in the negotiations to reach the settlement. Furthermore, new property qualifications were introduced which kept the number of African voters low to avoid an African majority in the voting system.
- ✓ In early 1972, a commission under Lord Pearce was sent from London to find out African feelings about the 1971 settlement, but it was rejected, so Rhodesia remained illegally independent. White minority domination of Rhodesia continued up to 1980 when Rhodesia attained her independence under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as its first African leader. It was from that time that the country became known as Zimbabwe.

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

Discuss the legacy of British colonial rule in Zimbabwe.)

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

Assimilation

Definition

Assimilation means to cause to resemble.

1997 21. (a) What were the difference between the British policy of indirect rule and the French policy of assimilation. (3 mks)

- i. French colonies were ruled as provinces of France, British colonies were treated as separate political entities under the rule of the government –on behalf of the British government.
- ii. The French used assimilated Africans in their administration, the British used traditional chiefs.
- iii. French colonies elected their representative to the chamber of Deputies in France.
- iv. British colonies were not represented in the House of Commons as they had their Legislative Councils.
- v. Laws used in French colonies were made in France, while in British colonies laws were made by the respective Legislative Councils.
- vi. In the French colonies, assimilated Africans became French citizens with full rights while those in the British colonies remained subjects.

2005 22. (a) State THREE privileges which were enjoyed by assimilated Africans in the four communes of Senegal

- (i) They were allowed to vote during elections
 - (ii) They were allowed to vie for posts in the French Parliament
 - (iii) They were exempted from forced labour
 - (iv) They were allowed to work and live in France
 - (v) They received French education
 - (vi) They had freedom of movement within the French empire
 - (vii) They were exempted from paying taxes
 - (viii) They were allowed to become French citizens
- (Any 3 x1 = 3 mks)

2005 22. (b) Why did French system of assimilation fail in areas outside the Communes

- (i) The Africans were not willing to become Christians
 - (ii) The Africans were not able to get the French type of education
 - (iii) The system faced opposition from the Muslim
 - (iv) The French parliamentarians did not want to compete with Africans for Cabinets posts
 - (v) The African traditional rulers feared they would lose their positions
 - (vi) French traders feared competition so they opposed the system
 - (vii) It was expensive to implement the system because of the vastness of the French empire
 - (viii) The varied African cultures made it difficult for them to be absorbed into the French culture.
- (Any 6 x 2 = 12 mks)

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

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

- ✓ The French Revolution of 1789, which emphasized the equality of all men. Therefore, every inhabitant of a French colony had a right to French citizenship.
- ✓ The French and other countries that practised Assimilation believed that their culture and civilization were superior to those of the Africans. They therefore imposed this standard on other nations, whose civilization they considered inferior, hoping to fully assimilate them into French culture.
- ✓ The Mulatto population (children of mixed (European and African) parentage) in West Africa readily accepted the French culture.
- ✓ Africans in the Quatre communes were familiar with traders, colonial administrators and missionaries due to their long period of interaction with them.
- ✓ A high percentage of the population in the Quatre communes had already been converted to Christianity. The policy of Assimilation was perfected by Lewis Faidherbe in Senegal from 1854-1865AD. The colony therefore became an integral part of the mother country rather than a separate state. France felt she had a mission to educate her colonial people in her rich heritage.

THE FRENCH IN SENEGAL

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

Describe French administration in West Africa.)

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

2012 22. (a) Name three communes which were established by the French in Senegal during the colonial period. (3 marks)

- (i) St. Louis
- (ii) Goree
- (iii) Rufisque
- (iv) Dakar

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

- They were allowed to send representatives to the French chamber of deputies;
- They could vote, just like Frenchmen;
- They were provided with education opportunities like Frenchmen;
- They were exempted from forced labour, taxation and arbitrary arrest;
- They enjoyed trading rights;
- They enjoyed the services of the French judicial system;
- They were employed as civil servants;
- They operated local Authority structures like Frenchmen.

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

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

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

Describe three grades of local chiefs in French West Africa.)

- ✓ Chefs De Province, who were equivalent to Paramount chiefs and were usually the successors of pre-colonial

chiefs,

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

Explain:

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

CHEFS DE CANTONS

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

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

CHEFS DE VILLAGE

Chefs De Village (village heads or elders) were usually traditional Community heads. Among their duties were:

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

Phases of French rule in West Africa

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

Characteristics of Assimilation.

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

Conditions that Africans in French west Africa had to fulfil to qualify for French citizenship

2010 p2 qn 22. a) Give three conditions which one had to fulfil in order to become a French Citizen in Senegal.

- i) Literate/able to read and write in French.
- ii) Able to speak in French

- iii) Be a Christian
 - iv) One must have worked in the French Civil service/be loyal in the French government/military service.
 - v) Practice monogamy
- Any 3 x 1 = 3 marks

Factors that facilitated the application of assimilation in Senegal

1996 22 a) Describe the factors which facilitated the application of the French policy of assimilation in the four communes in Senegal. (3mks)

- i) A high percentage of the Mullatoes in the population of the communes who appreciated the European culture, made it easy for the French to apply their policy of assimilation.
- ii) The people in the four communes had long interaction with the French trades, administrators and missionaries and this enabled them to appreciate European culture.
- iii) A high percentage of the inhabitants of the four communes had been converted to Christianity and this made it possible for the French to apply their policy.

Explain the factors that undermined Assimilation. (Explain why Assimilation failed. Or:

Identify the setbacks/hindrances to Assimilation in French West Africa.)

- It became increasingly expensive as the French colonial empire expanded.
- Some cultures of some communities across Africa were still intact due to little or lack of contact with Europeans. These proved difficult for French colonial administrators to handle.
- Racial discrimination against the indigenous people, which undermined the system.
- Traditional African rulers resisted the system as they did not want to lose their authority over the Assimiles.
- France was motivated mainly by economic rather than social or political factors in establishing colonies in Africa.
- The French citizens in the motherland opposed the policy as they feared being outnumbered in the Chamber of Deputies.
- Some European Frenchmen feared that assimilated Africans would become serious economic rivals as they would have equal rights with Frenchmen.
- Muslims seriously resisted French attempts to convert them to Christianity.
- At the turn of the 19th century, the French began to reject Senegalese demands and to abolish the civil rights they enjoyed.
- Assimilation undermined French colonization as it would not be possible to exploit Africans who attained the Assimile status.

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

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

- Participation of Africans in the political matters of France. E.g. Blaise Diagne from Senegal was elected Deputy in the French Parliament.
- Disruption of African culture as many Africans embraced French way of life.
- Divisions occurred between the assimilated Africans who became French citizens and the noncitizens, who paid taxes and were subjected to forced labour.
- Senegal was incorporated into the French Republic and regarded as an overseas province of France.
- Great frustration to the spread of Islam, especially in the communes due to introduction of and conversion of many Africans to Christianity.
- The authority of traditional African leaders was undermined and eroded as they were replaced by the assimilated Africans.
- Introduction of and conversion by some Africans to Christianity in Senegal.
- Introduction and modelling of education on the French system. The Assimilated Africans acquired French education and had to serve in the French Civil Service.
- Introduction and use of French language in west and other parts of Africa.
- French realization that Assimilation was dangerous and unwise.

- The failure of Assimilation which was replaced by the new policy of Association, whereby Africans were allowed to develop along their own lines but in close association with the French.
- Subjection of Africans (particularly those not yet assimilated) to taxation and forced labour.

2007 12. Give two results of the French assimilation policy in Senegal. (2mks)

- i) All colonies were subjected to the same law.
- ii) Racial discrimination was minimal in the colonies.
- iii) It undermined African culture.
- iv) French goods and modern ways spread in West Africa.
- v) Educated African spearheaded nationalism in Africa.
- vi) Africans were represented by deputies in the National Assembly.

1996 22 b) Discuss the effects of the French policy of assimilation in Senegal (12 mks)

- i) The application of the assimilation policy lead to the promotion of French culture in Senegal
- ii) The policy of assimilation undermined African culture as many adopted French culture.
- iii) It undermined the authority of the traditional rulers as they were replaced by the assimilated Africans
- iv) Senegal was incorporated into French Republic and regarded as an overseas province of France.
- v) Africans from Senegal were allowed to participate in the political affairs of France. Some of them became Deputies and Ministers in the French government.
- vi) It undermined the spread of Islam in the four communes where many Africans had adopted French Christianity
- vii) It created division among Africans; in Senegal some became citizens while other became French people.
- viii) It created a class of western/ French education in the four communes
- ix) It led to the development of Western/French education in the four communes.
- x) Class of African elite spearheaded nationalism.

2013 22 b) Explain six problems experienced by the French administration in Senegal. (12 marks)

- i. Communication/language barrier made it difficult for the administrators to be effective;
- ii. Poor transport network hampered their mobility thereby making it difficult to reach certain areas.
- iii. Resistance by African traditional leaders created obstacles - fear for loss of their positions.
- iv. The policy of assimilation required patience/was time consuming since some Africans were reluctant to forsake their way of life;
- v. They faced hostility from Muslims who were opposed to French values which embraced Christianity;
- vi. The appointed chiefs were undermined by their fellow Africans as they were viewed as colonial agents;
- vii. They lacked adequate funds to sustain their operations
- viii. Resistance by the French traders/businessmen - fear for competition from African traders;
- ix. Resistance by the French parliamentarians - fear for competition of being outnumbered in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Policy of Association

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

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

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

Describe the French system of Association.)

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

Differences/contrasts between French and British colonial systems of administration.

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

Other differences between French and British systems of administration were as follows:

2010 22 b) Explain six differences between the use of British indirect rule and the French assimilation policy.

- i) The British used traditional rulers as chiefs while the French appointed assimilated whereas chiefs to become chiefs.
- ii) African traditional rulers under British rule retained most of their powers whereas chiefs under French rule had limited powers.
- iii) British colonies were administered as separate territories while French colonies were administered as provinces of France.
- iv) Most French administrators were represented in the French Chamber of Deputies in France while in British colonies Laws were made by the Colonial Legislative Assemblies.
- v) Africans in French colonies were military officers while the British administrators were both as provinces and non-professionals.
- vi) Laws used to govern French colonies were made in the chamber of Deputies in France while British colonies Laws were made by the Colonial Legislative Assemblies.
- vii) Assimilated Africans in French colonies became full French citizens while in the British colonies, educated Africans remained colonial subjects.
- viii) British indirect rule preserved African cultures while assimilation undermined African culture.

Any 6 x 2 = 12 marks

Similarities/ common features between the French and British colonial systems of administration

2013 22 a) State three similarities between the French and the British structure of administration in of Africa during the colonial period (3 marks)

- i. Both had a governor as the chief executive of the colony;
- ii. They had provinces as administrative units;
- iii. Both had districts as administrative units;
- iv. Both had locations as administrative units;
- v. They had sub-locations.

CHAPTER 4 SOCIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

To ease the burden that British taxpayers had to put up with at the initial stages of conquest and occupation of Kenya, Britain had to make Kenya economically viable, having set up a system of administration over the colony. Europeans from Britain, South Africa, Australia and Canada were encouraged to settle on the vast “empty” land, followed by establishment of policies and structures to facilitate changes in basic infrastructure, agriculture, education and health.

The Uganda railway

Reasons for the construction of the Uganda Railway

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

Process of construction of the railway

The Kenya-Uganda railway was built between 5th August 1896-1st December 1901, with George Whitehouse as the Chief Engineer. Work on the railway was done by British and Indian personnel since the local people could not provide skilled labour. Though costly, the construction of the railway had a tremendous impact on the administration and economic development of colonial Kenya.

Its headquarters were at Kilindini in Mombasa from where they began though the problems of labours had arisen they had to bring Indian coolies due to the following reasons:

- i. Africans were not willing to provide labour.
- ii. Africans were not skilled in construction of the railway.

Another issue was the weather where heavy rains delayed the onset of the work. From Mombasa the rail was built westwards through Mariakani, Voi, Tsavo where they encountered man-eating lions which almost stopped the work but Colonel Patterson hunted and killed them, in the Nyika plateau and Taru forest they lacked drinking water while in the rift valley they came to unfamiliar terrain where they could not manage to descend the eastern escarpment and ascend the western escarpment, in the Nandi land they were attacked by the Nandi who destroyed their equipment due to Kimnyole's prophecy of a snake from the coast breathing fire to quench in the rift valley and by 1899 it had reached Nairobi. The headquarters were changed to Nairobi being mid-way between Mombasa and Kisumu.

In 1901, the railway reached Kisumu.

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

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

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

Problems experienced in the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway

- Additional costs and delays due to heavy reliance on British and Indian rather than local personnel. The British had to import Coolies, clerks and craftsmen from India to provide the necessary manpower and expertise.
- Scarcity of food, water, medicine and other essential supplies.
- Ragged and expansive unfamiliar terrain across the highlands into the Rift Valley. Descending the Eastern Escarpment and ascending the Western Escarpment caused engineering problems that took a lot of time to solve.
- Adverse (dry and hot) climatic conditions across the coastal plains, the Nyika plateau and the Taru desert. These took a heavy toll on the builders due to heat and dehydration.
- Costly and delayed delivery of the needed building equipment and materials.
- Tropical diseases like Malaria, Smallpox and the Jigger.
- Hostility to railway builders by some interior communities, who kept on stealing the materials and attacked railway builders. E.g. the Nandi stole telegraphic wires and iron bars to make ornaments and weapons.

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

Impact/ results/consequences of the construction of the Uganda railway

- Rapid expansion and promotion of British administration. With it, troops could easily be sent to the trouble spots.
- Influx of Asians into Kenya, who embarked on commercial activities along the railway line.
- Rural-Urban migration and rise of African enterprises e.g. hawking and charcoal selling.
- Development and expansion of other forms of transport and communication, including telegraph and roads.
- Increased cultural and social interaction among different races.
- Rise and growth of urban centres like Nairobi, Kisumu and Nakuru, some of which mushroomed as railway stations or residential areas.
- Rapid growth of trade between the interior, the coast and the outside world.
- Easy accessibility to the interior, which the railway opened up to the outside world.
- Rise of the railway as a major source of revenue for the colonial authorities.
- Influx and settlement of many Europeans in the interior.
- Creation of jobs for many Africans and Indians.
- It facilitated the evangelisation work of the Christian missionaries.
- Rapid development of agriculture and industry. The railway boosted Settler agriculture and growth of agro-based industries like flour milling and milk processing.
- Massive land alienation, with some communities such as the Maasai and the Nandi being confined in reserves.

Economic Developments

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

Settler farming in colonial Kenya

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

Why The Colonial Government Encouraged White Settlement In Kenya

- A visit to the Kenyan interior by sir Charles Eliot: the British Commissioner to Kenya, who referred to the Kenya highlands as a Whiteman's country. The colonial government therefore embarked on making Kenya a "Whiteman's country" by encouraging white farmers to form the backbone of Kenya's economy.
- An urgent need to exploit the Kenya highlands for agriculture.
- To finance the administrative expenses of the colony without involving the British taxpayers.
- To pay for the construction and maintenance of the railway.
- To produce raw materials for British industries.
- To counter Asian influence in Kenya.
- Suitability of the Kenya highlands for European settlement in terms of climate and soils.

Factors That Promoted Settler Farming In Colonial Kenya

- Adequate rainfall experienced in the Kenya Highlands.
- Concessions and loans granted to them by the government.
- Provision of transport facilities such as the Kenya-Uganda and Feeder railway lines and roads.
- Research services, which were started to support them.

- Removal of trade tariffs and reduction of Freight charges on import and export of agricultural inputs and products.
- Access to unlimited cheap labour.
- Ample land snatched from Africans and given to them by the government.

How the Colonial Government Facilitated Settler Farming In Kenya

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

Problems Encountered By White Settlers In Colonial Kenya

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

Main Crops Cultivated In Colonial Kenya

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

Coffee

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

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

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

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

Wheat

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

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

Sisal

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

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

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

Tea

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

Stock Rearing/Dairy Farming

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

Colonial land policies

COLONIAL LAND POLICIES IN KENYA

These were land acts and ordinances passed by the Legico to empower white settlers to take up most arable

land, especially in the highlands, to the exclusion of Africans and Asians. Such policies included:

- ❖ The Indian Acquisition Act (1896) which empowered the authorities to take over land for public utility and for railway and government constructions.
- ❖ The Land Regulations Act (1897), which allowed the government to offer white settlers certificates of occupation and a lease of 99 years.
- ❖ The East African Land-Order-In-Council (1901), which defined Crown land as all public land that is not private. It empowered the government to take any land at will.
- ❖ The Crown land Ordinance (1902), which empowered the government to either sell or lease crown land to the White settlers.
- ❖ The Maasai Agreement (1904), by which the Maasai were pushed into the Ngong' and Laikipia reserves and White settlers acquired the vacated land.
- ❖ The 1905 creation of four more reserves in the Kikuyu and Nandi areas.
- ❖ The 1906 government confirmation that the highlands were reserved for White settlers. In it, Lord Elgin: the British Secretary of state, in what became known as the Elgin Pledge, confirmed that the Kenyan highlands were reserved for the White settlers.
- ❖ The second Maasai Agreement (1911), which pushed the Maasai out of the Laikipia reserve to pave the way for White settlement.
- ❖ The Crown land Ordinance (1915), which provided for a land-registration scheme for settlers. It opened for sale and leased Africans' land by the settlers. In it, Crown land included the land occupied by Africans.
- ❖ The Kenya annexation Order-in-council (1920), which declared Africans tenants of the Crown, even in the reserves.
- ❖ The Land Commission (1924), which fixed the boundaries of the reserves, which were legalized in 1926.
- ❖ The Native Lands Trust Ordinance (1930), which declared African reserves permanent property of Africans.
- ❖ The Carter Commission (1932), which fixed the boundaries of the White highlands and removed Africans from the highlands.
- ❖ The Kenya highlands Order-In-Council (1939), which fixed the boundaries of the White Highlands and reserved them permanently and exclusively for the Europeans.

IMPACT OF COLONIAL LAND POLICIES

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

The Devonshire white paper

THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER (1925)

Determined to meet the Mandate regulations of the League of Nations, which compelled Britain to address African grievances more keenly than before, the colonial government in Kenya instituted three dramatic

reforms in 1922 to settle the intense conflict between European settlers and Asians on one hand and Africans and other minority races on the other. These reforms were:

- ❖ Removal of Governor Northey, who was replaced by Sir Robert Coryndon in 1922.
 - ❖ Abandonment of the Racial Segregation policy in Kenya except in the Highlands.
 - ❖ Allowing the Asians to elect four members to the Legico, which was initially settler dominated.
- In a swift reaction, the settlers dispatched a delegation to London for consultation with the Duke of Devonshire, who was at that time the secretary for colonies over the reforms in 1923. This meeting came up with a fundamental set of principles, referred to as The Devonshire White paper.

TERMS OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER (1923)

The Devonshire White paper categorically stated that:

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

IMPLICATIONS OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER

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

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

In actual sense, the Devonshire White paper was the outcome of the struggle between the Europeans and the Asians, not between Africans and the Europeans. In spite of emphasis on African interests, total settler dominance continued up to the time Kenya attained her independence in 1963.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DEVONSHIRE WHITE PAPER

- The White settlers continued their dominance in the politics of the country despite emphasis on African

interests.

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

Urbanisation

URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

FACTORS THAT PROMOTED URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

- Development of colonial administrative posts into towns e.g. Machakos, Murang'a, Mumias, Kapsabet, Nyeri and Kisii.
- Mining activities, as was with Magadi and Kakamega.
- Construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway, which led to the emergence of various urban centres, which sprang up as points for resting and for replenishing the supplies of the settlers and personnel along the railway line. Such towns include Voi, Makindu, Nairobi and Kisumu.
- Commercialization of agriculture due to large scale settler farming, which led to rise of market centres, which then became towns e.g. Eldoret, Nakuru and Nairobi.
- Asian establishment of shops along the railway, which grew into important centres and towns.
- Agro-based industries e.g. flour mills, meat processing plants and saw mills, which attracted labourers from all parts of the country and transformed their surrounding areas into town centres.

Urbanization was largely the result of two vital processes. These were:

- ❖ The expansion of the commercial sector, in which European and Asian business firms played a key role.
- ❖ Influx of migrant African labourers from various parts of Kenya, who contributed to the expansion of the commercial sector in different capacities e.g. porters, fitters, shop assistants, overseers, dock workers, clerks, taxi drivers and interpreters.

WHY AFRICANS MIGRATED INTO URBAN CENTRES IN COLONIAL KENYA

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

EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

POSSITIVE EFFECTS

- ❖ Interaction between people of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, which was crucial for the development of national consciousness.
- ❖ National integration and a sense of nationhood as intercommunal differences and prejudices were watered down.
- ❖ Formation of welfare associations e.g. the Luo Union, to cater for African workers' needs. Such associations served as a good training ground for political leadership.
- ❖ Cementing of relationships between different ethnic groups and races through popular sporting and cultural activities in towns.

- ❖ Gainful African employment in the industries, European homes and small-scale businesses.
- ❖ expansion of industries due to ample labour and raw materials.
- ❖ Many Africans acquired technical skills from their European and Asian employers.
- ❖ Some Africans sold their produce to the urban communities and improved their income.
- ❖ some Africans, particularly in towns like Nairobi and Mombasa converted to Islam, which, in addition to Christianity, created religious/spiritual diversity in the African society.

Negative effects

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

STEPS TAKEN TO CONTROL RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

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

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

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

Education

EDUCATION

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

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

- (a) The experiences of ex-soldiers in the Second World War convinced Africans of the advantages of higher education.
- (b) Increase in African nationalism, which meant increased calls for the improvement of the African education sector.
- (c) There was need to produce better and more skilled manpower for the future independent Kenya.
- (d) Primary schools were producing qualified children, who needed higher education. This necessitated establishment of Secondary Schools for Africans.

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

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

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

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

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

In colonial Kenya, Missionary education had three main features:

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

OBJECTIVES OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

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

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

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

PRIMARY EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECONDARY EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

secondary schools.

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

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ROLE OF AFRICANS IN PROVISION OF EDUCATION IN COLONIAL KENYA

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

Health

HEALTH

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

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

THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN HEALTHCARE

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

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

MAIN OBJECTIVES OF ESTABLISHING HEALTH CENTRES IN COLONIAL KENYA

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

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

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

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

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

AFRICAN INITIATIVE IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH

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

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

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

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

HOW AFRICANS PROMOTED THE HEALTH SECTOR IN COLONIAL KENYA

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

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

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

malpractices that came with colonial occupation. After 1940, these associations broadened their membership base and became national rather than ethnic organizations.

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

THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL KENYA CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA

Early political organisations in Kenya upto 1945

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

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

Land alienation.

Forced labour.

Taxation.

The "Kipande" system.

Better wages for Africans.

Quality education and better working conditions for Africans.

The onslaught on valued African customs like Polygamy, Female Circumcision and traditional African religious practices.

Racial discrimination, especially in provision of social facilities like housing, health and education.

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

Most were led by Mission-educated young men like Harry Thuku, Jonathan Okwiri and Jimmy Mwambichi.

They got material and moral support from Asians.

They were confined to one or two ethnic groups, though formation of the East African Association was an indication of the desire towards regional cooperation.

They had similar grievances such as Land alienation, forced labour and taxation.

They had limited membership.

They were regarded by many Africans as a preserve of the educated elites.

They did not demand political independence but better living conditions and an end to European economic exploitations.

Explain why many African political associations emerged in the interwar period

(1919 to 1939). (In what ways did the interwar period contribute to African political awareness? Or:

Explain how the First World War facilitated/led to political awakening in Africa. Or:

In what ways did the First World War contribute to African political awareness?)

African participation, especially in the first World War.

Many Africans realized that they shared numerous interests and problems as they met and compared their experiences.

A sense of unity was created among Africans as they met and interacted in war zones.

On seeing the Europeans wounded, crying and suffering like them, Africans discovered that the White man was not very different from them.

Unlike their White counterparts, African ex-soldiers neither benefited in terms of

land allocation nor received the compensation promised as a reward for taking part in the war.

The “Kipande” system, which was introduced in 1920, was used to force Africans to provide labour to the European settlers, sometimes without pay.

Very short notice was given for the change of currency from the Indian Rupee to the Shilling in 1921, which hurt Africans most.

With the change of Kenya’s status from a protectorate to a colony in 1920, the Africans began to see every move by the colonial government as an attempt to politically entrench the settlers.

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

THE KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

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

Return of Agikuyu land taken by Europeans.

An end to further African land alienation.

Abolition of the “Kipande” system, which had just been introduced through the Native Registration Ordinance.

Increase rather than the proposed reduction of wages after the First World War when the Rupee was replaced by the Shilling.

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

Josiah Njonjo,

Philip Karanja,

Matthew Njoroge,

Waweru Wamahiu,

Waruhiu Wa Kung’u.

The Kikuyu Association mainly comprised African chiefs loyal to the colonial administration but who were concerned about its above-mentioned grievances.

Because of its mild approach, its impact was not felt. But soon, it attracted many Christian converts and urban residents in Nairobi such as Harry Thuku and Abdala Tairara.

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

THE YOUNG KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

Name the founder-members of the Young Kikuyu Association.

The Young Kikuyu Association was pioneered by:

Harry Thuku,

Abdala Tairara,

Mwalimu Hamisi,

Muhamed Sharif.

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

State the demands/grievances of the Young Kikuyu Association.

Return of African land.

Better working conditions for Africans.

Reduction of taxes.

Withdrawal or improvement of the “Kipande” system.

Title deeds for land holders.

Increase rather than reduction of Africans’ wages.

Better living conditions for both employed and unemployed Africans.

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

THE EAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

Name the members of the East African Association.

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

Johnston Kamau (Jomo Kenyatta),

Norman Mboya,

Abdala bin Asumah,

Kibwana bin Kombo,

Jesse Kariuki,

Joseph Kang'ethe,

Harry Thuku,

George Samuel Okoth,

James Mwathi,

Z.K Sentogo,

Maitei Ole Mootian,

Muhammed Sheikh,

Melange Ole sempele.

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

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

What were the demands of the East African Association?

Return of land taken from Africans by White Settlers and the colonial government.

Revocation of Kenya's colonial status by the British.

Provision of better education for Africans.

Organization of Legico elections on a Common Roll for all races.

A Wage increase for African urban labourers.

Abolition of the Hut tax, which was exclusively paid by the Africans.

An end to forced labour.

Abolition of the "Kipande" system.

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

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

Africans in Kenya realized that the colonial government was determined to maintain an iron rule in Kenya.

African political parties that succeeded the East African Association became even more radical in their approach.

The Governor of Kenya (General Edward Northey) was recalled to London in June 1922 for mishandling the Thuku affair.

Because of his determination, Thuku was hailed by African Kenyan communities as

the undisputed flag bearer of Kenyan nationalism prior to formation of later political parties

THE KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

Name the founders of the Kikuyu central Association.

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

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

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

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

What were the objectives of the Kikuyu Central Association?

Return of land taken from the Agikuyu by the settlers.

Reduction of taxes

An end of racial discrimination.

Lifting the ban on cash crop cultivation among Africans.

Release of Harry Thuku.

Appointment of a well-educated Paramount chief elected by the majority of the Agikuyu.

Establishment of a secondary school, training facilities for hospital workers and a girl's school.

An end to the compulsory demolition of houses condemned as unsanitary by the colonial officials.

Translation of all colonial laws into Gikuyu language for all members of the community to understand them.

Revocation of the 1915 Crown Land Ordinance, by which all Africans had been made tenants on their own land at the will of the Crown.

Abolition of the "Kipande" laws.

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

In 1927, KCA moved its headquarters from Murang'a to Nairobi for more and better contacts with the Agikuyu elite and more Africans in Nairobi. This was fruitful when Kenyatta became KCA's secretary-General, taking over from James Beauttah. Kenyatta strived to strengthen and broaden KCA, e.g. by starting a Party newspaper called "Muigithania" (Conciliator), which was instrumental in reviving the cultural values of the Agikuyu, most of which were under constant Christian Missionary attack.

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

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

Appointment of African representatives to the Legislative Council.

Introduction of free primary school education for Africans by the government.

Abandoning of proposed East African federation, which K.C.A felt would have made the White settlers too powerful in the village.

Provisions of secondary and higher education for the handicapped.

Granting of title deeds to Africans as a guarantee against any further land alienation.

Abolition of the "Kipande" law.

Release of Harry Thuku.

In the late 1920s, conflict ensued between KCA and Christian missionaries over

the Agikuyu Female Circumcision tradition. All supporters of the practice were expelled from their Missions, giving impetus to the Independent churches and school movements in central Kenya.

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

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

KAVIRONDO TAXPAYERS WELFARE ASSOCIATION

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

Name the founders of the Young Kavirondo Association.

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

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

Explain the demands of the Young Kavirondo Association.

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

A separate Legislative Council for Nyanza Province, with an elected African President. They therefore wanted self government for Nyanza.

Establishment of more government schools in Central Nyanza.

Creation of Paramount Chiefs for central and southern Nyanza just like Paramount Chief Mumia of Wanga in the then North Nyanza.

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

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

In 1931, the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association split up into Abaluhya and Luo factions. While the Luo remained under and observed the leadership of Archdeacon Owen until 1944, The Abaluhya faction formed the North Kavirondo Central Association, which maintained close links with the Kikuyu Central Association, for Abaluhya were unhappy about the Kakamega Gold Rush of the 1930s and the then KCA was created mainly to stop any further land alienation for

European use without compensation.

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

UKAMBA MEMBERS ASSOCIATION

Name the founders of Ukamba Members Association.

Ukamba Members Association was formed in 1938, spearheaded by:

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

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

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

The destocking policy adopted by the colonial government.

Loss of their land to the Europeans.

Seizure of their livestock by the colonial government for sale to the meat plant at low prices.

Taxation.

Forced labour.

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

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

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

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

COAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

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

Name the founders of the Coast African Association.

The Coast African Association was pioneered by:

Noah Mwanasele,
Muhammed Bin Mwachange,
E W Timothy,
H G Banks,
Muhammed Bin Omar,
Enoch H G Harrison,
Francis Hamisi,

Ronald Ngala.

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

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

- Replacement of uneducated chiefs with educated Africans in the local Native Council.

- Appointment of African colonial officials.

- Elevation of Shimo La Tewa School to a high school.

- Basic literacy and numeracy, through which adult Africans could pursue and acquire Western education.

- Use of taxes collected from African traditional drinks for improvement of African facilities.

- A revocation of land allocation to Arabs and Asians, who owned large tracts of land at the expense of the Mijikenda.

- Representation of the association and the Coastal peoples in the Legico.

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

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

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION

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

- Improvement of education facilities.

- Elevation of the Shimo La Tewa School.

- Appointment and representation of the Mijikenda in the Legico.

TAITA HILLS ASSOCIATION

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

What were the grievances of Taita Hills Association?

Among the concerns of Taita Hills Association were:

- Equal political status of the Taita in relation to other subjects.

- Land alienation, whereby all fertile Taita land was occupied by European settlers, who converted it into coffee plantations.

- Forced labour, whereby the Taita were forced to work on European coffee plantations and ferry the coffee harvests over long distances for very low wages.

- Colonial destocking policy, through which the government intended to reduce livestock in the Taita hills region.

- Forced migration of the Wadawida to Samburu to create room for the white settlers.

- Introduction of the "Kipande" system.

- Taxation, especially Hut and Poll tax.

Name the founders of Taita Hills Association.

Among the founder-members of Taita Hills Association were:

- Woresho Kolandi Mengo,

- Jimmy Mwambichi,

- Paul Chumbo.

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

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

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

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

It shelved its plan of moving the Wataita from their ancestral land in the hills to the plains.

It reverted the Taita Reserve boundaries and reduced the land initially carved out for European settlement.

It stopped the destocking measures among the Wataita.

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

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

It failed to attract prominent personalities in Taita.

Some African groupings in the region e.g. the Wataveta and Wagisiga were reluctant to join it.

Arrest and deportation of its leaders to Nakuru.

It was banned or proscribed alongside other groups.

Detention of its leaders in Kapenguria.

Explain the achievements of early political organizations in Kenya.

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

Political education to the African communities through political rallies. The masses were enlightened on various injustices committed by the colonial government and on how to stop further exploitation and repression.

They communicated the communities' feelings to the colonial government through publications, memoranda and speeches.

They defended African cultures against further erosion by European Missionaries.

They re-awakened the masses by making them conscious of the political situation in the country.

They fought for workers' welfare in the absence of formal trade unions by demanding better wages as well as living and working conditions.

They publicised the grievances of the Africans to the international community. For example, Jomo Kenyatta presented the grievances of the Africans to the British public.

They helped promote wider nationalism by forging intercommunity relations in the struggle for freedom.

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

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

Harassment and arrest of their members by the colonial government, which demoralized them.

Political wrangles among the members.

Lack of administration and political experience among the leaders.

Financial problems due to land alienation, taxation and poor working conditions.

Disunity since most organizations were ethnic based.

Eventual banning of these organizations by the colonial government in 1940.

The emergence of independent churches and schools

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

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

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

emerged in colonial Kenya. or:

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

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

African displeasure with the Westernizing influence of Christian Missionaries, who taught against African customs such as Polygamy and Female Circumcision.

African perception of Mission education as inadequate since it mostly prepared Africans for junior government or job positions, most of which were manual.

Colonial domination and exploitation, characterised by payment of taxes, the “Kipande”, forced labour and racial discrimination in the provision of social services.

African perception of European Missionaries as agents of the wider colonial system.

African desire for leadership in their own churches, for they lacked say in the Mission churches, where European Missionaries were major decision makers.

Independent churches were started by Africans who claimed to have received divine calling e.g. John Owalo and Elijah Masinde.

African dissatisfaction concerning Missionary interpretation of the Christian scriptures. For instance, the Holy Spirit church split from mainstream churches on this account.

Lack of accommodation for traditional African expression of worship such as dancing and drum-beating in the Mission churches.

To sensitize the Africans on their rights and the evils of colonialism.

To have control over what was being taught in addition to provision of wider educational opportunities for Africans.

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

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

Kikuyuland,

Luhyaland,

Luoland.

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

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

Their leadership was African.

They valued Christianity and Western education, but were against the Westernizing Missionary influence.

They accommodated African cultural values.

They worked closely with African political associations.

Name the independent churches that emerged in colonial Kenya.

Independent churches that emerged in colonial Kenya include:

The African Orthodox Church,

African Independent Pentecostal Church,

“Nomiya” Luo Church,

Dini Ya Roho,

Christian Universal Evangelical Union,

Dini ya Msambwa,

Joroho Church in Ugenya.

Describe two independent school movements that emerged in colonial Kenya.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA), which was closely associated with the African Independent Pentecostal Church and was prominent in Murang’a, Nyeri and Embu.

The Kikuyu Karing’a Education Association (KKEA), which was closely linked to the Kikuyu Central Association and was against all forms of cooperation with the Europeans. It was strong in Kiambu and was affiliated to the African Orthodox

Church.

THE INDEPENDENT CHURCH MOVEMENT IN NYANZA

Describe the independent churches that emerged in Western Kenya region during the colonial period.

“Nomiya” Luo Mission, which was the first independent education and religious movement.

The Christian Universal Evangelist Union, which was set up in 1938 by Ismael Noo, who was a teacher and preacher from Sakwa in Central Nyanza.

Dini Ya Roho, which was founded among Abaluhya in 1927 after splitting from the Friends African Mission in Western Kenya. Its members believed in baptism by the Holy Spirit and emphasized speaking in tongues as well as open confession of sins.

Joroho church, which was founded by Alfayo Odongo Mango in 1932 among the Luo, particularly of Ugenya.

Analyse Independent Church Movement activities in Nyanza.

“NOMIYA” LUO MISSION

This was the first independent education and religious movement in Kenya. It was started and led by John Owalo, who received wide education and experience from several mission schools. He started as a Roman Catholic, then joined the Scottish Mission at Kikuyu and later the CMS schools at Maseno and Nairobi.

In 1907, Owalo is said to have had a vision in which he was directed by God to start his own religion. He therefore founded the “Nomiya” Luo Mission in 1910. “Nomiya Mission” means ‘the Mission that was given to me’ or ‘the mission that I was given’. Owalo denied the divinity of Jesus, though he accepted that Jesus was a prophet and a son of God. According to the beliefs of his mission, Owalo supposedly lived in heaven with God’s angels.

Within a few years, Owalo had built his own primary school, the first Independent school in Kenya. He aimed at establishing a secondary school free from Missionary interference. He demanded African representation in local councils.

Disturbed at Owalo’s “rebellion”, the CMS missionaries at Maseno investigated but could not stop his movement. Even Ainsworth: the Nyanza provincial Commissioner could not prevent Owalo from starting his own mission.

Owalo and his movement was a good illustration of African Christian determination to run their own churches and schools and their right to reject or accept some of the White man’s teachings.

THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSAL EVANGELIST UNION

This church was set up in 1938 by Ismael Noo, who was a teacher and preacher from Sakwa in Central Nyanza. Noo was originally connected with the Anglican Church of Maseno.

Following the Revival movement in Uganda but which had reached the Anglican Church in Maseno, many Africans from Nyanza and Western Kenya were converted, with Ismael Noo as their leader. This movement insisted on Salvation by the Blood of Jesus and on public confession of sins.

Most of Noo’s followers were women, particularly second and third wives of unsaved and polygamous husbands, who left their homes and went to live in Noo’s home to the disappointment of their husbands, who accused Noo and his followers of having immoral relations with their wives and daughters, a fact that was found to be untrue.

In 1948, at a big convention at Nyabondo in Nyakach, Noo broke away from the Anglican church and concentrated on his own Christian Universal Evangelical Union, which he led up to his death in 1960.

THE INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL KENYA

Missionary and Settler presence in Kenya was more pronounced in the Central region than any other part, probably due to its proximity to Nairobi: the headquarters of the colonial government in Kenya.

European condemnation of traditional African practices and values such as

Polygamy, female circumcision and consumption of traditional beers among other factors, sparked off the formation of many independent churches and schools in central Kenya in 1929.

KIKUYU INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

What was the main reason for establishment of Kikuyu independent schools?

To acquire numeracy and literacy skills without being Europeanized.

Identify examples of Kikuyu independent schools established during the colonial period in Kenya.

That built at Gaithieko in Kiambu in 1913.

One at Githunguri, which was registered with the District Commissioner in 1925.

What was the main reason for establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association?

To coordinate and ensure efficient running of the many independent schools that had emerged in the Murang'a, Embu and Nyeri areas.

What were the responsibilities of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association?

Establishment and maintenance of more schools.

Mobilization of finances for teacher training programs

Analyse the development/establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association was established in 1934 to coordinate and ensure efficient running of the many independent schools that had emerged in the Murang'a, Embu and Nyeri areas.

Though initially unhappy with the Independent Schools idea, the colonial authorities realized the seriousness of Kikuyu elders and welcomed the African efforts, though they urged for better management and emphasized registration of such schools with the District Officer. By 1936, there were 34 independent schools and 3984 pupils. Through KISA's encouragement, similar schools emerged in the Rift Valley among the Agikuyu squatters.

In 1938, KISA leaders named their church The Independent Pentecostal Church.

Their influence spread over Kikuyu land, the main urban centres in the region and in the Rift Valley.

Unfortunately, KISA was banned alongside other Agikuyu organizations after the declaration of the State Of Emergency in 1952.

Explain the problems encountered by the Kikuyu Independent Schools

Association (KISA). (What factors undermined the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association? or:

What obstacles/setbacks did the Kikuyu Independent schools Association encounter? Or:

State the weaknesses of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association.)

Inadequate funds to support the large number of pupils and schools.

Inadequate training for many of the teachers.

Lack of proper management skills among KISA leaders.

Rivalry from Mission churches.

Disagreement among KISA leaders, with some demanding return

Of the money and land they had donated from the independent Churches and schools.

Discuss/analyse the development/establishment of the Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association.

The Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association also emerged as a result of the Female Circumcision stand-off.

It advocated pure Agikuyu customs and values, unpolluted by Mission churches and Western traditions. Indeed, the term "Karing'a" means "Pure". It also spoke against land alienation and population pressure in Kiambu.

By 1952 when it was banned alongside other African organizations, Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association had spread over central Kenya, rift Valley and Moshi and

Arusha in Tanzania.

The emergence of many independent schools necessitated the training of teachers to run them. In 1939, the Kenya Teachers Training College was established at Githunguri in Kiambu, with Mbiu Koinange as its first Principal, aimed at providing teachers for the Kikuyu independent Schools. It was however closed down alongside other independent schools during the Mau Mau war.

Explain the problems faced by independent churches and schools in colonial Kenya.

- Perpetual shortage of funds as they depended on African support.
- Competition from Missionary churches and schools for followers.
- Constant harassment from both the Missionaries and the colonial government.
- Leadership squabbles as all the founders wanted to be recognized as top role players.
- Lack of trained personnel for efficient running of the institutions.

Most founders of the independent churches were mission-educated and worked closely with Mission churches at some point before starting their own to retain their African cultures.

Political organisations and movements after 1945

The period after 1940 witnessed more radical demands for better conditions and for full political independence in Kenya.

Explain the factors that promoted the struggle for Kenya's independence.

African acquisition of Western education. The educated elite were aware of their rights and began to agitate for political independence.

The experiences of the World Wars, which promoted political determination for independence. The ex-servicemen uncovered the myths of European superiority during the war as the Whites died just like the Africans.

Bitterness of the ex-servicemen when the colonial government failed to fulfil promises to compensate them with land. The wars had exposed them to warfare and they were ready to fight for their rights.

Independence of India, Pakistan, Ghana, Ethiopia and Liberia, which aroused great confidence among Kenyan Africans.

The Atlantic Charter, signed by the British Prime Minister (Winston Churchill) and the US President (Franklin Roosevelt) in 1941, which entitled all subject peoples to self-determination.

The spirit of Pan Africanism, spearheaded by Afro-Americans, which called for African unity and political liberation.

New attitude in Britain towards colonial empires after the Second World War. The Second World War negatively affected the European economy, which made the European taxpayers unwilling to sustain the colonies and therefore became keen on decolonization.

Emergence of the USA and the former USSR as the two super powers in the world after the Second World War, which stimulated decolonization as these new World powers did not support colonialism.

Establishment of the United Nations Organization after 1945, which boosted African nationalism as the U N O urged member countries to grant independence to the colonies.

The Labour party, which came to power in Britain after the Second World War, favoured decolonization.

The activities of the Mau Mau, which made the British realize that the Africans needed independence.

The Trade Union movement in Kenya, which mobilized workers to fight for their rights. In the absence of political parties following the declaration of the state of emergency in 1952, the unions provided a forum for political agitation.

National political parties such as KANU and KADU, which inspired nationalist leaders to champion the course for Kenya's independence.

Nationalist leaders like Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya, who provided political

leadership to the masses.

Constitutional reforms such as the Lyttelton Constitution, the Lennox Boyd Constitution and the Lancaster House Conferences, which provided for increased African representation in the Legico

Identify the African political parties that struggled for independence in Kenya.

The Kenya African Union (KAU).

The Kenya African national Union (KANU).

The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

THE KENYA AFRICAN UNION

The Kenya African Union (KAU) started in 1944, following the nomination of Eliud Mathu by the colonial government to the Legico. It represented a cross section of Kenyans.

1. 1. 1. (a) What were the aims of the Kenya African Union (KAU)?

To help Mathu in his new task of representing African interests in the Legico.

To coordinate African nationalist activities.

To pressurize for constitutional reforms for Africans.

Improved conditions for African workers.

To provide a multi-ethnic organization for the advancement of African interests.

Name the interim officials of the Kenya African Union. (Name the officials who led the Kenya African Union after its establishment.)

Harry Thuku,

Francis Hamisi,

Albert Owino,

James Gichuru,

John Kebaso,

Simeon Mulandi,

Harry Ole Nangurai,

S.O Josiah,

F.M Ng'ang'a,

Jimmy Jeremiah,

J.B Otiende,

S.D Jakaya.

James Gichuru became its president from January 1945 after the resignation of Harry Thuku, who could not cope with the radical views of its radical members, who were using the association to demand political independence.

Due to colonial government suspicion, particularly about its name that was said to have military connotations, the party changed from the Kenya African Union (KAU) to the Kenya African Study Union (KASU), which also changed its purpose to educating people on public affairs, thus making it a kind of debating society.

In 1946, KASU reverted to its original name: the Kenya African Union, having dropped all pretence of being a study union. This meant a return to and refining of its purpose and objectives.

What were the demands of the Kenya African Union?

Abolition of forced labour.

Self government for Africans.

More seats for Africans in the Legico.

Free and compulsory education.

Equality in wages and salaries among all races.

Improvement in the living conditions of Africans.

Abolition of the "Kipande" system.

In 1947, Kenyatta, who had return from his fifteen-year stay in London, was elected President of KAU after Gichuru stepped down. This was a great boost to KAU because Kenyatta's return in 1946 meant the beginning of mass nationalism.

Name the other leaders of KAU under Kenyatta. (Name the officials that worked with Kenyatta in leading the Kenya African Union)

W.W.W Awori,

Ambrose Ofafa,
Muchohi Gikonyo.

Even after Kenyatta's take-over, KAU operated through Hook and Crook, undergoing and overcoming diverse problems.

Explain the problems that KAU faced.

In 1947, there emerged a major stand-off between the radicals (who advocated forceful acquisition of independence) and the moderates (who favoured the use of peaceful constitutional reforms). Kenyatta stepped in and reconciled the two groups. He himself favoured moderation.

A short while later, KAU's Nairobi branch was taken over by radicals such as Fred Kubai, Bildad Kagia and Paul Ngei, who demanded the removal of moderates from the executive committee. Kenyatta however insisted that the party leadership had to be multi-ethnic, with its secretary from western Kenya and other parts of Kenya represented in the executive committee. Therefore, when the National Delegates Conference met in 1951, a multi-ethnic executive committee was elected, with Jomo Kenyatta as President while J.D Otiende became Secretary General. Paul Ngei was Assistant Secretary General as Harry ole Nangurai became Treasurer.

Between 1948-1950, KAU had serious financial problems, which slowed down its programs and even led to closure of its IBEA Nairobi Offices due to failure to pay the rent. To arrest this situation, Harry Ole Nangurai donated an office at Kiburi house along what is now Kirinyaga road to the party.

The Nairobi branch, which was led by Fred Kubai, J.M Mungai and Bildad Kagia worked closely with the members of the Mau Mau movement in Nairobi, which caused a lot of tension between the radicals and the moderates.

After 1951, the activities of the radicals increased following the British colonial secretary's refusal to meet KAU representatives i.e. Mbiu Koinange and Achieng' Ouko, who had prepared a memorandum on the Land question. However, KAU's membership continued to expand all over the country, with new offices opened in Kisumu, Maragoli and Mombasa.

In 1952, KAU rallies outside Nairobi were banned as a result of a big political meeting in Nyeri, which was addressed by Kenyatta, Ngei, Kagia and Ouko and was attended by Dedan Kimathi: the Mau Mau movement leader, who startled the colonial government.

In 1952, most KAU leaders were arrested following the declaration of the state of Emergency by the new governor to Kenya, who was horrified by the murder of chief Waruhiu wa Kung'u as well as attacks and destruction of settlers and their property in the Mau Mau uprising that spread over rift valley and Central provinces.

In 1953, Walter Odede and Joseph Murumbi took over KAU leadership as acting president and acting Secretary respectively. But Odede was later arrested while Murumbi fled to Bombay in India. That same year, KAU was banned by the colonial government.

Explain the achievements of the Kenya African Union (KAU).

- Moral and material support to the Mau Mau freedom fighters by some members.
- Guidance and political support to Eliud Mathu: the African representative in the Legico.
- Foundation and establishment of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which ushered Kenya into political independence.
- Active Mau Mau liberation wars.

Explain the factors that undermined African nationalist activities in Kenya between 1939-1963.

- Disunity among African nationalists. Some advocated violence while others favoured non-violent means.
- Inadequate funds and other resources to manage the struggle.
- Ignorance about rights due to illiteracy.
- Denial of Mass Media access.
- Discrediting (smearing) of nationalists by the government through the mass media.
- Lack of cooperation from all communities in Kenya.

- Restriction of people's movement when the state of Emergency was declared.
- The banning of all political parties e.g. during the Second World War and the State of Emergency, which was a total blow to the struggle.

The Mau Mau rebellion

The Maumau uprising was organized and staged mostly by young men who had undergone circumcision in the 1940s, some of who had participated in the Second World War. It was referred to by various terms other than Maumau. It was sometimes called the Land-and-Freedom Army or the Forty Group. The term Maumau is attributed to a Kikuyu phrase: "Uma Uma", which means "Get out, Get out". The Anagram Maumau was used to conceal the message from non-members while urging members to flee on spotting colonial soldiers. Maumau activity was both in the rural and urban areas, Nairobi and Nakuru included. It mainly spread over Rift valley, Central and Nairobi regions among others.

Explain the causes of the Maumau war. (Explain the factors that led to the Maumau war. Or:

Explain the reasons for the Maumau uprising).

Land alienation, due to which Africans were pushed to the reserves.

Exploitative economic policies of the British such as forced labour, low wages, the "Kipande" system and taxation.

Condemnation of African cultural practices such as female circumcision, Polygamy and consumption of traditional African beer.

Poor living and working conditions in urban areas and in white settler farms.

Denial of further constitutional reforms.

_____Colonial brutality like the killing of Africans over minor offences.

The brutal eviction of African squatters from the Olengruoni scheme and forceful settlement in the semi-arid Yata region of Machakos.

Racial discrimination against the Africans with regard to education, wages, housing and medical services.

Unemployment due to racial policies.

Brutality of colonial chiefs and police.

Bitterness among the ex-soldiers of the Second World War due to lack of compensation. They formed the "Forty Group" ("Anake A forty") to fight the government and get their rights.

It was a war of independence.

Explain the course/process of the Maumau war.

The ex-servicemen formed a large group of unemployed and disgruntled people, ready to join other nationalists in demanding reforms.

The ex-servicemen were joined by KAU extremist nationalists, who were dissatisfied by the slow progress of the constitutional reforms.

In 1946, a secret movement was formed, aimed at realizing its objectives through violence against the Europeans and their African loyalists. Members of the movement were recruited through traditional oath-taking practices. It was this secret movement that later became known as the Maumau.

In 1951, the government outlawed the Maumau movement, causing Maumau leaders to shift from Nairobi into the Aberdare and Mount Kenya forests, from where they conducted guerrilla warfare.

The colonial government declared a state of emergency in 1952 following the murder of senior chief Waruhiu Wa Kung'u by the freedom fighters for his collaboration with the colonial government. Kenyatta and other KAU leaders were arrested, charged and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Armed forces were mobilized to help suppress the movement. More reinforcements were also brought from Britain. KAU was banned in 1953.

The declaration of the state of emergency was followed by mass arrests of the Kikuyu, who were then herded into protected villages in order to control their

movement. The remaining leaders of the Mau Mau movement were either captured or killed by government forces and agents. Among such leaders were Waruhiu Itote and Dedan Kimathi.

Confusion and disagreement among the freedom fighters weakened the Mau Mau movement. The state of emergency was not lifted up to 1960. However, the fighters continued in small groups which were hard to trace or suppress.

Explain the factors that facilitated the Mau Mau movement. (What factors favoured the Mau Mau uprising?)

The Mau Mau uprising was favoured by many factors such as:

Oathing, which helped the fighters and seal their commitment to the struggle.

Hit-and-run (guerrilla) tactics, which made it difficult for the British to suppress the rebellion.

Massive support from the civilian population, who supplied the fighters with food, weapons and information about movement of British soldiers.

Courage and high resourcefulness of Mau Mau leaders such as Dedan Kimathi, Stanley Mathenge and General China.

The Natural forests of Mount Kenya and the Aberdare ranges, which provided good hide-outs for the fighters.

Fighter access to swords, guns and ammunition, some of which were home-made as others were seized from European settlers and British forces.

Explain the problems that Mau Mau fighters faced. (Explain the setbacks encountered by Mau Mau fighters. Or:

Explain the factors that undermined the Mau Mau movement.)

Lack of transport and communication facilities.

Cold temperatures in the Aberdare and mount Kenya forests, which caused some of them to suffer from diseases.

Frequent attacks by wild animals.

Lack of proper fighting equipment.

Anxiety due to the brutal retaliation by the British forces, who were better equipped.

Disagreements and divisions among the freedom fighters.

Occasional infiltration of spies into the movement, who at times exposed their military strategies.

Lack of proper coordination, which prevented them from developing a well organized strategy to direct all fighters. This dealt a devastating blow to the movement.

Disjointed recruitment process, whereby some fighters were not fully dedicated to the movement's course since they were coerced into joining it.

Explain the impacts/effects of the Mau Mau uprising. (What were the results of the Mau Mau war?)

In spite of its ferocity, the Mau Mau war had an impact that envisages negative and positive consequences.

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

Many deaths, particularly on the African side.

Depletion of both Kenyan and British resources.

Declaration of the state of Emergency in Kenya in 1952.

Restriction and banning of African political party activities.

Removal of the Agikuyu, Aembu and Ameru from Nairobi among other forms of bitterness caused to them.

Establishment of Emergency villages, particularly in Central province, to alienate the civil society from the Mau Mau fighters.

Subjection of people to misery and suffering in concentration camps such as Hola and Manyani.

Suspicion and rivalry among the Agikuyu, Aembu and Ameru communities, which were divided into two camps i.e. the Government loyalists and Mau Mau supporters.

POSSITIVE EFFECTS

Attention and concern from the British citizens and the international community on

events in Kenya.

The war speeded up the march to independence.

Reduction of settler power and influence.

Colonial government accommodation of nationalist demands. It was ready to grant more constitutional reforms to the Africans in the 1950s.

Land reform and consolidation measures, e.g. the Swynnerton plan of 1954.

Resettlement of Africans in the countryside.

Political reforms, which eventually led to lifting of the ban against African political parties in June 1955. However, these parties had to be District-based.

Explain the role of women in the struggle for Kenya's independence. (Explain the contribution of women in the Liberation struggle in Kenya.)

In Africa, particularly Kenya, women were the backbone of resistance against colonial invasion and were crucial in social, economic and political development. The following are examples of women who played a forefront role in the anticolonial struggle in Kenya:

In 1908, the elderly Kitutu prophetess: Moraa, rallied the Abagusii of Kitutu, Nyaribare and Bonchare against the British.

In 1911, Siotume Wa Kithuke mobilized the Akamba to protest against British colonialism through a dance called Kilumi, (a traditional dance performed by medicine men to ward off evil spirits). She gathered and urged the people neither to pay taxes nor to provide labour. As a result, she was arrested and deported to Kismayu.

In 1913, Agiriama women, especially Mekati Lili Wa Menza, mobilized and administered oaths to the Kaya elders in order to instil confidence and unity in the community against the British. It was not until 1915 that the British managed to crash the resistance. Mekati Lili was arrested and deported to Kisii to ensure that she did not inspire further resistance in the community.

In 1922 on Harry Thuku's arrest and detention at what is now Central Police station, the crowd, which largely comprised women such as Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru, surged towards the cells where Thuku was held to push for his release. Nyanjiru was among those massacred by the colonial police at that moment.

Explain the involvement of women in political associations in Kenya. (How were women involved in political associations in Kenya?)

When Harry Thuku founded the East African Association in 1921, he drew a lot of support from African women.

When Thuku was arrested and detained at the Kingsway (central) Police Station in March 1922, the crowd that surged outside the police station remained passive until Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru instantaneously challenged them to push towards the cells where Thuku was being held.

In 1924, the Kikuyu Central Association in present-day Murang'a enlisted support from many members, particularly women, for its financial and moral footing.

From the 1920s, most women identified with the issue of female circumcision as there was an attempt by Protestant missionaries to ban it, which was seen as a plot to undermine the integrity of the Agikuyu woman. Many women and their husbands abandoned the Mission churches and withdrew their children from Mission schools.

Women largely contributed to the establishment of independent churches and schools, especially in Central Kenya after the Female Circumcision saga.

In the 1930s, some Agikuyu women formed the Mumbi Central Association, which was exclusively for women but worked closely with the Kikuyu Central Association.

Although men dominated the senior positions in the Kenya African Union, the party enjoyed the support of many women nationalists such as Sarah Sarai, who was detained in 1952 due to her participation in the nationalist activities in the Ziwani African location in Nairobi.

The success of the Mau Mau movement, which was a major factor in the struggle for independence, is attributed to women.

Women were appointed to the Legico. For instance, Jemimah Gichaga was the first woman to be nominated to the Legico after the Mau Mau war. In 1960, Priscilla Abwao was also nominated to the Legico and was the only woman in the African delegation that participated in the First Lancaster House Conference in London.

Explain the role of women in the Mau Mau movement.

In the absence of men, who had gone into forests to fight the colonialists, the colonial chiefs mobilized women and children in constructing access roads and terraces, collecting water and firewood for colonial soldiers and other forms of communal labour. When the Mau Mau uprising started, African women got actively involved in and contributed to the movement in the following ways:

They spied for the Mau Mau movement in Nairobi and other urban and rural centres. They endured Dawn-to-Dusk curfews and starvation in villages encircled with barbed wire and ditches.

Some, such as Marshal Muthoni from Nyeri, Nduta Wakore, Elizabeth Gachika and Wambui Wagarama participated directly in the resistance movement, fighting alongside their male counterparts in the forests.

Women endured detention and confinement in Concentration camps due to their active participation in the liberation struggle.

Women mainly organized and coordinated the rural networks as they supplied other fighters' needs.

Most of the women concealed information about and refused to betray the Mau Mau fighters despite their subjection to forced labour, rape, physical torture and other forms of inhuman treatment by colonial agents.

Women supplied the fighters with food, medicine, guns, ammunition and other provisions.

They participated in the oath-taking ceremonies, some as chief oath-taking administrators.

They composed songs to mobilize support for the Mau Mau and to ridicule the home guards and other colonial agents.

They mobilized men and women to join the Mau Mau.

At independence in 1963, women were still key role players in Kenya's political development. For instance, Grace Onyango was the first postcolonial Mayor of Kisumu while Jemima Gichaga was the first woman in Kenya to be nominated in the Legico.

Trade union movement

What are trade unions? (What is a trade union?)

Trade unions are associations of workers, purposed to improve their members' welfare through collective bargaining.

Identify the concerns of trade unions. (What matters do trade unions deal with?)

Better pay,

Recognition of normal working hours,

Respect for public holidays,

Compensation in case of injuries.

3. Explain why there were no African trade unions in Kenya up to 1914.

Majority of Kenyan Africans were illiterate and lacked the knowledge to run workers' unions.

The Migrant Labour system could not allow for the establishment of such unions.

The colonial government fought African Kenyan attempts to form workers' organizations.

From the 1920s, African political associations served as the main channel for airing African grievances against the colonial system.

In the 1930s, provoked by tragic accidents where some road constructors died but were not compensated, masons, labourers and other artisans of Mombasa met and proposed establishment of a trade union named Trade Union Committee of Mombasa. Indians were instrumental in establishment of trade unions in Kenya since, unlike

the Africans, the Indians had more experience with workers' organizations.

In 1835, Makhan Singh: one of the trade unionists, advocated multiracial trade union membership. It was in this respect that the Kenya Indian Labour Trade union (which was previously known as the Indian Trade union) changed its name to Labour Trade Union of Kenya. It later became the Labour Trade Union of East Africa after it attracted membership from all over east Africa.

THE AFRICAN WORKERS FEDERATION

In January 1947, the striking African workers of Mombasa decided to form a union, which they named the African Workers Union. The 1947 strike is reported to have paralyzed work in various government and other sectors like offices, banks, hotels, docks and railways. The workers continued in spite of numerous police and military reinforcements sent from Nairobi.

Identify the pioneer leaders/officials of the African Workers Federation

The African Workers Federation was born on the actual day of the strike, with:

- Muhammed Kibwana as president,
- Mwangi Macharia Secretary,
- Mbaruk Kenze Treasurer,
- Chege Kibachia Executive officer.

A committee of twelve members was also appointed to assist the elected officials in their work.

What were the grievances of the African Workers Federation? (Explain the demands of the African Workers Federation.)

In a letter to the East African Standard newspapers on 21st January 1947, the union outlined the workers' grievances that led to the strike, which are illustrated in the following demands:

- Respect for African workers, wherever they were employed.

- A salary increase due to the high cost of living.

- Elimination of the deliberate strategies used by employees to confine workers in their places of work.

- Equal pay for equal work, regardless of race.

- Payment of sufficient allowances to cater for African wives and children.

A trade disputes tribunal was soon established to look into the African grievances in Mombasa. It was led by Mr Justice Thacker and included Hope Jones, F.T Holden, V C Merrit, A H Noor Muhammed and J Silus. The African Workers Federation was represented at the tribunal by Chege Kibachia, Fred Kubai, John Mungai, Willey George and S Osore.

Alarmed by Kibachia's activities, the colonial government arrested and detained Kibachia in Baringo and repatriated his A W F colleagues from Mombasa to their respective reserves,, where their activities were closely monitored.

What were the achievements of the African Workers Federation? (Explain the successes of the African Workers Federation.)

- Mobilization and unity of workers from different communities in fighting for better wages.

- Education of workers about their rights.

- Introduction of the concept of collective bargaining among the workers in Kenya.

- Improved living and working conditions for workers.

- Better wages and salaries for workers.

- Change of Government attitude towards Labour unions.

- Exposure of Kenyan African workers' grievances to the international community.

THE KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

Identify the measures taken against African workers following the declaration of the state of Emergency in 1952.

- Deportation,

- Detention,

- Repression,

Communal or Forced labour.

Because of such measures, trade union membership dropped and needed reactivation. Various small African trade unions united to form the Kenya Federation of Registered trade Unions (KFRTU) following the enactment of the Trade Unions ordinance in 1952.

Name the officials of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU).

Mwichigi Karanja as President,
Agrey Minya as Secretary General,
S. Ondiege,
Elkana Okusimba,
Silus Okeya,
David Jomo,
S. Osore,
James Wainaina,
Dickson Sambili.

Name the African trade unions that united to form the Kenya Federation of Registered trade Unions (KFRTU) in 1952.

KFRTU affiliates included:

The Kenya Local Government Workers Union,
Domestic and Hotel Workers Union,
East African federation of building and construction Workers union.

What were the grievances of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU)?

KFRTU fought for the rights and better living conditions of all Africans during the Emergency and campaigned against:

Low wages,
Poor workers' conditions,
Arrest and detention of Trade Union leaders,
Forceful emigration of the Ameru, Aembu and Agikuyu from Nairobi,
Increased prices for tea and bread,
Poor housing for its workers,
The continuation of the State of Emergency.

In 1953, the Kenya Local Government workers union, of which tom Mboya was Secretary, joined the KFRTU, after which elections of the federation were held.

Identify the officials of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU) after its 1953 election.

David Jomo: President,
Stephenson Obwaka: vice President,
Tom Mboya: Secretary General,
Daniel Ng'ethe: Treasurer,
John Opio: Assistant Treasurer.

In 1955, KFRTU changed its name to Kenya Federation of labour (KFL). The Kenya Federation of Labour had close links with members of the proscribed Kenya African Union, which alarmed the government and the white settlers. The government also feared Tom Mboya, who travelled widely and established links between KFL and other international trade unions, which he used to articulate the African grievances about colonial oppression in Kenya. Mboya's efforts led to affiliation of KFL with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and helped to check the excesses of the colonial government, which sought to improve its image in the international community.

In February 1956, KFL mobilized its members and supporters both locally and internationally to petition against councilation of its registration as threatened by the Registrar of Societies. In April that very year, the Registrar reassured KFL that their licence was not threatened.

Explain the role played by the Kenya Federation of Labour in the campaign for workers' welfare and the independence of Kenyans in general.

It educated African workers on their rights.

It prepared some African nationalists for leadership roles in the struggle for independence, e.g. Tom Mboya and Martin Shikuku.

It kept the spirit of African nationalism alive, especially after the banning of KAU during the Mau Mau uprising.

It helped improve the working and living conditions of African workers.

It articulated African grievances in the absence of political parties.

It helped secure international support for the course of African nationalism. For instance, it highlighted the horrible conditions created for Africans by the state of emergency to ICFTU and the International Labour Organization.

It created a collective bargaining power for all workers.

Therefore, KFL championed workers' interests and motivated nationalism among Africans during the struggle for Kenya's independence.

Explain the role/importance of trade unions in colonial Kenya.

Improvement of wages and working conditions by organizing strikes, Go-slows and Sit-ins, which compelled employers to review the workers' terms.

Introduction of the concept of collective bargaining, whereby workers raised complaints as a group rather than as individuals.

Minimization of victimization.

Better conflict regulation and resolution.

Regional cooperation. Unions in east Africa worked together for the good of workers in the region.

Education of workers about their rights through seminars and public meetings.

Development of a responsible work force concerning policy matters.

Promotion of cooperation between employers, employees and the government through consultation. This was necessary for efficiency, productivity and the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes.

Promotion of the struggle for independence as they were used as political forums when political parties were banned in 1952.

Provision of a training ground for national leaders like Tom Mboya, Fred Kubai, Bildad Kagia, Makhan Singh and Martin Shikuku.

Explain the problems encountered by trade Unions in colonial Kenya. (Explain the factors that undermined trade unions in colonial Kenya. Or:

Explain the setbacks to trade unions in colonial Kenya.)

Inadequate funding as they relied on mere contributions from the workers.

Constant wrangling among trade union leaders.

Harassment by both the white settlers and the colonial government.

Ethnic considerations rather than competence concerning choice of leaders.

The Migrant nature of the African work force, especially in the initial years of colonialism.

Inefficient running due to poor leadership.

Fear of victimization in the pioneer years.

Ignorance of workers on the role of trade unions.

Inadequate trained manpower to run the unions.

Even today, trade unions like the Kenya national Union of Teachers (KNUT) and the Central Organization of trade Unions (COTU) play an important role in advancing the welfare of workers.

Constitutional changes leading to independence

Explain the factors that led to decolonization in Kenya and other African countries after World War 2.

Decolonization in Kenya and other African countries after the Second World War was a result of many factors such as:

The experiences of the Exe soldiers, which encouraged demand for more political rights.

The Pan African Movement, which pressured the colonial powers to grant political independence to their subject peoples.

Frequent revolts and violence used by the colonized peoples against the colonizers.

Realization by the colonial powers that colonies were becoming too expensive to run.

Reluctance by tax payers in the colonial powers to finance colonial empires.

Constitutional reforms in the colonial powers on one hand and in the colonies on the other.

AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGICO

Name two Kenyan Africans that were appointed to the Legico in 1944 and 1946.

Due to KAU and other African demands, Eliud Mathu and Benaiah Ohanga were appointed to the Legico in 1944 and 1946.

(b) Identify four categories of membership to the Legico in Kenya by 1948.

By 1948, the Legico comprised:

Four Africans,

Eleven Europeans,

Five Asians

Two Arabs.

State the recommendations of the 1955 East African Royal Commission.

By 1954 when Oliver Lyttelton: the British Secretary for colonies, visited Kenya, it was clear that the Mau Mau could not be defeated without solving the grievances that led to its outbreak. That's when need to involve the Africans in the administration of and reduce settler influence in Kenya was realized. Therefore, in 1955, the East African Royal Commission came up with a report that called for:

An end to racial segregation.

Increased involvement of Africans in the colonial administration.

The opening of the Kenya highlands, which were until then exclusively used by white settlers to the disadvantage of all the races.

(b) Apart from the 1955 East African Royal Commission, identify other reports that were issued around 1955.

The Swynnerton Plan of 1954, which recommended the consolidation and registration of African land.

The report on African wages and the Ligbury Commission on civil service, both of which recommended better pay for African workers.

THE LYTTTELTON CONSTITUTION

Explain the proposals/recommendations that were made by Oliver Lyttelton when he visited Kenya in 1954. (What were the recommendations of the Lyttelton constitution?)

Creation of a multiracial society where all races would share political power.

Formation of a multiracial council of ministers representing the three races i.e. Europeans, Asians and Africans.

Representation of Africans and Asians by members with executive power over their ministries.

Inclusion of one African, two Asians and three European among the unofficial members of the new council. B.A Ohanga: the first African to be appointed Minister was the African unofficial member. He became Minister for Community development and African Affairs in 1954.

That elections be held in 1956-1957, with eight constituencies allocated to Africans.

That each race elects their own representative to the Legico. However, other than race-pegged rules for participation, voting qualifications for Africans were based on income, property and education, which limited the number of African voters registered by the time of the election.

Explain how the colonial government responded to Lyttelton's recommendations,

It relaxed its policy on African political activities in 1955.

It lifted the ban on African political organizations, though it restricted their functions to the District rather than National level and maintained prohibition on political organizations in central Kenya.

Established the advisory council,

An advisory council was established by collaborators in central Kenya to discuss government policies.

Identify the political associations that were formed after the ban on African political organizations was lifted.

African nationalists in regions where the ban was lifted formed their associations, such as:

Argwings Kodhek's Kenya African National Congress (KANC), which was later named or known as the Nairobi District African Congress (NDAC),

Tom Mboya's Nairobi People's Convention Party (NPCP),

D Mwanyumba's Taita African Democratic Union (TADU),

John Kebaso's Abagusi Association

John Keen's Maasai Front.

Name the nationalists who formed the African Elected Members Organization.

In March 1957, the first African elections to the Legico were held, after which African elected members of the Legico formed the African Elected Members organization (AEMO). These were:

Tom Mboya,

Masinde Muliro,

Oginga Odinga,

Laurence Oguda,

Ronald Ngala,

Daniel Arap Moi,

Bernard Mate,

James Muimi

Oginga Odinga was its chairman and Tom Mboya its Secretary.

State the demands of the African Elected Members' Organization (AEMO).

Condemnation of the Lyttelton constitution for providing fewer elected members than nominated ones.

Condemnation of the domination of the Legico by Europeans.

That every African of age 21 and older be allowed to vote, regardless of education or income.

That registration of voters be done on a common roll, allowing for all races in every constituency to compete as opposed to the race-pegged voting.

An end to the State of Emergency.

THE LENNOX BOYD CONSTITUTION

What were the recommendations of the Lennox Boyd constitution?

When Sir Allan Lennox Boyd: another British Secretary for colonies, visited Kenya in 1958, he proposed:

An increase of Legico seats for Africans by six, making them 14, equal to those of Europeans.

Increase of African Ministers from one to two.

Introduction of a multiracial representation in the Legislative Council by providing for twelve specially elected members (four from each of the three races).

However, the AEMO rejected all those proposals after the proposals were perceived to give white settlers an advantaged position over the Africans in Kenya.

AEMO was sued for criminal libel and its members were fined 75 pounds each.

AEMO also called for the unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta.

In 1959, Michael Blundel: the leader of the settlers resigned his Ministry Of Agriculture position to form the New Kenya party. He was backed by 46 non-African members of the Legico. In response, the European radicals formed the United Party

under the leadership of Captain Briggs.

One of the European radicals' demands was abolition of the Legico and its replacement with regional assemblies in order to preserve the 'white' highlands as one regional assembly for the exclusive benefit of the Europeans, aimed at thwarting the intended colonial government move to open up the highlands for all races from 1959.

What were the demands of the Kenya Independent Movement?

Under Oginga Odinga, tom Mboya and Gikonyo Kiano, the radical members of the AEMO formed the Kenya Independent Movement, which opposed multiracialism and was exclusively open to African membership. Their demands included:

- Convening of a full constitutional conference to discuss Kenya's future.

- The release of Kenyatta.

THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCES

THE FIRST LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE (1960)

This was convened in January 1960 at Lancaster House in London by Ian Macleod:

The then British colonial Secretary and Sir Patrick Rennison: the then Governor of Kenya.

State the main purpose of the first Lancaster House Conference (1960).

- To find solution to the volatile political situation in Kenya.

State the decisions/resolutions that were made at the First Lancaster House Conference (1960)

Following a lot of negotiation, a number of compromised decisions were made at the First Lancaster House Conference as follows:

- The twelve elective seats in the Legico would remain intact.

- There would be 33 open seats in the Legico to be vied for on a common roll.

- There would be another twenty reserved seats: ten for Europeans, eight for Asians and two for Arabs.

- The composition of the Council of Ministers would be altered to incorporate four Africans, three Europeans and one Asian.

The conference failed to give the African politicians a responsible government.

Explain the impact/results of the First Lancaster House Conference.

- Four of the elected African members of the Legico now accepted ministerial positions reserved for Africans.

- KANU beat KADU and other political parties in the first General Elections along party lines held in 1961.

- Ronald Ngala formed a Minority KADU government in coalition with European and Asian members after KANU gave Jomo Kenyatta's release as their condition for agreeing to form a government.

- Kenyatta was released on 21st August 1961.

- Kariuki Njiiri offered his Murang'a constituency seat to Kenyatta, enabling Kenyatta to join the Legico.

THE SECOND LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE (1962)

This was held in February 1962 at the same venue as the first Lancaster House Conference, presided over by Reginald Maulding: the then Secretary of State for Colonies, to draw an independence constitution acceptable to both KANU and KADU and to reconcile their differences.

At the Second Lancaster House Conference, the KANU delegation was led by Kenyatta while KADU was led by Ngala.

Explain the difference between KANU and KADU during the second Lancaster House Conference (1962).

- KANU advocated a strong unitary government while KADU favoured a federal constitution.

Explain the decisions/agreements arrived at during the second Lancaster House Conference (1962).

Since the difference between KANU and KADU could not be solved, formation of a coalition government was suggested to accelerate the transition to independence. Therefore, the Second Lancaster House Conference settled for a federal constitution as follows:

Kenya would comprise six regions, each retaining considerable internal powers.

Central government would consist of a national Assembly comprising two chambers i.e. the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Prime Minister and the cabinet would come from the party with a majority of seats.

The Senate would have 41 members (one from every district) while the House of Representatives would comprise 117 members, with twelve specially elected and one Attorney General.

Each province would have an Organization of Elected Members.

Explain the problems that bedevilled Kenya in spite of the agreements made at the second Lancaster House Conference (1962). (explain the problems that Kenyans faced as they prepared for the 1963 elections).

In spite of these agreements, Kenyans prepared for elections with many complicated problems such as the following:

The Coastal Arabs living within the sixteen kilometre coastal strip wanted to break away and join Zanzibar since Britain had leased the strip from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Some parts of what is now North-Eastern Province threatened to either form their own government or join Somalia.

Paul Ngei had formed the African People's party (A P P) to safeguard the interests of the Akamba and was suspicious of the government that would be formed after the presumed elections.

There were very few skilled Africans to take up the many vacancies left by Europeans since the colonial government neglected and disregarded African education.

However, elections were held in Kenya in May 1963 and KANU won majority (73) seats against KADU's 31 in the House of Representatives and was therefore invited to form the government. Its leader: Jomo Kenyatta became Kenya's first prime Minister. On 1st June 1963, Kenya attained responsible self government. On 12th December 1963, Kenya attained full independence. On 12th December 1964, Kenya was declared a Republic, with an executive President. The Queen of England ceased to be Kenya's head of state. Jomo Kenyatta was Kenya's first President.

Identify the parties that emerged to steer Kenya into political independence and sovereignty after the Lancaster House conferences.

The Kenya African National Union (KANU),

The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU),

The New Kenya Party,

The African People's Party (APP).

POLITICAL PARTIES

THE KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

Analyse the formation of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

The Kenya African National union (KANU) was formed on 27th March 1960 at Kirigiti in Kiambu during a meeting convened by ex KAU leaders i.e. James Gichuru and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Jomo Kenyatta, who was still in detention, was elected its president in absentia.

Formation of KANU resulted from the First Lancaster House Conference of January 1960, which was attended by all members of the Legico from Kenya, Africans included.

Following the reluctance of the colonial government to register KANU with Kenyatta as President, another meeting was convened in May 1960 where James Gichuru took up KANU's presidency on an acting capacity, with Oginga Odinga as his deputy, Tom Mboya as Secretary General and Arthur Ochwada as assistant Secretary General. Ronald Ngala and Daniel Arap Moi were elected Treasurer and

Assistant Treasurer in absentia since Ngala was in the USA while Moi was in London attending a Commonwealth Parliamentary association course.

Under the guidance of Mwai Kibaki and Tom Mboya, a comprehensive KANU constitution was drafted. However, Ngala and Moi turned down their appointment when they returned, for their views had not really been represented at the meeting.

What were the main objectives of KANU?

The main objectives of KANU at its formation were:

Political independence for Africans in Kenya.

National unity through a unitary national constitution under one central government.

A society based on African socialism.

Eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease.

Return of all the African land.

Release of all political detainees.

Unity with liberation movements in other African countries to end imperialism and colonialism in Africa.

Good neighbourliness in the east African region.

Explain why Jomo Kenyatta's membership of KANU after his release from detention boosted the party.

He was viewed as the natural leader of the Africans in Kenya, which made most Africans to get allied with KANU.

His long imprisonment had given him the status of a political martyr in the eyes of the Africans.

He spoke eloquently, which added to KANU's popularity.

Explain the role of KANU during the struggle for independence in Kenya.

It mobilized and united Africans in the struggle for Kenya's independence.

It provided political education to Kenyan Africans.

It participated in the Constitutional talks in London in 1962 where the Independence constitution was formulated.

It won the Independence Election of 1963, becoming the Ruling party, with Kenyatta as Prime Minister.

CHALLENGES FACING KANU IN ITS CAMPAIGN FOR KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE

Explain the challenges/problems that KANU faced in its struggle for Kenya's independence. (Explain why some nationalist leaders were dissatisfied with KANU.)

It was argued that the party was too radical.

It was too urban-oriented.

It was too much dominated by the majority ethnic groups (the Kikuyu and the Luo), leaving minority groups threatened and suspicious of it.

It suffered from inadequate funding.

Its operations were undermined by the colonial government.

Alleged lack of transparency in the running of Party affairs, particularly elections.

A growing rift among the leaders over Party ideologies, with some advocating a unitary system of government while others favoured a federal (Majimbo) system.

Split within the party, with some members decamping to form the Kenya African Democratic Union and others the African people's party.

Harassment by the colonial government.

Inadequate support, since most Africans were ignorant of Party politics.

Hostility from the White settlers, who feared losing their assets if the party rose to power.

Opposition from KADU, which comprised smaller tribes that advocated a Federal government.

THE KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION

What was the main reason for formation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU)?

Fear of Kikuyu and Luo supremacy, especially in KANU.

Name the communities that members of KADU mainly came from. (Name the communities whose leaders constituted KADU.)

Leaders of KADU were mainly from Minority communities such as:

The Kalenjin,
Abaluhya,
The Maasai,
The coastal communities.

Identify the leaders/founder members of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

Ronald Ngala: its President,
Daniel Arap Moi: its Chairman,
Masinde Muliro: its Vice president,
Martin Shikuku: its Secretary General,
Justus Ole Tipis: its treasurer.

Analyse the formation/operation of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) as a political party.

Just like KANU, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) draws its foundation from the First Lancaster House Conference, where the colonial government authorised the formation of countrywide political parties.

KADU was formed in 1960 to avoid Kikuyu and Luo dominance in the political arena.

Unlike KANU, KADU favoured a Federal (Majimbo) system of government. When the two parties visited Jomo Kenyatta at Lodwa, where Kenyatta was detained, Kenyatta tried but failed to persuade them to unite. Each hoped Kenyatta would join them on his release from prison.

In the first General elections held along party lines in May 1961, KANU won majority seats, followed by KADU, while other parties garnered the remaining seats. However, KADU teamed up with Michael Blundel's New Kenya Party and formed a Coalition government after KANU refused to form a government as long as Kenyatta was still in prison. Ronald Ngala became the Leader of Government Business and Minister for Education.

In 1962, KANU and KADU formed a coalition government while awaiting the 1963 General Elections. Ngala became minister of State in charge of constitutional Affairs.

In the 1963 General Elections, KADU was defeated by KANU and therefore became a major opposition party. But in 1964, KADU was disbanded and its members joined KANU after being persuaded by Oginga Odinga and President Jomo Kenyatta.

Analyse/discuss the achievements of KADU. (Explain the successes of KADU in its four years of operation.)

It united the smaller Kenyan communities.

It mobilized Africans against colonial domination.

It contributed enormously to the formulation of the Independence constitution in the Second Lancaster House Conference.

It provided political education to and enlightened Africans.

It helped ensure checks on the KANU government for the short period it was in the Opposition.

It formed a coalition government in 1961 with Michael Blundel's New Kenya Party when KANU declined to form a government unless Jomo Kenyatta was released from prison.

Explain the problems encountered by KADU as a political party. (describe the setbacks that Kadu contended with as a political party.)

Persistent lack of funds.

Its manipulation by the colonial government.

Pressure from their rivals: KANU, who wanted KADU to decamp and merge with them.

Illiteracy among the majority of its members, leaving the top leaders with too much

responsibility over Party affairs.

Rivalry among its senior officials.

Suspensions that certain ethnic groups were dominating the party.

THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

The African People's Party (A P P) was founded by Paul Ngei and was one of the political parties that emerged in Kenya after the Second Lancaster House Conference in February 1962, which provided for a Federal constitution with a strong central government, which in turn allowed for six regions,, each with a considerable power in line with KADU's demands.

Paul Ngei, just like the Somali and the coastal Arabs, feared Akamba interests would not be catered for by either the KANU or KADU government.

In the 1963 General Elections, A P P and other minority parties came third after KANU and KADU respectively. After Kenya became a Republic in 1964, both A P P and KADU disbanded and joined KANU.

RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Introduction

What is nationalism? (Define nationalism).

- Nationalism is the desire for independence and self determination among a group of people. Or:
- It is the feeling of national pride, patriotism and belonging towards one's country.

Briefly describe the rise/development of nationalism in Africa.

- In Africa, Nationalism was a gradual process that resulted from the determination of various communities to get rid of the oppressive colonial rule to which they were subjected.
- The Resistance movement that spread all over the African continent at the beginning of colonialism such as the Maji-Maji rebellion in Tanganyika, the Chimurenga war in southern Rhodesia, the Nandi uprising in Kenya and the Mahdist Revolt in Sudan were part of early African Nationalism.
- After the Second World War, there was an upsurge of fresh nationalism all over Africa, spurred by a wide range of factors.

Explain the factors that contributed to rise of nationalism in Africa. (What were the reasons for nationalism in Africa?)

- Subjection of Africans to cultural discrimination by the colonial order, which dismissed African customs as being Primitive and barbaric.
- Accompaniment of colonialism by economic exploitation of the African communities, who were thrown out of their land by European settlers.
- The Urban environment, within which various communities interacted and exchanged feelings on the colonial menace. Although many urban centres such as Mombasa, Lagos and Dar Es Salam existed before colonialism in Africa, they expanded after colonial invasion.
- Imposition of many taxes like Hut tax, poll tax and Breast tax on African communities.
- Racial segregation, with which colonialism went hand in hand since facilities and other amenities were provided along racial lines all over Africa.
- African resentment of colonialism as it interfered with their political institutions, because colonial officials appointed chiefs in place of traditional rulers such as councils of elders in the decentralized societies.
- The Western education provided mostly by the Christian Missionaries, exposed Africans who acquired literacy and numeracy skills to the History of Europe and the USA.
- Pan Africanists such as Marcus Garvey and W E B Dubois, who made the Africans, realize that they shared common problems, which provided basis for national unity.
- The United Nations organization, which stressed the need for political independence of all subject peoples as one way of obtaining global peace.
- Participation of many Africans in the First World War as carriers and combatants. The experiences acquired in the war had a profound impact on the ex-soldiers.
- The spread of Leninist and Marxist ideas after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in the former Soviet union, which ushered in a Communist era. This soon made an impact on some of the African elite for communists attacked colonialism, which they considered to be part of imperialism, whose main aim was the economic exploitation of the weaker parts of the world.
- The Second World War,, during which African combatants gained a lot of international exposure as they went to and fought in Burma, Ceylon,, Israel, England, Egypt and Ethiopia.
- Asian nationalism, which predated African Nationalism as Asia had a longer history of European imperialism compared to Africa, which greatly motivated African nationalists.

Africans reacted differently towards their respective colonizers in spite of their subjection to exploitation, humiliation and political oppression. Thus nationalism was not uniformly expressed along the African continent.

Nationalism in Ghana

2007 P2 QN 14. State the main reason why nationalism developed in Ghana during the colonial rule. (1mks)

Name the European communities that had dominated Ghana by the 18th century.

- The Portuguese,
- The Danes,
- The British,
- The Dutch.

It was the Portuguese who named Ghana the Gold coast in reference to Ghana's vast gold deposits.

Analyse/describe the rise/development of nationalism in Ghana.

- Nationalism in Ghana began in 1868 when the Fante Confederation was initiated in response to British imperialism.
- In 1897, the African elite and the chiefs united and formed the Aborigines Rights Protection society: the pioneer modern nationalist organization, mainly to guard against the alienation of African land by the British in the Goldcoast.
- In the 1930s, J.B Danquah and other Western-educated Africans who were unhappy with the colonial order launched the Goldcoast Youth Conference to awaken the youth to the economic and social needs of Ghana. They demanded political rights and an end to social and economic injustice.
- In response to the demands, the government embarked on revision of the constitution to increase African representation in the Legico. The new constitution provided for eighteen African representatives in the Legico, of which thirteen were to be drawn from among the chiefs while five were popularly elected. This was totally rejected by the African communities as the chiefs were regarded as mere instruments of colonial control. It was for this reason that the United Goldcoast Convention was established in 1946, led by J.B Danquah.
- Under Danquah, most of the African elite, some of who were lawyers, journalists, teachers, and businessmen and who spearheaded political activities in the Goldcoast, invited Kwame Nkruma in 1946 to come and organize the United Goldcoast Convention. They had realized that none of them could get enough time to fully attend to the party. Nkruma was the best choice among the African elite who would be entrusted with party affairs because he had completed his Graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia: USA and a Law degree in England and had participated in the 1945 Pan African Congress in Manchester: England, which afforded him enough political experience in addition to his academic qualifications.

Explain the factors that facilitated/boosted growth of nationalism in Ghana. (What factors led to growth/rise of nationalism in Ghana? Or:

2010 21 b) Explain six factors that led to the development of African Nationalism in Ghana.

- i. Inadequate African representation in the Legislative council based discontent among the Ghanaians.
- ii. Loss of powers by the traditional African chiefs created discontent against the colonial government.
- iii. The need to guard against possible land alienation by the British united the Africans.
- iv. Introduction of taxation by the colonial government was resented by Ghanaians.

- v. The meagre earnings by Africans from the sale of cocoa to Europeans created discontent among them.
- vi. The order by the colonial government that farmers uproot their crops due to prevalence of the “swollen shoot” disease upset them.
- vii. Then involvement of the ex-servicemen in the Second World War inspired them to fight for their independence.
- viii. The attainment of independence by India/Pakistan in 1947 encouraged the Ghanaians to demand for their right to govern themselves.
- ix. The existence of young educated Ghanaians who had understood the ideals of democracy/freedom who inspired the masses towards a worthy cause.
- x. High rate of unemployment among the Africans created resentment/discontent.
- xi. The United Nations Charter’s declaration of the importance of political independence for all people inspired the Ghanaians and other leaders.
- xii. The charismatic leadership provided by Kwame Nkrumah united the people in their struggle against colonial domination.
- xiii. The selective granting of trading licenses to Europeans traders while denying the same to the Africans created discontent. Any 6 x 2 = 12 marks

201113 Give two economic reasons for the growth of African Nationalism in Ghana. (2 marks)

- i. The order by the colonial government that Africans uproot cocoa trees affected by diseases
- ii. The colonial government denied Africans trading licenses
- iii. African farmers earned low incomes from the sale of cocoa to European firms
- iv. High unemployment rate for the Africans.
- v. Sharp increase in prices of goods.

Analyse the political/nationalist activities that characterised the year 1947-1948 in Ghana.

- The year 1947-1948 was characterised by widespread political activity in the Goldcoast by Africans opposed to the colonial government.
- The government responded by arresting Nkruma and his colleagues, popularly known as the Big Six and banished them to different parts of the Goldcoast in the hope of silencing them.
- Nkruma was sent to the north of the country. However, this only made Nkruma even more popular among his people.
- In 1949, Nkruma broke ranks with the senior members of the United Goldcoast Convention because most of the older members of the party were conservative and did not want confrontational politics, yet Nkruma advocated a radical approach. Nkruma founded the Convention People’s Party (CPP).
- Through Nkruma’s innovative approach, the C.P.P became vibrant and popular, especially among the youth. Nkruma introduced a flag and party salute in addition to party slogans and songs chanted and sang.

In what ways did Kwame Nkruma advocate positive action during the struggle for Ghana’s independence?
(Explain how Kwame Nkruma facilitated positive struggle for Ghana’s independence)

Nkruma advocated positive action against the colonial government through:

- Legitimate political action. Criminal indulgence was not allowed.

- Newspaper and educational campaigns to enlighten the public on their rights.
- Constitutional application of boycotts, strikes and non-cooperation, based on the principles of absolute non-violence as was the case in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi on non-violent resistance.

2010 21. a) State three ways used by nationalists in Ghana to fight for independence.

- i. They formed political parties.
 - ii. They used boycotts/demonstrations/strikes/go-slows.
 - iii. They organized political rallies to mobilise mass support.
 - iv. They used newspapers to articulate their views.
 - v. They used the legislative council
 - vi. They composed songs/poems to attack colonialism.
 - vii. They used trade unions.
 - viii. They used international forum.
- Any 3 x 1 = 3 marks



Discuss the political developments/activities that led to Ghana's independence.

- In 1950, Nkruma started a newspaper: The Accra Evening News, which he used to expound CPP views. That same year, he was arrested and charged with incitement, for which he was imprisoned.
- In elections held in February 1951, Nkruma secured a Land-slide victory while still in prison. He was therefore released and became the leader of government business in the new cabinet.
- In fresh elections called in 1954, CPP again defeated other contenders. That same year, a new party: The National Liberation movement (NLM), a majority of whose members were of Asante origin, emerged. Members of NLM were uncomfortable with Nkruma for two main reasons:
 - ❖ Nkruma came from a little-known small ethnic community in southern Ghana. Many NLM leaders were Asante chiefs who favoured a Federal system of government as opposed to Nkruma's unitary system.
 - ❖ Nkruma's ideas were radical unlike those of the conservative traditional leaders.
- In July 1956, elections were called, mainly due to NLM's opposition. CPP again won. This time, the British government accepted the results and granted Ghana political independence under the leadership of Nkruma in 1957. The country's colonial name: Goldcoast was dropped in favour of Ghana.

Explain the role of Kwame Nkruma in the struggle for independence in Ghana. (In what ways did Kwame Nkruma facilitate/contribute to the struggle for Ghana's independence?)

- He participated in the 1945 Manchester Pan African Congress in England, where African nationalists agreed to go back to their countries and lead the struggle for liberation.
- On his return to the Goldcoast in 1946, he became Secretary General of the United Goldcoast Convention (UGC).
- He founded the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949.
- He united farmers, the elite, students and businessmen in the struggle against the British in the Goldcoast.

- He and the CPP used positive action, which involved non-violent strikes and political meetings, against the British.
- In 1951, he and the CPP won the elections and formed the first African government before independence.
- He led the Goldcoast to independence in 1957.

Ghana was the first African country to achieve independence. Under Nkrumah, Ghana played an important role in inspiring other African countries to fight for political liberation. Indeed, President Nkrumah declared that the independence of Ghana would be meaningless unless the rest of Africa was freed from the yoke of colonialism.

Explain how Kwame Nkrumah inspired other African countries to acquire political independence.

- He convened two Pan African conferences in Ghana in 1958 to unite other African countries against colonial oppression.
- He encouraged liberation movements all over Africa with material support and ideas.
- He helped Patrice Lumumba, who was having problems with Belgians in present-day Democratic Republic of Congo.
- He was a fervent supporter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Nationalism in Mozambique

2006 P2 QN 21. a) What five reasons encouraged the nationalists in Mozambique to use Armed struggle to attain independence. (5mks)

- i. Portugal refused to listen to the grievances of the Africans.
 - ii. The nationalists were trained in fighting skills.
 - iii. The liberation committee of the Organization of African Unity/Tanzania and other (O.A.U) supported the nationalists with finance and weapons.
 - iv. The nationalists were supported and encouraged by communist countries.
 - v. The success of MauMau freedom fighters in Kenya inspired them.
 - vi. The country was forested and conducive for guerilla warfare.
 - vii. The United Nations(UN) denounced colonialism thus boosting the morale of the nationalist.
- Any 5x1=5mks

b) Describe the problems which undermined the activities of the nationalists in Mozambique.

Together with Angola, Mozambique was considered a Portuguese colony even before the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. The Portuguese settled in Mozambique during the European Exploration, mainly interested in the Gold trade in Sofala at the Mozambiquan coast.

Being the poorest of the European powers, Portugal valued her colonies immensely since they provided the Portuguese with a sense of imperial power, economic base and equality with other European powers.

In what ways did the Portuguese benefit from Mozambique before 1900? (Explain how the Portuguese benefited from Mozambique before 1900).

Prior to 1900, Portugal benefited from Mozambique in the following ways:

- The Portuguese acquired mineral resources such as gold from Mozambique. Gold trade flourished in Sofala at the Mozambiquan coast.

- Portugal forced Africans to pay taxes and other forms of tribute.
- The Portuguese got cotton and other cash crops from Mozambique.
- Portugal enjoyed a prestigious status due to ownership of colonies in Africa.

Explain the factors that contributed to growth of nationalism in Mozambique.

Nationalism in Mozambique stemmed from the African grievances against the Portuguese such as:

- Arbitrary replacement of traditional leaders by Portuguese administrators.
- Lack of respect for African cultures among Portuguese settlers.
- Displacement of Africans as Portuguese settlers took their land.
- Cruel treatment of Africans by the Security police. For instance, any political unrest was ruthlessly crushed.
- Heavy taxation levies against the Africans.
- Portuguese imposition of many restrictions on Africans, which limited their freedom of expression and intellectual advancement.
- Forced labour, characterised by bribing of upcountry chiefs to supply labourers, who were treated like slaves.
- Portuguese practice of racial discrimination.

2009 21(a) Give the reasons why it took long for Mozambique to achieve independence from Portugal

- i. Portugal was reluctant to part with the economic wealth of Mozambique
- ii. Portugal was ruled by kings who had no regard for human rights
- iii. Portugal regarded Mozambique as one of its provinces and not a colony
- iv. Portugal had succeeded in suppressing revolts by Africans before nationalism took root in Mozambique
- v. Lack of unity among Africans until 1960's
- vi. Illiteracy among Africans in Mozambique Any 3 x 1 = 3 mks)

Analyse the growth/development of nationalism in Mozambique. (Discuss nationalism in Mozambique.

- Nationalism in Mozambique began in the 1940s and 1950s, by which time many Mozambiquans had travelled to some African nations like South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya. It was the small group of the privileged, who benefited from Western education offered by missionaries and who even proceeded to Portugal for higher education that formed the pioneer group of African politicians, who demanded an end to repression and economic exploitation among the Africans.
- The Mozambiquan Makonde Union (MANU), which was founded by the Makonde people of Capo Delgado province in early 1960,, was the first formal political association to mobilize Africans in Mozambique. The colonial government took drastic measures against Africans, forcing them to engage in Underground activities.
- In 1962, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania invited the different liberation groups in Mozambique to relocate and set up their headquarters in Dar Es Salam, where he promised to give them support. He also encouraged them to merge. It was with such encouragement that the associations united and formed the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO), with Eduardo Mondlane Chirambo as its first president. Having been educated in Portugal, South Africa and the USA, Mondlane managed to link up with the Mozambiquan political movements in exile.
- From 1964, FRELIMO embarked on a full-scale war against the Portuguese in different parts of the country,

which put the Portuguese in an awkward position as they had assembled most of their reinforcements and troops along the river Ruvuma on the northern boundary between Mozambique and Tanzania. Aware of nationalists in Tanzania, Portuguese forces anticipated attacks mainly from the northern region.

- FRELIMO targeted Portuguese military bases, communication and transport lines and other valuable installations. Attacks extended from the Capo Delgado province to Zambezia, Tete and other north-western regions, forcing the Portuguese to station their troops all over the country.
- In 1974, there was a Coup-De-Tat in Portugal, which was provoked by the heavy expenditure of the Portuguese government in fighting colonial wars. After the coup, the new Portuguese rulers signed an agreement with FRELIMO and handed over power to the Africans in 1975. Samora Machel became the first president of independent Mozambique.
- By the time of the coup in Portugal, FRELIMO was registering military successes over the north and central regions of Mozambique.

Explain why the Liberation movement won the war against colonial rule in Mozambique. (Explain the reasons for success of the war against colonial rule in Mozambique. Or:

Explain why African nationalists were successful in their struggle against colonial rule in Mozambique. Or:

Explain the factors that favoured FRELIMO in the war against the colonial government in Mozambique.)

Various factors favoured FRELIMO in the war against the colonial government in Mozambique. These included:

2009 21 (b) Explain six factors that favoured the success of FRELIMO nationalists during their struggle for independence in Mozambique

- (i) Use of Guerilla tactics to attack the Portuguese from different parts of country strained colonial resources.
- (ii) The local population was recruited in the army which outnumbered the Portuguese forces
- (iii) Mozambique was highly forested thus provided good cover for the guerrilla fighters from Portuguese war planes
- (iv) FRELIMO fighters were working on familiar ground/ Terrain
- (v) The Frelimo nationalists cultivated their own food thus being self-sufficient in food supplies
- (vi) The nationalist were aided financially, materially and morally by communist countries which enabled them to continue with the struggle
- (vii) Support by the organization of African Unity (OAU) inspired the nationalists to keep on the struggle
- (viii) The practice of Frelimo of setting up administrative structures in Liberated areas encouraged the Africans in Mozambique to support the struggle
- (ix) The recognition of the role of women helped the nationalist to mobilize the communities to support the struggle.
- (x) Elimination of ethnic difference appealed to all the Mozambicans to join in the common cause/ they were united.
- (xi) The Frelimo leaders were well organized./ co-ordinated the struggle effectively
- (xii) Frelimo fighters received constant flow of information about the movement of the Portuguese troops.

Describe the challenges/difficulties encountered in the liberation movement/struggle in Mozambique.
(Explain the factors that undermined nationalism in Mozambique.)

Despite their advantage over the colonial forces, the nationalists in Mozambique encountered various problems in their war, such as:

- Competition from rival fighter movements such as the Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO).
- Internal divisions due to ideological differences and selfish ambitions among some of the nationalists.
- The assassination of FRELIMO leader: Eduardo Nondlane by means of a Parcel bomb in 1969.
- The official position of the church in Mozambique, which branded FRELIMO as a terrorist organization.
- Portuguese adoption of cruel methods in fighting the sympathizers of African nationalists.
- Severe shortage of basic needs i.e. food, clothing, soap and medicine, particularly in the forests when the war began.
- The Apartheid regime in South Africa and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U D I) regime in Zimbabwe, both of which combined forces with the Portuguese to fight the nationalists in Mozambique.

Nationalism in South Africa

2006 P2 QN 12. Identify two peaceful methods which the nationalists used in South Africa in the struggle for Independence.

- (i) Demonstrations
- (ii) Sending petition to the British government
- (iii) Seeking support organization of Africa Unity and United Nations
- (iv) Forming political parties
- (v) Condemning apartheid in churches
- (vi) Hunger strikes
- (vii) Use of mass media/ newspapers/ pamphlets
- (viii) Trade unions/ boycotts/ seating or go slow

(Any 2 x 1 = 2 mks)

2008 P2 QN 15. State two objectives of the African National Congress. (2 mks)

Why was nationalism in South Africa more complex than elsewhere in Africa?

- Unlike other African countries that were colonized by one specific European power, in South Africa, both the British and the Boers (Afrikaners) had imperial interests.
- The existence of valuable mineral deposits made the European powers more aggressive in their efforts to control wealth in South Africa.

Name the communities/groups of people that occupied South Africa by 1900.

Nationalism in South Africa can be understood by analysing the experiences of various groups that occupied

the territory i.e.:

- The British,
- The Afrikaners,
- Indians,
- Coloureds,
- Indigenous Africans.

Describe three types of nationalism in South Africa in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Basically, there were three types of nationalism in South Africa in the first two decades of the twentieth century. These were:

- Afrikaner Nationalism, which emerged in late 19th century among the Dutch-speaking settlers (Afrikaners) against British political control over South Africa.
- British nationalism. On realizing the economic potential of South Africa, particularly after the discovery of gold and diamonds, the British wanted to take full control of South Africa, which culminated in strained relations and fighting between them and the Boers, causing the Boers to retreat farther into the interior, though still pursued by the British. Eventually, both the British and the Boers gave diplomacy consideration, allowing for elections/voting as the best way of decision-making. When the Nationalist party won one such election in 1948, South Africa fell under Afrikaner influence and domination. The party introduced the Apartheid (segregationist) policy against the Africans and other non-whites and advocated a program of total European supremacy.
- African nationalism. In South Africa, African nationalism began in the 17th century when the Boers occupied the Cape of South Africa, adopting a racist attitude towards the indigenous Africans, who strongly resisted such interference with their political freedom and economic resources.

Discuss the development of nationalism in South Africa. (Analyse the background of nationalism in South Africa).

- In the 18th century, there were bloody wars between the Boers on one hand and the Xhosa and Ndebele on the other. The crude weapons of the Africans were no much for the sophisticated ones of the Boers.
- In the 1870s, the Zulu, under their leader: Cetewayo, fiercely resisted the British, who had arrived in South Africa during the Napoleonic wars in the 19th century in search of a military base, but who stayed on and occupied large areas of South Africa after diamonds were discovered in the Transvaal region in 1866 in order to amass the mineral wealth. The British therefore clashed with both the Africans and the Afrikaners. Although the Zulu accepted annexation to the British Empire in 1887, African resistance was not completely wiped out.
- In 1906, the Zulu, under chief Bambata, rose against British rule, but they were unsuccessful. Bambata was captured and sent into exile.
- When the Afrikaners took political control of South Africa from the British following the creation of the Union of South Africa from 1910, Africans lost all political freedom. That was when the roots of indigenous African nationalism were laid.

Describe/explain the factors that contributed to rise of African nationalism in South Africa.

- Founding of independent churches.
- Formation of new local organizations e.g. the Orange River organization.

- Great exploitation of African labourers. Labour regulations and laws were extremely discriminative against the Africans.
- Promotion of national consciousness by African elite such as Reverent John Dube, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, etc.
- Christianity, which was introduced quite early in South Africa and which upheld ideas that encouraged Africans to fight for equality.
- The development of large urban centres, which created an enabling environment for close inter-ethnic relations among Africans, enabling them to counter the Afrikaner racist policies.
- Alienation of Africans from their land by the Afrikaner government, rendering most Africans dependent on Afrikaner employment on the very farms taken from them.
- Participation of many Africans in the Second World War, which exposed them to democratic ideals as they fought alongside the Europeans and discovered that there were no major differences between African peoples and Whites.
- Pan Africanists influence, evident in South Africa as early as the 19th century.
- Racism, which was enshrined in the 1948 Apartheid law and which convinced Africans that only political freedom would save them from further humiliation.

Describe the methods used by African nationalists to fight for political liberation in South Africa.

- They organized political parties such as the A N C and the Pan African Congress to champion their grievances.
- They made use of trade unions to press for better working and living conditions.
- They organized Protest marches, defiance campaigns and demonstrations.
- They would occasionally use military force.
- They also employed diplomacy, in an attempt to get the government's attention and that of the international community. On many occasions, the A N C contacted the OAU and the United Nations organization to force the unjust regime to grant them freedom.
- Nationalists who were arrested or detained often went on hunger strike to press the government to grant them political independence.
- They used the Print media such as pamphlets and newspapers to highlight the injustices of the Apartheid regime.
- Church leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak led the fight against Apartheid.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Name the founder-members of the African National Congress.

- Pixley Kaizaka Seme.
- Reverent John Dube.
- Thomas Mapikela.
- Walter Rubusana.

- Solomon Platyé.
- Sam Makgatho.

Name the leaders of the African National Congress during the struggle for Political liberation in South Africa.

- A.B Xuma,
- Nelson Mandela,
- Walter Sisulu ,
- Oliver Tambo.

Analyse/explain the rise/development of the African National Congress. (Discuss the activities of the African National Congress during the struggle for political liberation in South Africa.)

- The African National Congress (ANC) was one of the earliest political organizations in South Africa. It was founded in 1912 and was first called the South African Native Congress (SANC), a name by which it was known up to 1923 when it changed to African National Congress.
- Its first president was Reverent John Dube. By 1923, leading African nationalists included Seme D.D Jabavu and Reverent Dube.
- ANC favoured non-violent resistance: a method borrowed from mahatma Gandhi of India. It endeavoured to promote unity among the African communities.
- In 1943, the A N C's Youth League was formed, ushering in a more exclusive form of nationalism as the league adopted militant actions to achieve national liberation. It emphasized the inalienable right of the Africans to the African continent. Although it embraced the cooperation of the Indians and the Coloureds, the league maintained that Africans must lead in the struggle.
- From 1940-1949, A.B Xuma was the national President of the A N C. Xuma encouraged Africans to use mass action against the racist policies of the government.
- In 1949, the league adopted a militant program of action, which outlined direct tactics such as strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience against the Apartheid regime. As a result, there was violent confrontation between A N C and the government in 1952 in Witwatersrand, Kimberley and Eastern Cape. That year, Albert Luthuli became President of A N C, ushering an important milestone in the Organization's growth, because, under Luthuli, A N C became very popular among Africans.
- Together with the South African Coloured People's Organization and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, A N C convened the Congress Of The people in 1955, which adopted a Freedom charter. But within that very period, a split occurred within A N C between supporters of the multiracial sentiments of the charter and those who emphasized exclusively African nationalism and solidarity.
- In 1959, those who emphasized exclusively African nationalism formed the Pan African Congress party (PAC), under Robert Mangalipo Sobukwe, who believed that Apartheid had to be fought with all means available to the Africans, including the use of violence.
- In 1960, Albert Luthuli and Sobukwe announced a nationwide campaign against the Pass laws, since such laws discriminated against Africans. In response, the Apartheid regime adopted very harsh measures against Africans. A good example is the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, where even children were shot and killed by the regime's police. African political activity went underground, with Nelson Mandela forming the fighting wing of the A N C: Umkhonto Wesizwe (spear Of the Nation) as PAC formed a similar fighting wing called Popo. As political activity intensified among the Africans, the government adopted even harsher measures.
- In 1963, the apartheid police discovered an underground headquarters of African resistance at Rivonia near

Johannesburg. Mandela, Walter Sisulu and several other ANC and PAC members were arrested, convicted and condemned to Life imprisonment for organizing a violent movement against the government. Many A N C and P A C members went into and conducted their activities from exile. Many African nationalists were killed by government forces while others were arrested and detained, even when there was no evidence against them. The frustration experienced by African nationalists in the 1960s was so great that the liberation struggle appeared to be facing an eminent end.

2012 p2 qn 21. (a) Outline five grievances by Africans against apartheid in South Africa. (5 marks)

- (i) Africans were not allowed to vote for black representatives in government
- (ii) They were prohibited from living in urban areas/sharing facilities with whites
- (iii) The pass laws restricted African movement
- (iv) They were confined into Bantustans/reserves
- (v) The labour laws denied them equal employment opportunities
- (vi) Low quality education prepared them for only low cadre jobs
- (vii) The land Acts gave whites exclusive rights over land

Discuss/explain the role of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement in the struggle for political liberation in South Africa.

- In 1969, Steve Biko: a black Medical student, decided to form an all-black movement that would spread the philosophy of Black consciousness since all other forms of political expression were outlawed. Biko believed that the Black of South Africa needed to develop confidence in their own capacities.
- Biko at first expressed these views through Students' organizations, but gave up after realizing that the multiracial National Union Of south African Students discriminated against African students.
- In July 1969, Biko and other African students formed the South African Students Organization, which was an All-Black organization. To broaden the influence of the South African Students organization, Biko organized a series of meetings with religious and cultural leaders of Black Organizations and spread the concept of Black Consciousness among the Black community throughout South Africa.
- As a result of the movement, many students demonstrated against the Apartheid regime, protesting the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in schools.
- In 1976, over 360 school children were killed as thousands were arrested all over South Africa. Biko was arrested and died in Police custody in 1977. He was most probably tortured to death while in custody. That same year, all the Black Consciousness organizations were banned and their leaders imprisoned. The two most widely read Black newspapers i.e. The Will and weekend World were also banned and their editors imprisoned.

Describe the three chambers in a newly constituted eighty-eight member Assembly provided for by a constitutional Amendment to the House-Assembly, as stipulated by PW Botha in 1983.

In 1983, South African Prime Minister: P.W Botha introduced a constitutional amendment to the House-Assembly, which provided for three chambers in a newly constructed eighty-eight member assembly as follows:

- Fifty were to sit in the White chamber.
- Twenty-five were to sit in the Coloured chamber.

- Thirteen were to sit in the Indian chamber.
- Each chamber was only allowed to deal with matters affecting their own ethnic groups.
- Matters of national concern had to be tackled by a joint meeting of the three chambers.

The aim of this new arrangement was to divide Black nationalists by giving the Coloureds more political privileges. Such isolation of political resentment only helped increase political upheavals in the 1980s, compounded by the activities of the underground African political groups such as A N C, which attacked government installations among other targets, to express their disapproval of this new constitution.

Discuss/explain the activities/developments that led to political liberation in South Africa.

- More radical organizations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was supported all over South Africa, and the national front (N.F) which was joined by municipal workers and churches.
- The churches in South Africa also had a hand in the struggle against Apartheid. In 1984, Bishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent resistance and opposition against Apartheid.
- The Africans turned the funerals of those killed into rallies of spearheading their war against Apartheid. The atrocities of the Apartheid regime against Africans were so terrible that they could not go unnoticed within the international community. The Insecurity in the Southern African region threatened foreign investment, causing the USA and Western European countries to appreciate the fact that there could be no lasting peace in South Africa as long as the Apartheid policy was still in force.
- In 1985, the U S Congress voted for economic sanctions against the Apartheid regime, causing many U S cooperations to terminate their South African operations. This cut huge inflow of foreign exchange into South Africa. South Africa began to experience difficulties in repaying her foreign debts.
- Due to mounting international pressure and the pain of economic sanctions, the South African President: P.O Botha was forced out of office in 1989 because of his hard-line policies. He was replaced by the more moderate Frederick De Klerk. That same 1989, de Klerk released Walter Sisulu and other political prisoners. Nelson Mandela remained in prison after he refused to denounce violence as a method of the struggle for freedom.
- In 1990, De Klerk lifted the ban on all antiapartheid movements, including the A N C, PAC, The South African Communist party and 33 other organizations. He then released Nelson Mandela, who had spent twenty-seven years in prison.

2009 P2 QN 12. Identify one political reform introduction by President Fredrik de Klerk that led to the achievement of black majority rule in South Africa.

- i. He released all the political prisoners
- ii. Appealed apartheid Laws, E.g. pass laws
- iii. Allowed Africans to join political parties/ participate in elections

(Any 1 x 1 = 1 mk)

- In 1991, some of the most oppressive racist laws like the International Organizations Act of 1960 which was used to ban ANC and PAC were repealed.
- Events moved and changed so fast that multiracial elections were scheduled for April 1994.
- With the lifting of the ban on African political parties, African nationalism took a new turn. ANC enjoyed majority support throughout South Africa while Inkatha Freedom Party (I.F.P) under Gatsha Mangosuthu

Buthelezi enjoyed overwhelming support in Zululand. This caused a lot of conflict and confusion.

- IFP called for the postponement of the April 1994 elections so that contentious issues were first sorted out. Many international mediators, including former US Secretary of state: Henry Kissinger as well as Lord Carrington of the U.K intervened but failed to avert or thwart this political stalemate.
- On 19th April 1994, a Kenyan diplomat: Professor Wangari Maathai, convinced Buthelezi and his IFP supporters to take part in the elections.
- The all-race elections were held as scheduled. Nelson Mandela and the A N C won by a land-slide. Shortly later, Nelson Mandela was sworn in as President of the new South Africa.
- The sanctions placed against South Africa during the Apartheid era were lifted and South Africa rightfully joined the Commonwealth, the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African unity (now the African Union).
- When A N C once again won the 1999 elections, Mandela handed over power to his deputy: Thabo Mbeki. This was seen by observers as an important milestone for Democracy in Africa. The relatively peaceful elections and the smooth transition of power was an indication that democracy had finally found another home in Africa.

Explain the role of Nelson Mandela in the struggle against Apartheid.

- He was one of the founder-members of the A N C Youth league.
- In 1952, he was elected Deputy President General of A N C.
- He was one of the organizers of defiance campaigns against the Apartheid regime.
- He used his experience as Lawyer to defend many Africans who got into problems.
- He was among the nationalists who in 1955 formulated the Freedom charter, which declared that South Africa belonged to all races in the country.
- In 1960, he formed Umkhonto Wesizwe (Spear of the Nation) to fight for African independence.
- He travelled outside South Africa to solicit support from other countries.
- In 1964, he was jailed for life due to his alleged subversive activities. He was confined in the Robben Island up to his release by President Frederick De Klerk in 1990.
- In 1994, Mandela made history when he was elected first Black president of a democratic South Africa.
- In 1999, he voluntarily handed over power to the next President: Thabo Mbeki, unlike many African leaders who cling on to power. He gave Democracy a right direction in South Africa.

Challenges/setbacks/problems encountered by nationalists in South Africa.

2012 21. (b) Explain five challenges faced by African nationalists in their struggle for a majority rule in South Africa. (10 marks)

- (i) Slowing down the struggle
- (ii) The political parties were banned by the government making it difficult for nationalists to coordinate their activities
- (iii) The nationalists were not united creating a challenge their struggle less effective.
- (iv) The government enabled pass laws which restricted movement thus hampering their interactions
- (v) They lacked adequate funds to finance the struggle thus slowing down the operation
- (vi) They lacked press freedom making it difficult for them to spread their ideas
- (vii) They lack advanced weapons thereby making them less effective in their armed struggle

- (viii) They had different approaches in their struggle (moderated/radical wings) thus creating a loophole which was exploited by the government.
- (ix) Some nationalists were killed which led to low morale hence slowing down the movement of the struggle.

CHAPTER 7: LIVES AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF KENYAN LEADERS

The road to Kenya's independence involved serious commitment and struggle by Kenyans to liberate their country from colonialism. Some were prepared even to risk their own lives for freedom. They outstandingly featured in Kenyan politics during the struggle for independence and contributed to national development after Kenya's independence.

Kenyan nationalists i.e. Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga, Ronald Ngala and Daniel Arap Moi are remembered for the role they played in the struggle for Kenya's independence and development. They emerged from humble beginnings, but, due to colonial exploitation, they were involved in politics of their tribesmen. This provided a base upon which they became nationalist leaders.

DANIEL ARAP MOI

Jomo Kenyatta

Discuss the early life of Jomo Kenyatta.

Jomo Kenyatta was born some time between 1889-1895 of Agikuyu parents of the Magana clan at Ng'enda ridge in Gatundu division of Thika district, Central province of Kenya. His Father was Muigai and his mother Wambui. In Kenyatta's childhood, his father died, leaving Kenyatta and his mother under the care of Ngengi: Kenyatta's uncle.

As a young boy, Kenyatta went to live with his grandfather: Kung'u Wa Magana at Muthiga near Kikuyu. There, Kenyatta was influenced by Agikuyu culture and customs on one hand and Christianity and Western Education on the other. Kenyatta's grandfather was a medicine man, which made Kenyatta interested in Agikuyu ritual and magic. Kenyatta was exposed to Christianity and Western education when he joined Thogoto Mission in 1909, where he learnt Christianity, reading, writing, agriculture and carpentry. At Thogoto, he was registered as Kamau Wa Ngengi. There, he met other inquisitive young men such as Musa Gitau. He completed his elementary schooling in 1912.

In 1915, Kenyatta was circumcised in the Gikuyu tradition. A year later, he was baptised as Johnston Kamau Wa Ngengi.

After his elementary school, Kenyatta went to Nairobi. By the standard of that time, he was a very educated man. He worked in various places during the First World War. For example, in 1916, he worked in a sisal farm.

When the British imposed forced recruitment of able-bodied Africans into the army, Kenyatta went to live with his Maasai relatives to escape the forced recruitment. There, Kenyatta was employed by an Asian trader as a clerk. This Asian's company was supplying meat to the British army.

At the end of the First World War, Kenyatta returned to Nairobi and worked as a Storekeeper in a European farm. By this time, he had already bought himself a bicycle, which added to his fame and prestige. He was a fashionable urban young man, fond of wearing a bearded Maasai ornamental belt: "Kinyata", which determined the name he later adopted: Kenyatta.

In 1920, Kenyatta got married to Grace Wahu. Between 1921-1926, he worked in the Nairobi Municipal Council's water Department as a Stores clerk and Metre reader at a salary of 550sh per month, which enabled him to build a good house on a piece of land that he had bought at Dagoreti near Nairobi. He also paid for his brother's education at Thogoto Mission school.

Analyse Jomo Kenyatta's political career.

In 1924, Kenyatta joined the Kikuyu Central Association, of which he became Secretary, charged with the responsibility of translating, drafting letters and dealing with correspondence.

In 1928, he became editor of KCA's newspaper: "Muigui Thania" (Conciliator), in which he articulated the Agikuyu culture and urged people to take their children to school. He supported his people's stand on female circumcision and opposition to the Missionaries. The paper was printed by an Asian-owned press, which shows Kenyatta's ability to work with people of diverse backgrounds.

In 1928, Kenyatta accompanied KCA officials to the Hilton Young commission. The following year, he was sent by KCA to Britain to present African grievances to the colonial Secretary in London. He also articulated KCA grievances on taxation, land alienation, African education and representation in the Legico.

In 1931, Kenyatta went back to England, accompanied by Parmenas Mukiri to present KCA grievances before the Joint Select Committee on closer union of East African countries and managed to convince the colonial government that Africans did not support the idea of an east African federation.

From 1832-1933, Kenyatta studied political Science and Economics at Moscow University, where he was invited by George Padmore: a Pan Africanist from Trinidad. In 1933, Kenyatta's studies were counselled due to Padmore's disagreement with the Russians. He returned to Britain to pursue studies in Anthropology and Economics at the University College: London.

In 1936, while pursuing his studies in London, Kenyatta joined other Black nationalists in condemning Italian invasion and aggression against Ethiopia. He became the Secretary of the International friends of Abyssinia Organization (IFAO), whose aim was to denounce the Italian action.

In 1938, Kenyatta published his book: Facing Mount Kenya, which talked about Agikuyu culture to compliment his earlier one on the Phonetic and Tonal structure of Gikuyu.

While in England, Kenyatta travelled to other European countries such as Germany, France and Russia and got exposed to their ways of life. He also met nationalists from India and Nigeria, who inspired and transformed him into a nationalist. He expressed his views in an article titled 'give Back our Land', which was published by a British communist paper: The Sunday Worker.

What role did Jomo Kenyatta play in Pan Africanism? (In what ways did Jomo Kenyatta contribute to Pan Africanism?)

He was one of the founder-members of the International Friends of Abyssinia Organization, which condemned the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

Alongside others, he set up the International African Service Bureau in 1937 to propagate Pan Africanism.

Through the rallies he addressed in London, Kenyatta attacked British colonial policies in Kenya such as the Carter land Commission and the Destocking policy among the Akamba in 1938. He also supported the formation of the Taita Hills Association.

Since the British were against political agitation during the Second World War, Kenyatta's activities were slowed down. He settled down as a farmer in Storington: West Sussex where he met and married Edna Clarke.

Together with other Pan Africanists such as W E B Dubois and Kwame Nkruma, Kenyatta helped in organizing the 1945 Pan African Congress in Manchester, which adopted the slogans "Freedom now" and "Africa for Africans". He then returned to Kenya in 1946 to fight for independence. Other Pan Africanists also returned to their home countries for the same purpose.

Explain the role of Jomo Kenyatta in the struggle for Kenya's independence.

In 1947, he took over the Presidency of the Kenya African Union after James Gichuru stepped down in his favour.

He conducted rallies all over Kenya to foster nationalism. He adopted a non-violent approach and strived to unite moderates and radicals.

In 1952, he and KAU leaders like Bildad Kagia, Fred Kubai, Paul Ngei, Achieng' Oneko and Kung'u Karumba were arrested and imprisoned for their alleged involvement in the Mau Mau, whose activities alarmed the British Government, although Kenyatta was not the leader of the Mau Mau and had publicly condemned the kind of violence adopted by the Mau Mau leaders. He was sentenced to serve a seven-year jail term with hard labour. His detention however turned him into a national hero.

In 1959, he completed his prison sentence, which he served in Lokitaung in North-western

Kenya, but remained restricted at Lodwa, where he was joined by his wife: Ngina and his daughters: Jane and Christine.

In 1960, Ambu Patel: a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, Oginga Odinga and elected members of the Legico mobilized public support in the campaign for Kenyatta's release. Indeed, Ambu Patel formed the Release Jomo Committee for this purpose.

In 1960, Kenyatta was elected in absentia as President of KANU. KANU won the January 1961 elections, but declined to form a government until Kenyatta was released. Kenyatta was finally released in August 1961 and was taken to Gatundu, where he received a Hero's welcome. Again, James Gichuru stepped down in Kenyatta's favour as president of KANU.

Kenyatta joined the Legico as member for Fort Hall (Murang'a) constituency after Kariuki Njiiri stepped down for him. In 1962, he attended the Second Lancaster House Conference in London: U.K, to discuss constitutional amendments.

On 1st June 1963, Kenya attained internal self government (Madaraka), with Kenyatta as Prime Minister. On 12th December 1964, Kenya became a republic (Jamhuri), with Kenyatta as Kenya's first president. Kenyatta assured the White settlers that they could stay and live peacefully with Africans in Kenya.

KENYATTA'S ROLE IN NATION BUILDING

What role did Jomo Kenyatta play in nation building? (Explain the role of Jomo Kenyatta in nation building).

Through his effort, KADU and the African People's party joined KANU in 1964 for enhancement of national unity, thus setting pace for national development rather than political wrangling.

He initiated the Harambe spirit, through which schools, hospitals and other facilities were established and urged Kenyans to work hard in the spirit of self reliance to eliminate the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease.

In line with the stated objectives of the KANU manifesto, Kenyatta supported the liberation of other African countries at every opportunity.

Under Kenyatta, Kenya supported the O A U, the ideals of the Commonwealth and the principle of Nonalignment, essential for Kenya's upkeep within Kenya itself and abroad.

Explain the problems that Jomo Kenyatta faced as Kenya's president. (What challenges characterised Jomo Kenyatta's presidency in Kenya? Or:

Explain the difficulties/setbacks encountered by Kenyatta as President of Kenya. Or: Explain the problems that Kenya faced after independence.)

In his Nation building task, Kenyatta encountered challenges characterised by problems facing Kenya after independence, such as:

Political assassinations. Tom Mboya, J.M Kariuki and Pio Gama Pinto were killed in suspicious circumstances, causing citizens to lose confidence in the government.

Poverty, ignorance and disease, which had to be addressed immediately.

The Shifta menace, characterised by banditry in the North-eastern province and the continuous threat by the Kenyan Somali to secede to Somalia, which shifted attention from Economic development, but was successfully overcome in 1968.

Lack of adequate funds to provide for Kenya's development needs.

Poor transport and communication, characterised by lack of a good road network.

KADU's campaign for a federal (Majimbo) rather than a unitary system of government.

Shortage of manpower since the colonial education policy left Africans less equipped for skilled employment.

A split within KANU, which led to a Break-away by radical leaders such as Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kagia and Achieng' Oneko, who formed the Kenya People's Union (KPU) due to Kenyatta's compromise with the Whites over land, agreeing to safeguard their property and interests in addition to buying and then subdividing European farms through land-buying companies.

In 1977, Kenyatta suffered a mild heart attack. He died peacefully in his sleep while in Mombasa on 22nd August 1978. In a State burial ceremony attended by several heads of states, Kenyatta was laid to rest at a mausoleum at Parliament buildings in Nairobi.

Daniel Arab Moi

Discuss the early life of Daniel Arap Moi.

Daniel Kapkoirios Toroitich Arap Moi was born on 2nd September 1924 at Kurienguo village in Sacho, Baringo district of the rift Valley province of Kenya. He was the fourth-born child of Kimoi Arap Chebii.

When Moi was two years old, Chebii died, leaving Moi under the care of his mother and his elder brother: Tuitoek.

In 1934, Moi joined the African Inland Mission (African Inland Church), where he was baptized as Daniel on 20th October 1936.

In 1942, Moi started his Secondary school Education at Kapsabet. He then joined a Teacher Training college in Kapsabet in 1944, after which he taught at Tambach Government African School. He became Head teacher of Kabarnet Government African School in 1948.

In 1949, Moi passed his matriculation examination and became a P2 teacher. He undertook a Teachers course at Kagumo and an In-Service course at Jeans school Kabete (now the Kenya institute of Administration) in 1950. By 1955, Moi was Assistant principal for Tambach Teachers Training college in Kabarnet.

Moi then married his wife: Lena, with who he had children. It was while at Tambach that his life and career changed.

Analyse/assess the political career of Daniel Arap Moi.

In 1955, Daniel Arap Moi was elected to the Legico as Member for Rift Valley,, after his predecessor: J. Ole Tameo resigned for unclear reasons.

In the 1957 Legico elections, Moi won by a land-slide against Justus Ole Tipis and soon joined others in the African Elected Members Organization (AEMO).

In 1960, Moi was elected Acting Treasurer of KANU in absentia since he was by then attending a Commonwealth Parliamentary association seminar in Britain. He however did not take up the post when he returned.

That very 1960, Moi teamed up with Ronald Ngala and founded the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) to challenge KANU and to defend the interests of minority tribes like the Kalenjin.

In 1961, Moi was re-elected as M.P for Baringo North and was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education.

In 1964, Moi became the Minister for Local Government, after which he was appointed Minister for home Affairs.

From 1967-1978, Moi was Kenya's Vice President. In 1968, he became Leader of Government Business.

In 1976, a group of politicians, including Paul Ngei, Jackson Angaine, Kihika Kimani, Njenga Karume and James Gichuru failed due to lack of Kenyatta's support in their move to change the Constitution in order to prevent Moi from succeeding Kenyatta.

Discuss the life/role of Daniel Arap Moi as Kenya's President.

After Kenyatta's death in 1978, Daniel Arap Moi ascended to the Presidency of Kenya. He launched the Nyayo philosophy of Peace, love and Unity, proclaiming to follow Kenyatta's footsteps concerning the governance of Kenya. In the initial stages of his presidency, Moi gained popularity by releasing some political detainees such as George Anyona, Marie Seroney and Mashengu wa Mwachovi.

In 1979, Moi was re-elected unopposed as M.P for Baringo North. Also, the highest honour in the Republic: The Chief of the Golden Heart (CGH) was bestowed on him by the cabinet.

Unfortunately, junior officers from the Kenya Air force staged a coup on 1st August 1982, a culmination of the resentment that had been brewing in the 1970s. They were however defeated by the loyal officers of the Kenya Army under General Jackson Mulinge. With this, Moi's style of administration became authoritarian, marked by torture and detention of dissenting individuals without trial. Such political detainees included Gibson Kamau Curia, Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, Gitobu Imanyara and Raila Odinge.

In response, the world Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) stopped funding Kenya, leaving Moi with no option but to allow multipartism by repealing section 2A of the constitution of Kenya in 1991 in addition to other reforms that enabled him to consolidate his power as

President. The Kenya political scene was then characterised by ethnic clashes and a highly fragmented opposition, within which Moi exposed division in addition to ethnic tension all over Kenya for him to be re-elected as President in 1992 and 1997.

Barred by the constitution to contest the 2002 Presidential elections, Moi picked Uhuru Kenyatta (a son of the first President of Kenya) as his successor, which deeply divided KANU, causing some members to break away and form or join other parties such as the Liberal Democratic party.

On 30th December 2002, Moi peacefully handed over presidential power to Mwai Kibaki, whose National rainbow Coalition (NARC) defeated KANU in the 2002 General elections, in which he also was replaced as M.P for Baringo Central by his son: Gideon Moi, who was elected unopposed.

In 2003, Moi stepped down as KANU's Chairman, bringing his five-decade-long political era to an end.

In what ways did Daniel Arap Moi contribute to nation building in Kenya? (Discuss the role of Daniel Arap Moi in nation building in Kenya.)

He introduced the Nyayo philosophy of Peace, love and Unity, intended to enhance national unity and cooperation. He conducted several Harambes across the country to support needy cases e.g. the disabled and poor.

He helped improve infrastructure by extending roads, introduction of Nyayo buses and building of airports in Mombasa and Eldoret.

He helped improve the Agricultural sector, which is the backbone of Kenya's economy by, for instance, establishing the Nyayo Tea Zones to increase tea production.

He launched the District focus for rural Development (DFRD), which involved local people and the identification and implementation of projects based on the priorities of the community as a means of ensuring a balanced economic development.

In health, he helped expand medical facilities and services through building of Nyayo Wards across the country.

In what ways did Daniel Arap Moi promote/step up education in Kenya?

His reign saw the change from the 7-4-2-3 to the 8-4-4 system.

He helped increase the number of schools, universities and middle-level colleges by organizing Harambes to assist learning institutions.

He introduced the Nyayo Milk program in primary schools to ease hunger among children from poor families. Unfortunately, the Free milk program could not be sustained.

In what ways did Moi win international recognition? (Why did Daniel Arap Moi gain international recognition as a great leader?)

Internationally, Moi gained recognition as a great leader in the following ways:

He ably represented Kenyans abroad during meetings of the United Nations organization, the Commonwealth of Nations and the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union).

He opened the Kenya-Tanzania border in 1983, hence restoring East African economic cooperation after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977.

He helped revive the East African Cooperation in the 1990s and led Peace initiatives in East and Central Africa as well as the horn of Africa, particularly Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia.

Explain the challenges/setbacks encountered by Daniel Arap Moi as Kenya's President. (What problems did Daniel Arap Moi face as Kenya's President? Or:

Explain the factors that undermined Daniel Arap Moi's Presidency.)

Towards the end of Moi's reign, his government was increasingly unpopular due to various weaknesses such as the following:

Corruption, evidenced in the grabbing of public utilities and funds, e.g. the Goldenberg scandal, which involved the loss of billions of shillings from state coffers.

A lot of poverty in Kenya due to corruption and a weakened economy, with 50% of Kenyans living below the Poverty line at the beginning of the 21st century, forcing the government to embark on Poverty Reduction programs to alleviate (arrest) the situation.

Amnesty International and other groups accused the Moi regime for Human Rights violation. They cited torture, arbitrary arrest, the unsolved murder of Robert Ouko and that of Bishop Alexander Muge as well as tribal clashes among other cases.

Kenya was diplomatically isolated by the dornier community because of her strained relations with Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, which caused loss of revenue.

Kenya was stripped of aid by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The spread of HIV-AIDS.

The attempted coup of 1st August 1982 by junior officers of the Kenya Air force.

Constant criticism over governance during the One-party period, which culminated in the agitation for multipartism.

Opposition parties like FORD-Kenya, FORD-People, National development Party and NARC rivalled his party: KANU.

Natural disasters like famine (1984 and 1993) and the El Niño rains (1997), which weakened the economy.

Oginga Odinga Jaramogi

Discuss the early life of Oginga Odinga.

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was born to Mama Opondo Nyar Magolo and Mzee Odinga in 1911 at Nyamira Kang'o village, Sakwa Location in Bondo district of Nyanza province of Kenya.

In 1926, Oginga began his formal education at Maranda Primary school, where he sat for the Common Entrance examination in 1929. From 1930-1934, he attended Maseno Intermediate school. There, he became a school Prefect. With his friends from neighbouring clans, Oginga formed the Coast Boys Association to assist in setting and marking examinations.

In 1935, he joined Alliance High School in Kikuyu. Two years later, he proceeded to Makerere University College in Uganda, from where he graduated in 1939 with a Diploma in Education.

On his return to Kenya, Oginga was assigned a Teaching job at Maseno School between 1940-1942. He later became the Head teacher of Maseno Veterinary school from 1943-1946.

At Maseno, Oginga worked with Europeans and resented (opposed) racism. He dropped his Christian name Adonijah in favour of Ajuma. In fact, he insisted that his children be baptised in church, but with African names. In 1947, Oginga resigned from Maseno Veterinary School to venture into business.

Discuss Oginga Odinga's socioeconomic pursuits. (Explain Oginga Odinga's socioeconomic contribution to development in Kenya.)

While Kenyatta viewed political power as the avenue for economic strength, Oginga Odinga felt the need for Africans to attain economic power, which would then give them political standing. That was why he ventured into business to enable him to fight against White domination.

In 1945, Oginga and four others founded the Bondo Thrift Association (which was later renamed the Luo Thrift and Trading Cooperation (LUTATCO)) to raise funds for starting a business in order to break the European and Asian Economic monopoly in Kenya. Under Oginga's chairmanship, LUTATCO built shops and posho mills and traded in foodstuffs, fish, hides and skins. They even owned Ramogi press, which was first based in Nairobi, but was later moved to Kisumu and published newspapers such as Nyanza Times, radio Posta, Sauti Ya Muafrika, Mumenyereri and a Luo publication called Ramogi, which advanced anticolonial sentiments and was edited by Achieng' Oneko: Oginga's student at Maseno, who became a prominent Kenyan nationalist. The two built Ramogi House and Africa House in Kisumu in 1956.

To improve the welfare of his Luo people, Oginga Odinga formed the Luo Union: a welfare organization for Luos living in urban areas, which in 1953 merged with other small locational and Clan associations to form the Dala Moro Luo Union of East Africa, still with Oginga Odinga as Patron. At this point, Oginga was the undisputed hero of the Luo community. His admirers referred to him as Jaramogi, which means Son of Ramogi, Ramogi being the mythical ancestor of all Luo.

In 1954, Councillor Ambrose Ofafa of Nairobi (a Luo from Alego) was assassinated by Mau Mau warriors, allegedly for being a collaborator. The British urged the Luo to join Agikuyu home guards and kill the Agikuyu masses in revenge, but Oginga went to Nairobi and urge the Luo to understand the course of the Mau Mau war and avoid killing fellow Africans. He urged the Luo to raise funds to build a Memorial for Ofafa. He personally travelled across major east African towns raising funds for the building of the Ofafa Memorial Hall in 1957, which became the headquarters of the Luo Union.

Assess Oginga Odinga's political career. (Explain the role of Oginga Odinga in Kenya's political

arena.)

From 1947-1949, he was elected member of the Central Nyanza district Council.

When Jomo Kenyatta visited Kisumu in 1948, Oginga Odinga urged the Luo to join KAU, which Kenyatta had reorganized.

In 1956, Oginga was elected Central Nyanza representative to the Legico, joining seven others from various parts of Kenya. He then became Chairman of the African Elected Members organization (AEMO).

By the end of 1958, he and other leaders of AEMO together with Asian members of the Legico and one white member, formed the Constituency Elected Members Organization (CEMO), which demanded further constitutional reforms and the release of Jomo Kenyatta. They sent a multiracial delegation to London to resolve the constitutional stalemate. The government promised a new constitution later in 1959.

That same 1959, there was a split in the AEMO. Masinde Muliro, Daniel Arap Moi, Bernard Mate, Taita Arap Toet, Jeremiah Nyaga and Ronald Ngala formed the National party of Kenya, which was later joined by all Asian and Arab members of the Legico. Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya and Gikonyo Kiano formed the Kenya Independence Movement (KIM), with Oginga Odinga as President, Mboya as Secretary and Kiano as Chairman.

In 1960, after the first Lancaster house Conference, Oginga Odinga and other members formed the Kenya African national Union (KANU), of which Oginga was vice President. Oginga travelled to Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, the USSR and other Eastern European countries, which created an ideological rift within KANU as Oginga was accused of being a Communist agent.

Under the coalition government agreed on at the Second Lancaster House Conference of 1962, Oginga Odinga became minister for home Affairs.

Discuss the importance of Oginga Odinga in postcolonial Kenya.

Between 1964-1966, President Kenyatta appointed Oginga Odinga to the posts of Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs as a reward for Oginga's and Luo support during the struggle for independence.

Soon after, Oginga Odinga and other radicals disagreed with Kenyatta and his colleagues over Kenyatta's Land policy as they demanded immediate compensation of the Mau Mau fighters, free land for the landless, nationalization of some companies and active trade unionism. But Kenyatta and other moderates wanted gradual change from colonialism to independence, including making agreements for large scale settler farms to be bought by the government, from which landless Africans would buy them. Kenyatta and his colleagues hoped that by so-doing, they would get the much needed foreign aid from and establish close ties with the West. They also agreed that Trade unions be controlled by the government for the well being of the employees.

In mid 1964, it was rumoured that Oginga Odinga, whose detractors had branded a communist, was planning to seize and take over control of the government with the assistance of communist sympathizers while the Prime Minister (Kenyatta) was away and that he was smuggling Communist arms into Kenya, which Oginga dismissed as propaganda, owing to the fact that the arms in question were imported from Britain with the knowledge and authority from Kenyatta and the then Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Due to attacks and pressure from the U S Ambassador to Kenya and Oginga's own colleagues, Oginga was kicked out of his influential position during KANU's 1966 Annual Delegates Conference at Limuru, when the post of the party's vice president was abolished and replaced with seven vice presidents representing six regions and Nairobi. Oginga then resigned as Kenya's vice President and Minister for Home Affairs.

That same 1966, Oginga and 29 other members of parliament resigned and formed an opposition party: the Kenya People's Union (KPU), which contested 28 of the 29 vacant seats in a little general election that was called that year, but won less than ten seats, making it difficult for KPU leadership to expand the party's membership in addition to the fact that KANU was out to undermine KPU.

Oginga published his book "Not yet Uhuru", in which he wanted Kenyatta to know that the Europeans still wanted to rule Kenya from behind the scene and reiterated that it was time for Kenyans to manage their country, to produce wealth and avoid dependence on foreign aid.

KPU was proscribed in 1969 after Oginga Odinga, Achieng Oneko and its other members were detained when Kenyatta's motorcade was stoned at a gathering in Kisumu due to Luo anger over Tom Mboya's death and Kenyatta's hostile speech against Oginga Odinga, at which thirteen people were killed and many others injured when the president's Security personnel opened fire against the mob.

After Oginga's release in 1971, hurdles were put against him by the government, which made it difficult for him to return to active politics. He even bought a new Life Membership of KANU in order to participate in the 1974 general elections, but was still disqualified on the basis that he had not demonstrated a genuine change of heart as required by KANU.

Oginga embarked on reasserting himself as the leader of the Luo. Aspiring Luo members of Parliament who had Oginga's support got elected while those who opposed Oginga got little or no votes. Oginga himself took up farming and business.

In 1980, President Daniel Arap Moi appointed Oginga chairman of the Cotton lint and seed marketing Board in addition to signing and presenting him with a KANU Life Membership card, but shortly later at a rally in Mombasa, Oginga described Kenyatta as a Land grabber, which prompted President Moi to throw Oginga back into political limbo, stating that whoever did not respect Kenyatta's leadership would not appreciate the Nyayo government.

In 1982, there was speculation that Oginga and George Anyona were planning to form their own party, which prompted the government to swiftly amend the constitution, making Kenya a Dejure one-party state (one-party state by law). Later that same year, Oginga Odinga was put under house arrest and was restricted to his Kisumu home as pro-Odinga members of the cabinet such as Oloo Aringo were fired after Oginga was suspected of having been involved in the August 1982 coup attempt. The restriction was lifted before the 1983 General elections.

In 1984, Oginga tried but failed to launch and register the Ramogi development Trust (TADET), a non-political organization aimed at alleviating poverty in Luoland by giving financial assistance to the people, because the government denied it registration.

In 1987, Oginga embarked on writing open letters to President Moi on the issue of change. He demanded more freedom and democracy and warned Kenyan leaders against blocking demands for more openness and treating Kenya as their personal property.

Explain the role of Oginga Odinga in the struggle for multipartism in Kenya.

In the 1990s, Oginga Odinga linked up with Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, his son Raila Odinga and many pressure groups, including lawyers, the Clergy and professionals to set up a public campaign for reintroduction of pluralism in Kenya.

In his New Year message to Kenyans in 1991, Oginga prophesied that before the year was over, the fight for multipartism would have been won. In February that same year, he announced the formation of the National Democratic party (NDP), which was denied registration on the basis that Kenya was still a Dejure one-party state.

In August 1991, Oginga Odinga teamed up with Masinde Muliro, Martin Shikuku, Philip Gachoka, George Nthenge and Ahmed Salum Bamahriz, with whom he formed the forum for the restoration of Democracy (FORD) as a Pressure group to fight for pluralism. When the government repealed Section 2A of the Constitution in December 1991, Ford evolved into an opposition party, of which he became interim National chairman. It later split into two factions: Oginga's FORD-Kenya and Matiba's Ford-Asili.

After the historical multiparty General Elections of December 1992, the opposition lost to KANU. Odinga became the Leader of the opposition as Moi formed the government.

Oginga adopted the policy of Cooperation with the ruling party for national development, although his move brought about disagreements with other Ford Officials, leading to resignation of key members of the party's Executive such as Paul Muite, Gitobu Imanyara, Kiraitu Murungi and Maalim Farah). Oginga however remained in control of the party.

On 20th January 1994, Oginga Odinga passed away. His son Oburu Odinga succeeded him as Member of Parliament for Bondo constituency.

Explain why Oginga Odinga is regarded as the father of opposition politics in the history of Kenya. (Explain the role of Oginga Odinga in opposition politics in Kenya.)

He led the Kenya Independent Movement to oppose the multiracial concession and the idea of having special seats proposed in the Lennox Boyd Constitution.

After independence, he opposed Kenyatta's Land policy, which was accommodative of the settlers. He teamed up with Bildad Kagia and others to demand radical changes in which land would be given to the landless, and adoption of the Nationalization policy. Kenyatta and his moderate colleagues wanted gradual changes. Oginga was viewed as a Communist, while other leaders were pursuing capitalist ideals.

In 1966, at the Limuru Conference, after his removal from KANU's vice Presidency, Oginga Odinga resigned as Kenya's Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs. He teamed up with other dissidents and formed an opposition Party: The Kenya People's Union (KPU). The party was banned in 1969 by the Kenyatta government since it had got less than ten of the twenty-eight seats contested in the little General Election held in 1966.

Between 1970-1990, Oginga remained critical of the government. He was put under house arrest and barred from contesting Parliamentary elections.

Oginga Odinga is remembered for the struggle for the introduction of multipartism. In February 1991, he launched an opposition political party: the National Democratic Party (NDP).

Together with Martin Shikuku, Masinde Muliro and others, Oginga Odinga formed the Forum For The Restoration Of Democracy (FORD) as a Pressure-group to fight for Pluralism.

When section 2A of the constitution was repealed in 1991, FORD evolved into an Opposition party, with Oginga as its interim Chairman. FORD later split into FORD-Kenya under Oginga and FORD-Asili under Kenneth Matiba.

In the Multiparty elections of 1992, the Opposition lost to KANU, but Oginga Odinga became the Leader of the Official Opposition in Parliament.

Thomas Joseph Mboya

Analyse/discuss the early life of Tom Mboya.

Thomas Joseph Mboya was born to Leonardus Ndiege and Marcela Awuor: both Luos from Rusinga Island in Nyanza province of Kenya on a settlers' sisal estate in Kilimambogo near Thika, where his father worked, on 15th august 1930.

Mboya attended Donyo Sabuk primary school before proceeding to saint Mary's Yala, where he sat for his Junior Secondary School examination in 1945.

He joined the Holy Ghost College in Mang'u in 1946, from where he obtained the African Secondary School Certificate. He lacked school fees and could not continue with higher education.

He then undertook a sanitary Inspectors course at the Royal Sanitary Institute in Kabete, from where he graduated in 1950 and where he had been elected President of the students Council, an experience that later influenced his political career.

In 1951, Mboya was employed as a Sanitary Inspector by the Nairobi municipal council. Here, Mboya was exposed to European racism against Africans, which triggered his interest in the Trade union movement. He soon became Chairman of the Kenya Inspectors Association.

In 1953, Mboya married his first wife: Ogweni, with who he begat a daughter: Rosemary Alakie, but with who he separated in 1954. In 1961, he married Pamela Odede, with who he had four children.

Explain the role played by Tom Mboya in the Trade Union movement.

Because Tom Mboya began working during the Emergency years, he entered politics through the Trade Union movement, because political activities were banned.

In 1951, Mboya joined the Nairobi African Local government Servants Association (NALGSA), of which he became Vice president in 1952. This was a Staff Welfare association, but Mboya hoped to transform it into a Trade union.

In the very 1952, the Kenya Federation of registered Trade unions was formed to coordinate Trade union activities. Mboya became its Secretary General and managed to triple its membership by persuading staff associations to register as trade unions. Mboya affiliated KFRTU to the International confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in the USA and the British Trade Union Congress (BTUC). Because of such links, the colonial government in Kenya could not ban trade unions in the country.

In 1953, Mboya became secretary General for the Kenya Local Government Workers Union (KLGWU), which was an Umbrella organization of all local government workers unions in

Kenya. He used this position to argue for fair treatment of indigenous Africans and to protest against mass arrests, detention and torture.

Mboya championed the formation of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour and the Uganda Trade Union. He attended seminars on the education of workers in Switzerland, Brussels and London, during which he met Jawaharlal Nehru: the leader of the Indian Trade Union congress, apart from acquiring ideas on organization of similar seminars. He demanded the release of detained trade unionists and political leaders.

In 1954, Mboya won a government scholarship to study at Ruskin College: Oxford, United Kingdom, but he deferred the course to 1955 due to his commitment in trade unionism.

In 1955, the Mombasa dock workers called upon Mboya to mediate in their strike, which threatened to undermine activities at the dock. He won for them a 33% pay-rise and improved working conditions.

In October 1955, Mboya joined Ruskin College: Oxford, to study Economics, Political and Industrial Relations. During his stay in Britain, he wrote an article titled: The Kenyan Question: An African Answer, which boosted awareness of the Kenyan situation and the need for democracy. The article received overwhelming international attention.

On completing his studies, Mboya was sponsored by the American Committee on Africa to visit the USA, where he was received by unionists such as George Meaney of the African Federation Of labour Congress And industrial Organization (AFLCIO). He gave public lectures on African grievances in Kenya and secured scholarships for Africans from different countries to study in U S universities.

Because Mboya was very organized, with high intelligence, hard work and other personal abilities, he was appointed to various advisory boards and committees. For instance, in 1958, he was made the Chairman of East, Central and southern area Committees of the international Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). He also became Chairman of the All Africa People's Conference (AAPC).

Explain how Tom Mboya's involvement in the Trade Union Movement influenced his political career.

In 1952, Mboya joined the Kenya African Union (KAU), of which he became Treasurer before it was banned by the government and its leaders detained.

On his return to Kenya from studies in Britain, he participated in and won election to the legislative Council in 1957 as member for Nairobi East constituency. He and seven other elected Africans formed the African Elected Members organization (AEMO), which opposed the Lyttelton and Lennox Boyd constitutional reforms and of which he became Secretary.

In 1958, on Kwame Nkruma's advice, Mboya formed the Nairobi People's Convention Party (NPCP), which ran a newspaper: Uhuru. It lasted for three years and merged with KANU in 1960.

Mboya closely worked with Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in forming the Pan African Freedom movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) to coordinate and speed up the liberation movement in the region.

Mboya was one of the delegates to the 1960 First Lancaster House Conference, which agreed on the formation of a national political party, paving the way for the emergence of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), of which Mboya became Secretary General.

In 1962, Mboya attended the Second Lancaster House Conference, purposed to draft Kenya's Independence constitution. He chaired the committee in charge of drafting KANU's views at the conference.

Explain the role of Tom Mboya in nation building. (Discuss Tom Mboya's contribution in nation building in Kenya.)

As Minister for Labour in the coalition government of KANU and KADU in 1962, Mboya drew the Labour Relations charter to regulate relations between employers and employees.

As Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Mboya was involved in constitutional amendments in 1963, by which Kenya became a Republic in 1964.

As Minister for Planning and Economic development, Mboya drafted and published the Sessional paper nO.10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya. He also produced the 1966 and 1970 development plan for Kenya.

As Secretary General for KANU, Mboya organized the 1966 Limuru conference, which organized fresh KANU elections and resolved the conflict between radicals and moderates in KANU. It replaced the position of Vice President with seven Vice Presidents: one from each of the six regions and one from Nairobi. It was purposed to remove Oginga Odinga from the post of Party Vice president.

Mboya took advantage of the contacts he made with U S President: J.F Kennedy and the funds he raised through the American Students Foundation in 1959 to organize students airlifts to the USA for further studies. Through the scheme, over 2000 students were trained.

In 1963, Mboya published an autobiography titled Freedom and after, in which he expressed great optimism for the future of Kenya.

On 5th July 1969, tom Mboya was shot dead outside a Chemists shop on what is now Moi Avenue, allegedly by Nahashon Njenga.

Mboya's death strained relations between the Agikuyu and the Luo due to suspicions that the government was privy to Mboya's assassination. Indeed, as Kenyatta addressed a crowd in Kisumu that same year, his motorcade was pelted with stones and rotten eggs, leading to bloody reprisals and to the arrest and detention of Oginga Odinga, Achieng' Oneko and other Luo leaders. The Kenya People's Union was banned.

Some of Mboya's speeches are contained in a book titled The Challenge Of Nationhood, which was published after Mboya's death.

Ronald Ngala

Assess the early life of Ronald Ngala.

Ronald Gideon Ngala was born in 1922 at Gotani in Kilifi district of the Coast province of Kenya. His Father: Vidzo Wan gala, moved to and settled at Vishakani near Kaloleni, where he worked for a mission as a carpenter and where Ronald was baptized.

In 1930, Ronald joined Saintt John's school: Kaloleni, from where he proceeded to Shimo La Tewa School and the Alliance High school, from where he proceeded to Makerere University in Uganda for a Diploma course in Education.

On completion of his training, Ronald went back to and taught at Saint Johns and then Mbale Secondary school in Taita before he proceeded to Bristol in Britain for further studies.

In 1949, Ngala wrote a book on the Giriama culture. In 1952, he became head teacher for Buxton School, which later became Mombasa Industrial Training Centre. He then became supervisor of schools in Mombasa in 1957.

Analyse/assess Ronald Ngala's political career. (Explain the role of Ronald Ngala in Kenya's political arena.)

Ronald Ngala's political career began when he joined the Coast African Association (C A A), which was formed in 1943 and through which the coastal Africans could air their grievances.

In the 1950s, Ngala was appointed member of the Mombasa African Advisory Council, which was formed to represent African interests on the Mombasa municipal Board. He was able to meet other coastal politicians such as Francis Hamisi, who later inspired him to join politics.

In 1955, Ngala and others formed the Mombasa African Democratic Union (MADU). In 1956, Ngala assisted in formation of the Kilifi African People's Union (KAPU).

In 1957, Ngala was elected alongside seven others to the Legico. He represented the Coastal rural constituencies. He then became Treasurer of the African Elected Members Organization (AEMO), which demanded further representation, reduction of Voter requirements and that elections be conducted on a One Man One Vote basis.

Alongside Tom Mboya, Ngala was sent to London to press for further constitutional reforms from the British government, which led to the Lennox Boyd Constitution, which provided for the increase of African representation from eight to fourteen and for special membership in the Legico, with four members for each race.

Unsatisfied with the proposals made by Lennox Boyd in 1957, Ronald Ngala, Jeremiah Nyaga, Bernard Mate, Daniel Arap Moi, Masinde Muliro and Taita Arap Toet resigned from the (AEMO) and joined Masinde Muliro's Kenya national party (KNP), which, being multiracial, embraced Arab and Asian members of the Legico and accepted the idea of having nominated seats. Gikonyo Kiano, Oginga Odinga, Tom Mboya and other members of the AEMO formed

the Kenya Independent Movement (K I M), which rejected the multiracial concessions of KNP and the idea of having nominated and special seats in the Legico.

With Ngala's influence, members of both K I M and KNP met in Kiambu on 19th November 1959 as members of AEMO to forge a united front to represent African interests in what became known as the First Lancaster House Conference in London in 1960.

In 1960, Ngala was elected in absentia to the post of Treasurer in the KANU party, but he declined the appointment when he returned and argued that KANU was dominated by large ethnic groups i.e. the Agikuyu and the Luo. Shortly later, at a meeting in Ngong', Ngala and other leaders formed the Kenya African Democratic union (KADU). Among KADU's affiliate district based groups were: the Mombasa African District Union, the Abaluhya Political Union, the Kalenjinn Political Alliance and the Maasai United Front.

In the first Lancaster House Conference of 1960, Ngala represented KADU, advocating a Federal (Majimbo) constitution. Led by Mboya, KANU favoured centralization of power on the Presidency.

After KANU won the 1961 elections but declined to form the government due to Kenyatta's continued detention, Ngala formed the government, supported by Michael Blundel and his New Kenya party. Later that year, Ngala was appointed the Minister for Education. He became the leader of Government Business. In 1962, at the Second Lancaster house conference, where Ngala led the KADU delegation, It was resolved that Kenya adopt a Federal (Majimbo) constitution with a strong central government. In the 1963 elections held under this new constitution, KANU won. Ngala became the leader of the opposition and M.P for Kilifi constituency.

Persuaded by Oginga Odinga and other colleagues, Ngala disbanded KADU in 1964. He was appointed Minister for cooperative and social services in 1966. Later, he was made Minister for Power and Communication.

On 25th December 1972, Ronald Gideon Ngala died in a road accident near Konza. Interestingly, the position of Leader of Government Business that was held by Ronald Ngala in 1961 was held for three months in 1998 by his son: Noah Katana Ngala. Ronald Ngala played a significant role in shaping the politics of the Coastal region during the colonial period.

Wangari maathai (1940 – to date)

Early life.

Wangari Muta Maathai was born on April 1, 1940, in the village of Ithithe in Nyeri. Like many Kenyans Maathai came from a farming family, in her own words, her parents taught her to "respect the soil and its bounty." "I grew up close to my mother in the field, where I could observe nature."

Maathai's home life was very much like other Kenyans in other ways as well. Her father was considered the head of the house. In particular, education for women and girls was not valued, or even encouraged. But Maathai was extremely bright, and her older brother persuaded their parents to send her to school when she was seven years old. She did so well in her studies that in 1960 Maathai earned a scholarship to attend college in the United States.

Education.

Maathai attended Mount St. Scholastica College (now Benedictine College) in Atchison, Kansas in USA, where she was known to her classmates as Mary Jo. After earning a bachelor's degree in biology in 1964 she went on to receive a master's degree in biological sciences at the University of Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) in 1966. Her years in the United States had a profound effect on her, especially since she was exposed to the many demonstrations against the Vietnam War (1954–75; a controversial war in which the United States aided South Vietnam in its fight against a takeover by Communist North Vietnam). Watching Americans express themselves made Maathai realize that people had a right to speak out for what they believed in.

Although she enjoyed her experiences in the United States, Maathai decided to return to Kenya, where, in 1971 she completed her doctoral studies in veterinary anatomy at the University of Nairobi. She was the first woman in East or Central Africa to earn a Ph.D.

Professional Life.

Maathai then joined the faculty of the university as a professor of veterinary anatomy, becoming the first woman to hold a professorship at the school. During the early 1970s the fledgling instructor married and had three children. Her husband, Mwangi Maathai, was a politician who divorced his wife in the mid-1980s, claiming that she was too educated and too difficult to control.

The Green Belt Movement.

While still a professor Maathai became involved in politics when she joined the National Council of Women of Kenya, an organization devoted to bettering the status of African women. While speaking to people living in rural areas, she discovered that the government had induced farmers to switch from growing crops for themselves to producing cash crops, such as coffee and tea, for exporting. As a result, large expanses of forested land had been cleared to make room for more commercial farm production. Such change had a damaging effect on rural family life, especially for women. They could no longer grow food for their children because nutrients in the soil were depleted; they had no access to firewood, which was their main source of energy; livestock suffered because there was no vegetation to graze on; and streams were drying up or were polluted by soil runoff, resulting in a lack of drinking water.

Considering how enormous the issues were, Maathai felt that an immediate and straightforward plan was needed. She came up with a simple solution: plant trees. On Earth Day in 1977 Maathai put her plan into action by planting seven trees to honor Kenyan women environmental leaders. (Earth Day is an annual day set aside to honor and celebrate the environment.) Later that year, with backing from the National Council of Women, the budding environmentalist quit teaching and formed the Green Belt Movement.

The group started small, with only a handful of villagers gathering seeds and planting them.

At first, she received little support, but eventually the first small groups of villagers trained other groups and over the next thirty years, more than thirty million trees were planted. Six thousand tree nurseries were created and operated by women, and jobs were provided for more than one hundred thousand people. Most importantly, an enormous power shift occurred as women began to take control of their futures.

Although planting trees was the most visible Green Belt campaign, it was not its only focus. With support from the National Council of Women, Maathai created programs aimed at educating Kenyan women in areas such as family planning, nutrition, and leadership development. The movement also created a food-security campaign to reintroduce crops originally grown in the region and to reestablish kitchen gardens for individual family use.

As the Green Belt Movement expanded, Maathai found herself increasingly at odds with the Kenyan government. She had started to see the linkages between the problems that green belt was dealing with government policy. Maathai became an outspoken advocate for environmental policy reform; she also held seminars to educate citizens that they must hold government officials accountable for managing natural resources. One of the first public confrontations came in 1989 when Maathai openly protested the building of a \$200 million, sixty-story skyscraper in Nairobi's Uhuru Park that was slated to be used for government offices. Maathai's campaign was so successful that the building was never constructed.

Since the 2002 elections, the political climate in Kenya took a turn for the better, with government leaders listening more intently to issues affecting women, and in turn allowing women to have more participation in policy decisions. Given this new climate, the Green Belt Movement established a program in 2003 called Women for Change (WFC). The goal of the program was to give women, especially young girls, a new sense of empowerment through education.

In 2003 the president of Kenya, Mwai Kibaki (1931–), declared an official "War on HIV/AIDS" and, in response, WFC instituted training sessions on sexual and reproductive health to teach young women how to protect themselves from becoming infected with the HIV virus and how to avoid early pregnancy. Other WFC initiatives include providing scholarships and tuition assistance to young girls who excel academically, and training women to gain income-generating skills, such as bee keeping.

WFC also hoped to tackle some long-ingrained cultural problems. One way to do that is through the creation of a center for abused women and children. The purpose of the center was and is to offer safety and shelter to women and children. More importantly it is an education center for both men and women to break the cycle of abuse.

Political Life.

Maathai began speaking out against the general corruption that ran wild throughout the administration of then-president Daniel arap Moi . Moi took office in 1978 and since then had ruled with a strong arm. In 1991 Maathai formalized her political activism by cofounding the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy. As a result Maathai became a particular target of Moi's government. For example, in 1992, while participating in a hunger strike with mothers who were protesting the imprisonment of their sons—men who were pro-democracy activists—Maathai was brutally beaten by police.

Throughout the 1990s Maathai was arrested, imprisoned, and intimidated time and again for speaking out against the Moi administration. She remained undaunted, however, and even made several attempts to run for public office. In 1992 following the repeal of section 2A of the constitution and re introduction of multi-party system in government, Maathai was approached to run for the presidency, but declined. In 1997 she agreed to run both for the presidency under the Liberal Party of Kenya (LPK) and for a seat in parliament. Prior to the election the LPK withdrew their support of Maathai because of political differences—the party felt she would focus solely on environmental issues. Maathai also lost her bid for a seat in parliament, coming in third.

In the December 2002 elections Kenyan citizens voted in a new administration, with Mwai Kibaki serving as president. During the same elections Maathai won a seat in the National Assembly. Until 2007, she represented the Tetu constituency, Nyeri district in central Kenya (her home region). From 2003- 2007 Professor Maathai served as Assistant Minister for Environment and Natural Resources in Kenya's ninth parliament.

Maathai also worked to enact laws to protect not only the environment but also women's rights and human rights. In 2005 she was central in helping to shape Kenya's new Bill of Rights; she also represented Kenya at the 2005 United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, an international body of representatives convened to promote the rights of women worldwide. In addition, Maathai continued in her role as an internationally recognized environmentalist. By late 2005, through the Pan-African Green Belt Network, over fifteen African countries had become involved with the Green Belt Movement. The movement also spread beyond the African borders to the United States, where representatives work through the Friends of the Greenbelt Movement North America. In 2005 a primary goal of Maathai was to extend the resources of the Green Belt Movement to help other areas of the world, such as the Republic of Haiti, which has also been ravaged by deforestation.

Awards and commendations

For her lifelong dedication to environmental and human rights Maathai has received numerous awards, including the Goldman Environmental Prize, the Right Livelihood Award, and the United Nation's Africa Prize for Leadership. In 2004 Maathai was honored with the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize, named after Swedish industrialist Alfred Nobel (1833–1896). The award is given annually by the Nobel Committee to individuals or organizations that work to promote peace, resolve conflict, or uphold human rights.

Professor Maathai is internationally recognized for her persistent struggle for democracy, human rights and environmental conservation. She has addressed the UN on several occasions and spoke on behalf of women at special sessions of the General Assembly during the five-year review of the Earth Summit. She served on the commission for Global Governance and the Commission on the Future. She and the Green Belt Movement have received numerous awards, most notably the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize, named after Swedish industrialist Alfred Nobel (1833–1896). The award is given annually by the Nobel Committee to individuals or organizations that work to promote peace, resolve conflict, or uphold human rights.

Professor Maathai was listed 6th in the Environment Agency (UK) peer review of the world's Top 100 Eco-Heroes. She was also included in UNEP's Global 500 Hall of Fame and named one of the 100 heroines of the world. In June 1997, Professor Maathai was elected by Earth Times as one of 100 persons in the World who have made a difference in the environmental arena. In 2005, Professor Maathai was honored by Time Magazine as one of 100 most influential people in the world, and by Forbes Magazine as one of 100 most powerful women in the world.

Professor Maathai has also received honorary doctoral degrees from several institutions around the world: Williams College (1990), Hobart & William Smith Colleges (1994), University of Norway (1997), Yale University (2004), Willamette College (2005), University of California at Irvine (2006), and Morehouse University (2006).

Dr. Maathai has also written two books of her own: an autobiography, *Unbowed*, and an explanation of her organizational method, *The Green Belt Movement: Sharing the Approach and the Experience*.

Professor Maathai serves on the boards of organizations including the UN Secretary Generals Advisory Board on Disarmament, the Jane Goodall Institute, Women and Environment Development Organization (WEDO), World Learning for International Development, Green Cross International, Environment Liaison Centre International, the Worldwide Network of Women in Environmental Work, the Global Crop Diversity Trust, Prince Albert II of Monaco Environmental Foundation, and the National Council of Women of Kenya.

In 2005 Professor Maathai was elected the Presiding Officer of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the African Union based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. ECOSOCC was formed to advise the African Union on issues related to the African civil society. Dr. Maathai was also honored with an appointment as Goodwill Ambassador to the Congo Basin Forest Ecosystem, where she serves in an

In 2006, Professor Maathai founded the Nobel Women's Initiative with her sister Nobel Peace Laureates Jody Williams, Shirin Ebadi, Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan. In 2007 Professor Maathai was invited to be co-chair of the Congo Basin Fund initiated by the UK government to help protect the Congo Forests.

Awards

2010: Earth Hall of Fame, Kyoto (Japan)

2009: Earth Hall of Fame, Kyoto (Japan)

2009: Humanity for Water Award for Outstanding Commitment to Action

2009: The Order of the Rising Sun, Japan

2009: Judge, 2009 Geotourism Challenge, National Geographic, USA

2009: National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP), USA

2008: Dignitas Humana Award, St John's School of Theology, USA

2008: Cinema Verite, Honorary President, France

2008: Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), Honorary Fellowship, UK

2007: The Nelson Mandela Award for Health & Human Rights, South Africa

2007: The Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, India

2007: Cross of the Order of St Benedict, Benedictine College, Kansas, USA

2007: World Citizenship Award, World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts

2006: The Indira Gandhi International Award for Peace, Disarmament & Development, India

2006: Premio Defensa Medio Ambiente, Club Internacional De Prensa, Spain

2006: 6th in 100 Greatest Eco-Heroes of All Time, the Environment Agency, UK

2006: Medal for Distinguished Achievement, University of Pennsylvania, USA

2006: Woman of Achievement Award from the American Biographical Institute Inc., USA

2006: The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights,

Milele (Lifetime) Achievement Award

2006: Legion D'Honneur, Government of France

2006: The IAIA Global Environment Award,

International Association for Impact Assessment, Norway

2006: Disney Wildlife Conservation Fund Award, USA

2006: World Citizenship Award

2005: New York Women's Century Award, New York Women's Foundation, USA

2005: One of the 100 Most Influential People in the World: Time magazine, USA

2005: One of the 100 Most Powerful Women in the World: Forbes magazine, USA

2004: Nobel Peace Prize, the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Norway

2004: Sophie Prize, the Sophie Foundation, Norway

2004: Elder of the Golden Heart, Republic of Kenya

Following her win, Maathai traveled around the world speaking to groups who were charmed by her dazzling smile and classy-but-friendly attitude. According to Judith Stone of O Magazine she is a "notoriously terrific hugger." And during an interview, the famous environmentalist is quoted to have said, "People often ask me what drives me," Maathai revealed. "Perhaps the more difficult question would be: What would it take to stop me?"

THE FORMATION, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

- Kenya is a democratic country. This is exercised through regular elections where registered voters choose leaders for public office.
- General elections are held on the second Tuesday of August every five years. During the general elections the registered voters cast ballots for the president, members of the national parliament, the governors and members of the county assemblies.
- An *Electoral System* refers to the way in which elections are conducted in terms of the body responsible for conducting the elections and the rules and principles guiding the process.

- The electoral process in Kenya is supervised by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)...

Principles that guide the Kenyan electoral system

- Freedom of citizens to exercise their political rights.
- Not more than two third of the members shall be of the same gender.
- Fair representation of persons with disabilities.
- Universal suffrage based on the aspiration for fair representation and equality of vote.
- Free and fair elections conducted by secret ballot free from violence and intimidation.
- Independent and transparent elections administered in an impartial, neutral and accountable manner.

THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION OF KENYA

This is an autonomous body created by the constitution for the purposes of overseeing the electoral process. It is a constitutional commission.

COMPOSITION.

- Consists of a maximum of nine members headed by the chairperson.
- All commissioners are appointed by parliament with approval of the National Assembly for a single term of six years.
- The chairperson is appointed by the president with approval by the national assembly.
- The vice chair is appointed by the commissioners.
- The secretary is appointed by the commission.
- A chief executive officer is appointed by Commission.

Role of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission in Kenya.

- a) The Commission is responsible for conducting or supervising referenda and elections to any elective body or office.
- b) It is responsible for continuous registration of citizens as voters and regular revision of the voters' roll.
- c) It Prescribes and reviews electoral boundaries in constituencies and wards at intervals of not less than eight years, and not more than twelve years. The constitution provides for 290 constituencies established under the following considerations;
 - ~ Community of interest, historical, economic and cultural ties
 - ~ Geographical features and urban centres
 - ~ Means of communication
- d) It is responsible for regulation of the process by which parties nominate candidates for elections.
- e) The commission is responsible for settlement of electoral disputes, including disputes relating to or arising from nominations. However it does not handle election petitions and disputes subsequent to the declaration of election results.
- f) The registration of candidates for election.
- g) Educate/informs the public on the requirements for voters and contestants
- h) Facilitation of the observation, monitoring and evaluation of elections.
- i) It is responsible for regulation of the amount of money that may be spent by or on behalf of a candidate or party in respect of any election.
- j) Identifies, appoints and trains election officials.
- k) Verifies and announces election results
- l) Prepares ballot papers and other election materials.
- m) Identifies and recommends polling stations.

Types of elections.

There are three types of elections in Kenya;

- a) *General elections.* These are elections held after every five years. Initially they were meant to be held on the second Tuesday in August on the fifth year. But this has since been altered due to the delay in new constitution implementation process
- b) *By elections.* These are elections of new leaders to fill vacant seats left following deaths of occupants, resignation or annulment of their election through successful petition in court.
- c) *Re-run elections*- these are elections held exactly one month after the general elections involving only two presidential candidates in case of no clear winner in the general election.
- d) *Party elections*- held according to political party calendar of events.

Why Kenyans elect their representatives to parliament every five years.

- a) It is a constitutional requirement that Kenyans elect MPs after every five years.
- b) The elections give Kenyans a chance to practice their democratic right of choosing their representatives.
- c) It enables Kenyans control their elected representatives i.e. the fear of losing election ensures that elected representative serve the electorate well.
- d) It enables Kenyans choose between representatives and between parties that express the policies that they agree with.
- e) Through periodic elections, Kenyans are able to participate in activities of their government

The following methods have been used in elections in Kenya. a)

Mololongo (queuing)

b) Acclamation

c) Secret ballot.

THE 2007 ELECTIONS IN KENYA

The electoral process that was adopted by the ECK under the stewardship of Samuel Kivuitu in the 2007 election was very unfair and yielded false results. This caused the outbreak of violence, bloodshed, destruction and loss of property.

The Kreigler commission that was formed to look into the causes of the 2008 violence reported the following weaknesses.

- a) Irregularities in the voter register which excluded 30% of the potential voters the register contained names of deceased persons. Women who had attained the voting age were found to be under represented.
- b) Imbalanced distribution of registered voters among constituencies. Some constituencies like Embakasi had over 200, 000 registered voters while others like Mandera East had less than 20,000 registered voters.
- c) Rampant cheating where in some cases the votes cast were more than 100% of the registered voters.
- d) Existence of exclusive strongholds with some electoral areas being out of bounds for some political parties.
- e) There was a defective system of voter tallying and relaying of information. Some of those declared winners finally lost their seats through election petitions.
- f) Incompetence of the ECK officials with even the chairmen stating clearly that it was impossible to establish who won the elections.
- g) The results relayed sometimes faced integrity queries. Some officials relayed cooked results. h)

The composition of the ECK raised suspicion especially among the opposition.

The principles that govern the electoral process in Kenya.

- a) All citizens have the freedom to exercise their political rights
- b) Not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender.
- c) Persons with disabilities must receive fair representation.

- d) There must be universal suffrage based on the aspiration for fair representation and equality of vote.
- e) The elections should be free and fair and will be by secret ballot, free from violence, intimidation, improper influence or corruption.
- f) The elections will be conducted by an independent body, transparent; and administered in an impartial, neutral, efficient, accurate and accountable manner.

Legislation on Elections.

The following legislations govern the electoral process in Kenya.

- a) The constitution of Kenya-that is a sovereign state and republic with the people owning all sovereign power directly or through democratically elected leaders.
- b) The national assembly and presidential elections Act- it outlines the steps to be followed in the registration of voters, nomination of candidates, polling and counting of votes and other related processes.
- c) The local government act- it gives the procedure and rules for conducting elections for county, municipal and town councils.
- d) The electoral offences Act. – it lays out the election offences like bribing of voters, threatening voters, voting more than once or causing violence on polling day or during campaigns.

Voter registration.

Qualifications of a voter in an electoral process in Kenya.

- a) One must be an adult citizen at least 18 years old.
 - b) He/she must be a Kenyan citizen in possession of an identity card or passport.
 - c) He/she must be a registered voter.
 - d) He/she must be registered at only one registration centre e)
- One must not be an insane person.
- f) He/she must not have been convicted of an election offence during the Preceding five years.

Voter and civic education.

Voter education refers to the provision of information, materials and programmes to voters with the intention of informing them about the specifics of voting process for a particular election. For example, information on who is eligible to vote, where and how to register. *Civic education* is aimed at conveying knowledge to the citizens about the country's political system and context. For example, information about the system of government, the nature and powers of the elective offices, to be filled in an election.

Nomination of candidates.

There are two categories of Nominations a)

- Party nominations
- b) IEBC nominations

Party nominations

This refers to the selection of political *party candidates* to contest in an election. It is done through queuing, acclamation or secret ballot. It may involve nomination for county, parliamentary or presidential elections.

IEBC nominations

Once the political parties have nominated their candidates, they are presented to the IEBC for formal nomination to contest the presidential, parliamentary or county/civic elections.

Independent candidates

A person is eligible to stand as an independent candidate under the following conditions;

- a) The person should not be a member of a registered political party and should not have been a member for atleast three months immediately before the date of elections
- b) He/she must be a registered voter.

- c) He/ she must satisfy the educational, moral and ethical requirements as per the constitution or act of parliament.
- d) In case of national assembly elections, he/she must attract the support of atleast 1000 registered voters in the constituency.
- e) In case of the senate, one must attract the support of atleast 2000 registered voters in the county.

Conditions that must be met by one wishing to be elected Member of Parliament.

- a) A person is eligible for election as a Member of Parliament if the person is registered as a voter.
- b) If the person satisfies any educational, moral and ethical requirements prescribed by the Constitution or by an Act of Parliament.
- c) if he is nominated by a political party, or is an independent candidate who is supported in the case of election to the National Assembly, by at least one thousand Registered voters in the constituency; or in the case of election to the Senate, by at least two thousand registered voters in the county.

Disqualifications for one from being elected a Member the National Assembly.

- a) If the person is a State officer or other public officer, other than a Member of Parliament.
- b) If a person has, at any time within the five years immediately preceding the date of election, held office as a member of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission. c) If a person has not been a citizen of Kenya for at least the ten years immediately preceding the date of election.
- d) If a person is a member of a county assembly. e) If one is of unsound mind.
- f) If one is declared bankrupt.
- g) Is subject to a sentence of imprisonment of at least six months, as at the date of registration as a candidate, or at the date of election.
- h) If one is found, in accordance with any law, to have misused or abused a State office or public office.

An elected MP may lose his/her seat in parliament under the following circumstances. a)

When he/she ceases to be a Kenyan citizen.

b) He /she receive a jail sentence exceeding 6 months or death penalty from a court of law. c)

When he/she resign, through writing to the speaker, from the national assembly.

d) When he/she is declared bankrupt by a court of law. e)

When he/she is found to be of unsound mind.

f) When he/she resigns from the sponsoring political party or as an MP.

g) When he/she fails to attend 8 consecutive sessions during the life of a particular parliament without permission from the speaker.

h) When he/she defects from one party to another.

i) When he/she having been elected to parliament as an independent candidate, decides to join a political party.

Campaigns.

The campaign periods starts immediately after IEBC nomination of candidates and ends 12 hours before the polling day. The main purpose of campaigns is to give the voters chance to assess aspiring candidates and their party policies and strategies and then decide the right candidate.

Polling

Voting is done in the polling station. It takes place from 6.00am to 6.00 pm on the Election Day. Counting of votes begins after the closure of the exercise. The presiding officer then announces the number of votes garnered by each candidate.

The returning officer, the election officer in the constituency then tallies the total votes from all the polling stations and announces per candidate in the constituency. He/she declares the elected mp for the constituency and councilors of each ward. He announces the number of votes per candidate for the presidential elections.

The IEBC then declares the validly elected candidates for the presidential, National Assembly and Senate.

Factors that interfere with free and fair elections in Kenya.

- a) Ethnic loyalties/polarization/Party loyalties. People may be compelled to vote along tribal lines, in total disregard of the leadership records or accomplishment of those they elect.
- b) Illiteracy of some voters. This curtails their ability to mark the ballot papers correctly.
- c) Inadequate civic education. The lack of adequate sensitization of the voters can lead to ineffective election process.

- d) Violence. Harassment of voters by rival groups/ Insecurity/fear instilled in candidates. All forms of chaos makes accessibility to voting stations by voters difficult.
- e) Corruption of candidates and their supporters. This is through bribing of voters to vote for certain candidates.
- f) Incompetent election officials. Some election officials are partisan and therefore unable to preside over elections competently.
- g) *Rigging*. On many occasions aspiring candidates or their agents have complained of rigging. h) Transport difficulties. The electoral process in Kenya has been faced with the problem of Inaccessibility of some polling stations
- i) Communication problems. During the voting day, some remote areas experience communication problems between the headquarters' and the polling stations.
- j) Extreme weather conditions. Delivery of polling materials has sometimes been affected by bad weather.
- k) Gender insensitivity. For a long time, women have not been given a fair share in the electoral process in Kenya.
- l) Use and misuse of mass media. Some politicians own some media houses, sometimes they have subjected them to misuse. There has been also the problem of imbalance when it comes to media coverage of elections.

Electoral guidelines and regulations that may help minimize irregularities.

- a) Whatever voting method is used, the system must be simple, accurate, verifiable, secure, accountable and transparent.
- b) The votes cast must be counted, tabulated and the results announced promptly by the presiding officer at each polling station.
- c) The results from the polling stations must be openly and accurately collated and promptly announced by the returning officer.
- d) Appropriate structures and mechanisms to eliminate electoral malpractices must be in place, including the safekeeping of electoral materials.

Electoral disputes

The following must be observed as pertains to election disputes:

- a) Electoral petitions, other than in a presidential election, must be filed within 28 days after the declaration of the election results by the IEBC.
- b) Service of a petition may be direct or by advertisement in a newspaper with national circulation.

ELECTION OFFICIALS

The following are the officers appointed by the IEBC to assist in administering elections.

1. **District election coordinators.** - Officials responsible for all electoral matters at district level.
They act as a link between people at the grassroots level and the IEBC headquarters.
2. **Registration officers.** - they register voters in each constituency and issue them with voter's card.
3. **Returning officers.** - are in charge of elections in a constituency which has several polling stations. They perform the following functions:

- a) They set up polling booths in each polling station.
- b) They receive nomination papers from prospective candidates

- c) They distribute ballot papers and boxes to polling stations.
 - d) They supervise the voting and counting of votes in the constituency.
 - e) They appoint the presiding officers in each polling station.
 - f) Announcing the results of the elections.
4. **Presiding officers.** –in charge of polling stations. And perform the following duties;
- a) They conduct the polls in an orderly, free and fair manner at the polling station.
 - b) They ensure that every eligible voter votes only once.
 - c) They help illiterate voters mark ballot papers.
 - d) They seal the ballot boxes and transfer them to a central point in the polling station where the votes will be counted.
 - e) They maintain law and order at polling stations and report any irregularities to the returning officer.
 - f) They ensure that there is impartiality in conducting.
5. **Polling clerks.** On the polling day, they assist and guide voters, particularly those who are illiterate.
6. **Security personnel.** –police officers maintain law and order during the polling and counting of votes.
7. **Counting clerks.** –they sort out ballots and then count the ballots per candidate.
8. **Party agents.** – they represent candidates or political parties in a polling station or counting hall to ensure that the polling and counting procedures are transparent , orderly , free and fair.
9. **Observers.** –these are neutral persons who make observations and write reports on the polling and counting exercise to indicate if the elections were free and fair or not.

FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Kenyans directly or indirectly exercise their sovereign or absolute power through their democratically elected representatives. This power is delegated to the state organs or arms of government namely;

- a) The parliament and the legislative assemblies in the county assemblies.
- b) The national executive and the executive structures in the county government.
- c) The judiciary and independent tribunals.

The process of National government formation.

After every election, the party with the majority of seats in the house forms the government by appointing cabinet secretaries from among professionals (not among elected MPs) with the approval of the National Assembly. The president then appoints the judiciary with the advice of the JSC. The president-elect is sworn in by the chief Justice and the members of the three arms of government also take oath.

The three arms of government operate independently and work on checks and balances. The executive is responsible for running the country by developing and implementing policies that lead to national development.

Even after dissolution of parliament after its expiry, the cabinet exists until a new one is

appointed. This is to ensure that there is no power vacuum and that government operations continue.

Role of government in Kenya

- a) Government ensures that social and economic development is undertaken – by putting in place policies to improve schools, hospitals, agriculture, trade, housing and industry.
- b) It upholds human rights and freedoms and ensures that all citizens live in peace and harmony through the administration of justice and maintaining law and order.
- c) Government organizes an effective defence force to protect the country from internal and external aggression.
- d) It also has a duty to establish sound foreign policies to promote international cooperation with other countries by setting up foreign embassies and high commissions.
- e) It has a duty to foster national unity by recognizing diversity and ensuring equitable sharing of national and local resources.
- f) Government protects and promotes the interests and rights of the minorities and marginalized communities.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

The county government is composed of County assemblies, county executive committees and county public service and exist in each of the 47 counties throughout Kenya.

A county government consists of;

- a) Members (one member per ward) elected by the registered voters of the wards in a general election in Kenya.
- b) The Speaker, who is *an ex officio* member.
- c) Members appointed by the county governor, with the approval of the county assembly, from among persons who are not members of the assembly.

The structure of the executive arm of the county government.

The executive authority of the county is vested in the county executive committee. The committee consists of;

- a) The county Governor and the Deputy County Governor who are the chief executive and deputy chief executive of the county respectively.
- b) Members who are not members of the assembly and appointed by the County Governor, with the approval of the assembly. They should be not more than ten other. If the assembly has less than thirty members, the members should be One-third of the number of members of the county assembly.

NB;

- ~ Members of a county executive committee are accountable to the county governor for the performance of their functions and exercise of their powers.
- ~ The appointed members of the county executive committee cease to hold office once the office of the county governor falls vacant.

The election of a county governor.

The county governor is directly elected by the voters registered in the county at a general election for a term of 5 years. To be eligible for election as county governor, a person must be eligible for election as a member of the county assembly. If re-elected, can serve for another final term of 5 years.

Each candidate for election as county governor nominates a person as his/her running mate to be the deputy governor.

Removal of a County Governor from office.

A governor may be removed from office under the following grounds;

- a) Gross violation of the Constitution or any other law.
- b) When the county governor commits a crime under national or international law.
- c) When the governor abuses office or is accused of gross misconduct.
- d) When he/she suffers from Physical or mental incapacity that hinders performance of the functions of office.

The office of the county governor falls vacant when the holder of office;

- a) Dies.
- b) Resigns, in writing, addressed to the speaker of the county assembly.
- c) Is convicted of an offence punishable by imprisonment for at least twelve months.
- d) Ceases to be eligible to be elected as a county governor.
- e) Is removed from office under the constitution.

The deputy county governor assumes office as a county governor for the remainder of the term of the county governor when a vacancy arises. Where the deputy governor is unable to act or his office is also vacant, the speaker acts as governor and elections must be held within sixty days after the speaker assumes office.

THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY

The composition of a County Assembly in Kenya is as follows; A county assembly consists of

Members (one member per ward) elected by the registered voters of the wards in a general election.

Members of special seats (no more than two-thirds of the membership of the assembly is of the same gender.)

Members of marginalized groups, including persons with disabilities and the youth.

The Speaker, who is *an ex officio* member.

Nb-The members for special seats and marginalized communities are nominated by political parties in proportion to the seats received in the election in a particular county.

The functions of a county assembly.

- a) County assemblies make laws for the effective performance of the county government.
- b) It acts as a watch dog over the county executive committee.
- c) It receives and approves plans and policies for managing and exploiting the county's resources, and, developing and managing the infrastructure and institutions.

Conditions that must be met by a person seeking for election to a County

- Assembly.**
- a) The person must be a registered as a voter in his/her county.
 - b) The person must have been a Kenyan citizen for at least ten years before the elections.
 - c) The person must be able to read and write in English and Kiswahili.
 - d) He or she must be of sound mind.
 - e) The person must be of unquestionable morals and ethics
 - f) If a public officer, he/she must relinquish his/her public work.
 - g) The person must be nominated by a political party

- h) If he/she is an independent candidate, must be supported by at least five hundred registered voters in the Ward concerned.
 - i) The person must not have been declared bankrupt.
 - j) The person must not have served a sentence of imprisonment of more than six months.
 - k) The person must not have misused or abused a State or public office.
- Vacancy in the office of member of county assembly may happen if the member,*
- a) Dies.
 - b) Is absent from eight sittings of the assembly without permission, in writing, of the speaker of the assembly and is unable to offer satisfactory explanation for the absence.
 - c) Resigns, in writing, addressed to the speaker of the county assembly.
 - d) After being elected to the assembly as a member of a political party, he/she resigns from the party, or is deemed to have resigned from the party, or after being an independent candidate, the member joins a political party.
 - e) Gets to the end of the term of the assembly
 - f) Becomes disqualified for election after the court rules in favour of an election petition made against him/her.

Speaker of County Assembly

The speaker is elected by the county assembly from among persons who are not members of the county assembly. The speaker presides over the county assembly. Another member of the assembly may be elected to play the role of a speaker in case of the absence of the speaker.

Structure and functions of the national government.

The three arms of government are:

- a) Judiciary
- b) Executive
- c) Legislature

LEGISLATURE.

The two components of the Kenyan Parliament/legislature are;

1. The National Assembly.
2. The Senate.

The Composition and membership of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly consists of;

- a) Two hundred and ninety members, each elected by the registered voters of single member constituencies.
- b) Forty-seven women, each elected by the registered voters of the counties, each county constituting a single member constituency.
- c) twelve members nominated by parliamentary political parties according to their proportion of members of the National Assembly to represent special interests including the youth, persons with disabilities and workers.
- d) The Speaker, who is an ex officio member.

Membership of the Senate

The Senate consists of;

- a) forty-seven members each elected by the registered voters of the counties, each county constituting a single member constituency

- b) Sixteen women members nominated by political parties according to their proportion of members of the Senate elected.
- c) Two members, being one man and one woman, representing the youth.
- d) Two members, being one man and one woman, representing persons with disabilities.
- e) The Speaker, who shall be an ex officio member.

The official languages of parliament are English, Kiswahili and Kenyan sign language. Parliament quorum is 50 members for the national assembly and 15 members for the senate. **Office of parliament.**

The following are the officers of parliament;

~ **Speakers and deputy speakers.**

Two Speakers, *ex-officio* member, one for each of the two houses.

Each is elected by members of the respective house from among persons who are qualified to be elected as members of parliament but are not MPs. A deputy speaker is elected from among members of each of the houses by the mps.

Their offices become vacant when;

- ~ A new house of parliament first meets after an election.
- ~ When he/she resigns, dies.
- ~ When a house resolution of two-thirds removes him/her from office.

The speakers Preside at any sitting of the house. In a joint meeting of the two houses, the

speaker of the national assembly assisted by that of the senate presides over. The speaker has no vote in parliament and in case of a tie,

The question is lost. The six speakers in Kenya since independence include;

1. 2013- upto date-Ekwe Eturo
2. 2008-2013 - Kenneth Marende.
3. 1993-2007- Francis Ole Kaparo
4. 1991- 1992-Professor Jonathan Ngeno
5. 1988- 1990-Moses Arap Keino
6. 1970 – 1987-Fredrick Mbiti Mati.
7. 1964-1969-Humphrey Slade became the first speaker of the single house.
8. 1963- Muinga Chokwe (speaker of the upper house)
9. 1963- Humphrey slade (speaker of the lower house).

Role of the speaker.

- a) He/she presides over the proceedings of the house and ensures that they are conducted in accordance with the rules of procedure. He enforces standing orders in the house.
- b) The speaker disciplines members of the house who violate standing orders by ordering such them to leave the house or be barred from attending three house consecutive sittings.
- c) Maintains order during debates and enforces rules which govern conduct of the house. The speaker interprets the rules of the house.
- d) He/she gives the MPs chance to contribute towards house debates to ensure that the minority are given a fair hearing before the will of the majority

prevails. e) He/she represents and protects the authority of the house.

f) He/she organizes and determines the business to be conducted in the house by receiving

Bills, motions and questions for discussion in the house, and then prepares an order paper. g) He/she adjourns sittings if the house lacks a quorum.

- h) He/she keeps and maintains the attendance register and grants permission to MPs to be absent from sessions. MPs going out of the country must inform the speaker of their absence from Kenya.
- i) He/she heads the National Assembly department and takes charge of its general administration and welfare. He/she is responsible for preserving dignity and order and for the comfort and convenience of the members and staff within parliament buildings.
- j) He/she chairs the speaker's committee, the committee of powers and Privileges and the standing Order Committee.
- k) The speaker issues orders and makes rules for the regulation of visitors to parliament and represent parliament in its relations with foreign countries.
- l) The speaker chairs the branches of the commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Inter- Parliamentary Union and the Union of African Parliaments. He/she represents Parliament at the commonwealth speaker's conference.
- m) He/she declares parliamentary seats vacant and issues writs for general elections and by- elections.
- n) He/she receives and accepts letters of resignation from members of parliament.
- o) He/she swears in members of parliament before participating in the House deliberations.
- p) He, summons parliament to a new when parliamentarians are on recess.

~ Party leaders

As part of parliament officers, there is the leader of the majority party and leader of minority party.

The majority party leader is the person who is the leader in the national assembly of the largest party or coalition of parties.

The minority party leader is the person who is the leader in the national assembly of the second largest party or coalition of parties.

Role of party leaders.

- a) They promote and uphold national unity through party activities.
- b) They enforce adherence to principles of good governance, democracy and upholding human rights and fundamental freedoms and gender equality and equity.
- c) The leaders work to advance the goals of the party and ensure their programme is carried out to the satisfaction of the party.
- d) The leader of the majority party has to ensure and maintain support for legislation.
- e) The leader of the minority party has to protect the rights of the minority.
- f) The leader of the majority party has to ensure accountability and transparency in the party.

And the government.

Functions of parliament in Kenya.

- a) The elected members of parliament Represents the will of the people, and exercises their sovereignty.
- b) Parliament considers and passes amendments to the Constitution
- c) It has powers to alter county boundaries as provided for in the Constitution.

- d) Parliament has the duty to protect the Constitution and promote the democratic governance of the Republic.
- e) Parliament is the sole body that has the power to make provision having the force of law in

Kenya

Functions of the National Assembly in Kenya.

- a) The national assembly represents the will of the people and expresses their sovereignty
since it represents people from the 290 constituencies and special interest groups.
- b) The National Assembly deliberates on and resolves issues of concern to the people in the
Constituencies and special interest groups.
- c) The National Assembly enacts legislation that affect the nation-not the county government.
For example the money bill may be introduced only in the national assembly.
- d) The National Assembly determines the allocation of national revenue between the levels of government/it controls revenue and expenditure in the republic.
- e) It appropriates funds for expenditure by the national government and other national State organs/ it exercises oversight over national revenue and its expenditure.
- f) The National Assembly reviews the conduct in office of the President, the Deputy President and other State officers/It may initiate the process of removing them from office.
- g) The National Assembly approves declarations of war and extensions of states of emergency.

Functions of the Senate in Kenya.

- a) The Senate represents the counties, and serves to protect the interests of the counties and their governments.
- b) The Senate participates in the law-making function of Parliament by considering, debating and approving Bills concerning counties.
- c) The Senate determines the allocation of national revenue among counties/It exercises oversight over national revenue allocated to the county governments.
- d) The Senate participates in the oversight of State officers by considering and determining any resolution to remove the President or Deputy President from office.

The process of law making in Kenya.

What is law making?

This is the process of enacting new laws or amending the existing ones.

The two conditions for the start of a law making process are

- a) The presence of a speaker or his deputy.
- b) A quorum of fifty members of the national assembly.
- c) A quorum of 15 members of the senate.

What is a bill?

A bill is a proposed piece of legislation

(law). Bills originate in the National Assembly.

A Bill not concerning county government is considered only in the National Assembly, and passed in accordance with the Standing Orders of the Assembly.

A Bill concerning county government may originate in the National Assembly or the Senate, and is passed in accordance with the Standing Orders of the Houses.

Bills are classified into two;

- a) **Public Bill**- these deal with matters of public policy that affect all citizens of Kenya. They are also categorized into two;
 - a. Government Bill-introduced by cabinet secretaries.
 - b. Private member's Bill.-introduced by back-benchers in the national assembly

- a) **Private Bill**.-this is a bill that affects a particular person, associations or people living in a small part of the country.

Money

Bill

This a bill that has provisions dealing with taxes, payment of charges by public, appropriation , receipt ,custody or issue of public money, raising or guaranteeing of any loan, its repayment or other matters relating to such monies.

The

process

~ The government departments and public offices to be affected by a bill consult first before

it is drafted. A bill is then drafted by the government draftsman (*the parliamentary counsel*)

in the attorney general's chambers.

~ When the cabinet is satisfied with the draft, it is published in the *Kenya gazette* at least fourteen days before it is introduced to parliament. The main purpose of this is to give the public chance to view and criticize the Bill. The draft proposal is also presented to parliament to give members chance to research on it on preparation for a debate in the future.

~ A Bill is first introduced by any member or committee of the relevant House of Parliament, but a money Bill may be introduced only in the National Assembly.

~ Before either House considers a Bill, the Speakers of the National Assembly and Senate jointly resolve any question as to whether it is a Bill concerning counties and, if it is, whether it is a special or an ordinary Bill.

~ When any Bill concerning county government has been passed by one House of Parliament, the Speaker of that House refers it to the Speaker of the other House.

~ If both Houses pass the Bill in the same form, the Speaker of the House in which the Bill originated shall, within seven days, refer the Bill to the President for assent.

~ The National Assembly may amend or veto a special Bill that has been passed by the Senate only by a resolution supported by at least two-thirds of the members of the Assembly.

~ Within fourteen days after receipt of a Bill, the President assents to the Bill; or refer the Bill back to Parliament for reconsideration by Parliament, noting any reservations that the President has concerning the Bill.

When a bill is referred back to parliament, the following procedure is followed;

- a) Parliament may amend the bill in light of the president's reservations or pass the bill a

second time without amendments.

- b) If parliament amends the Bill after consideration of the president's reservations, the

speaker must resubmit the bill to the president for assent.

- c) Parliament could pass the bill without amendments or with amendments that do not

fully accommodate the president's reservations if supported by;

- ~ Two-thirds of the members of the national assembly, and
 - ~ Two-thirds of the delegations in the senate, if the bill requires approval of the
senate.
 - ~ The bill then has to be submitted by the appropriate speaker to the president for assent within seven days.
 - ~ If the president fails to assent the bill within seven days, the bill will be considered acted upon and therefore considered null and void.
- The process of the bill coming into force as a law.**

After presidential assent, a Bill becomes a law or an act of parliament. It is then published in the official gazette, the Kenya gazette, within seven days after assent. Sections of it may also be published in the local dailies so as to publicize the law to all residents

in the country.

The Act of parliament then comes into force as a law on the fourteenth day after its publication in the Kenya Gazette unless the Act specifies a different date or time when it will come into force.

The law then binds everybody in the country.

Special Bills concerning county governments.

Such Bills, when passed by senate, can only be amended or vetoed by National Assembly by a resolution of 2/3 of the members. When the veto or amend fails to pass, the speaker of the National Assembly must within seven days refer the Bill in the form adopted by the senate to the president for assent.

Ordinary Bills concerning counties.

If one house passes an ordinary bill concerning counties and the second house rejects it, the

Bill must be referred to the *mediation committee*.

A *mediation committee* refers to a committee comprising equal number of members from both houses appointed by the speaker with the task of formulating a version of the Bill that both Houses could pass.

Both houses will then vote to pass or reject the formulated version. The Bill is considered rejected if the committee fails to reach an agreed version within 30 days.

If the second House passes it in an amended form, the bill must be taken back to the originating house for consideration. If the originating house passes it as amended; it is referred to the president for assent within seven days. If it rejects it, it is referred to the mediation committee. **Parliamentary supremacy**

Meaning of parliamentary supremacy

This refers to the sovereign power exercised by parliament which makes law for the country. Parliament is supreme because, through elections, it has the people's mandate to legislate and govern on their behalf and is the only means through which people control government.

How parliamentary supremacy is upheld in Kenya.

- a) It is the only Body that makes and repeals laws. Technically, a constitutional court can overrule an act of parliament, but parliament can change the law to prevent that from happening.
- b) Parliament can remove the president from office by impeachment. A member of the national assembly, with the support of at least a third of all the members, may move an impeachment motion.
- c) Parliament through an amendment of the constitution, can limit the powers of the executive. It can also pass a vote of no confidence in the government, compelling the president and his/her cabinet secretaries to resign.
- d) Cabinet secretaries are accountable to the parliament for their activities in the ministries under their control. They have to answer questions in parliament about their ministries.
- e) Bills prepared by the cabinet have to be legislated by parliament, which is a law

making body.

- f) Parliament has to approve government expenditure. The Cabinet secretary in charge of

Finance annually presents the budget to parliament for approval by MPs. - the public accounts committee scrutinizes government expenditure. The Auditor and controller- General check the expenditure of all ministries and reports to parliament.

NB; - The upholding of parliamentary supremacy however depends largely on the integrity and maturity of members of the national assembly.

Ways in which parliamentary supremacy in Kenya is limited.

- a) Parliament cannot make laws that contradict traditional customs and practices of the people, unless people want change.
- b) Parliament cannot pass a law that contradicts the constitution. /the supremacy of the constitution is upheld.
- c) Increased power of the cabinet can reduce parliament's authority. If the cabinet is too powerful, it may influence parliamentary decisions.
- d) The president can limit the supremacy by making independent decisions. For example, the president has emergency powers which sidestep parliamentary supremacy. State of Emergency does not follow parliamentary directions.
- e) Parliament supremacy can be limited by the application of international laws. Parliament may be forced to ratify a law out of necessity; failure to ratify an international law may invite punitive actions on the country.
- f) Delegated legislation may also limit its powers, i.e. the operation of the county government by-laws may limit parliamentary supremacy although national legislation prevails over county legislation.
- g) Referendum may be used to decide important issues as opposed to parliamentary decisions.

Merits of parliamentary supremacy/parliamentary system.

- a) It increases harmony, since the legislature and the executive work together. This is realized when MPs, who represent the electorate, bring their views to the executive (cabinet secretaries) in the legislature.
- b) This system allows ordinary citizens to participate in the governing process by electing their representatives to articulate their views on issues of national interest.
- c) It ensures a responsible and responsive government since the cabinet is controlled by parliament in its actions. Cabinet cannot ignore public opinion, since people choose the MPs. Such could risk a vote of no confidence.
- d) It instills a sense of responsibility in the executive since cabinet secretaries have to sit and answer questions in the house.
- e) The system legitimizes actions taken by the government, particularly when such actions originate from recommendations passed by the MPs- the people's representatives.
- f) A parliamentary system gives citizens a chance to participate in national political leadership through presenting themselves for election as members of parliament or county assemblies.
- g) It provides for regular elections, giving the electorate the chance to reject non-

performing

MPs and elect others who can perform.

h) Parliament is a training ground for effective leaders; the system enables Kenyans of ability and experience to prove their worth in parliamentary debates.

Demerits of parliamentary supremacy.

- a) It only works well where there are two parties; with one ruling while the other in opposition. In a case where there are more than two parties. A coalition government may be formed and this form of government is sometimes weak and unstable. Also where the legislature is dominated by one party, the cabinet tends to be dictatorial.
- b) Such government may not be effective in times of emergencies. The head of government has to consult with the cabinet and the legislature before acting.
- c) It weakens the executive. It compels the cabinet secretaries to spend most of their time in parliament instead of dealing with matters of their ministries.

“Terminative Role of Parliament” in Kenya.

This means that parliament has the power to impeach a president or pass a vote of no confidence in the government by a two-thirds vote majority of the national assembly, forcing the government to resign.

Functions of the Parliamentary Service Commission

- a) The Commission is responsible for providing services and facilities to ensure the efficient and effective functioning of Parliament
- b) It is responsible for constituting offices in the house.
- c) It prepares annual estimates of expenditure of the parliamentary service and submitting them to the National Assembly for approval, and exercising budgetary control over the service.
- d) It is responsible for undertaking, singly or jointly with other relevant organizations, programmes to promote the ideals of parliamentary democracy.
- e) It performs other functions necessary for the well-being of the members and staff of Parliament; or prescribed by national legislation.

THE EXECUTIVE

Meaning of the executive.

This is the arm of government which deals with the implementation of laws made by parliament. It is charged with the administration of affairs of a country as well as affairs which affect the country from outside.

The National executive comprises;

- a) The president.
- b) The deputy president.
- c) The cabinet.
- d) The attorney general.
- e) The director of public prosecutions
- f) The public service.

The president.

He is the Chief Executive Officer of the republic of Kenya. He is the head of state and government in Kenya. He is the commander-in-chief of the Kenya Defence Forces. He is a symbol of national unity.

He holds office for a five year term from the date of being sworn in to office and the term expires when the next candidate elected as president is sworn in. the constitution gives a two- five year term as the maximum period for the president's position.

Qualifications for election as President in Kenya.

a) A person qualifies for nomination as a presidential candidate if the person is a citizen by

birth

- b) The person must be qualified to stand for election as a Member of Parliament.
- c) He or she must be nominated by a political party, or is an independent candidate and is nominated by not fewer than 2000 voters from each of a majority of counties.

NB;- A presidential candidate, whether affiliated to a political party or independent, must garner 50% plus one of all the votes cast in the election.

A candidate must also attract 25% of the votes cast in more than half of the counties in Kenya in order to qualify to be a president.

Disqualifications one from vying for election as a president in

Kenya a) If the person owes allegiance to a foreign state.

b) If he is a public officer, or is acting in any State or other public office.

Assumption of office of the president.

The president-elect assumes office by taking two oaths namely;

~ The oath of affirmation of allegiance

~ The oath of affirmation for execution of the functions of office.

If the president-elect dies before assumption of office, the deputy president-elect is sworn in as

acting president. A new fresh election to the office of president must be held within sixty days after death of the president-elect.

The president must be sworn in public before the Chief Justice.

Importance of a presidential election.

- a) The citizens get a chance to exercise their democratic right. It is the essence of democracy in a government. The people have a choice to elect a president directly, freely, and fairly.
- b) It is a means through which the people of Kenya give the president the mandate to rule the country and act on their behalf.
- c) It helps to check dictatorship. The president becomes responsible and accountable to the electorate. He cannot go against public opinion.
- d) The president enjoys legitimacy of power because it is derived from the people

Powers and functions of the president of Kenya as derived from the constitution of Kenya.

a) As the Head of State, he performs the following functions;

~ He represents the government and the people of Kenya both locally and internationally.

~ He receives foreign diplomatic and consular representatives.

b) He is the head of Government.

~ He nominates a deputy president to deputize him.

~ He nominates and, with the approval of the national assembly, appoints or dismisses

cabinet secretaries, the attorney general, the Director of Public Prosecutions, the

secretary to the cabinet, Principal secretaries, High Commissioners, Ambassadors, and diplomatic and consular representatives, the chief justice and the deputy and all the judges in line with the recommendations of the Judicial Service Commission

c) He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces

- ~ He has powers to declare a state of emergency, declare war with the approval of parliament.
 - ~ He is the chairperson of the National Security Council of Kenya.
- d) The President has the duty to safeguard the Constitution, ensure the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, safeguard the sovereignty of the

republic, promote and enhance unity of the nation and promote respect for diversity. e) The President has legislative powers to address the opening of each newly elected

Parliament. He also addresses a special sitting of parliament once every year and any other time.

- f) The President chairs Cabinet meetings and assigns responsibility for the implementation and administration of any Act of Parliament to a Cabinet Secretary.
- g) He presides over national holidays during which he expounds on government policy.
- h) He confers honours in the name of people and republic on men and women of Kenya for outstanding achievements. E.g. OGH, OBS, DSM, HSC and EBS.
- i) He may, on petition of any person, exercise mercy powers in accordance with the advice of
 - the advisory committee. E.g.;
 - ~ Grant a free or conditional pardon to a person convicted of an offence.
 - ~ Postpone execution of any punishment for an offender , for a specified period, or indefinitely
 - ~ Substitute a less severe form of punishment.
 - ~ Remit all or part of a punishment.
- j) The President ensures that the international obligations of the Republic are fulfilled through the actions of the relevant Cabinet Secretaries.

NB-the constitution provides the president with immunity from criminal proceedings during the tenure of office in respect of anything done or not done in exercise of the powers granted by the constitution. But this immunity does not extend to a crime for which the president may be prosecuted under any treaty to which Kenya is part to, and which prohibits such immunity.

The process of Removal of President by impeachment.

A member of the National Assembly moves a motion for the impeachment of the President on the following grounds;

- a) A gross violation of a provision of the Constitution.
- b) President commits a crime under national or international law.
- c) For gross misconduct.

If a motion is supported by at least two-thirds of all the members of the National Assembly, the

Speaker informs the Speaker of the Senate of that resolution within two days.

The President continues to perform the functions of the office pending the outcome of the proceedings.

Within seven days, the Speaker of the Senate convenes a meeting of the Senate to hear charges against the President.

A special committee appointed by the senate investigates the matter; and report to the Senate within ten days.

If the special committee reports that the particulars of any allegation against the President have not been substantiated, further proceedings shall not be taken

If any of allegations against the President have been substantiated, the Senate, after

according the President an opportunity to be heard, votes on the impeachment charges. If at least two-thirds of all the members of the Senate vote to uphold any impeachment charge, the President shall cease to hold office.

Reasons that may lead to a presidential by-election in Kenya.

a) The president's election may be nullified by court due to election offences.

- b) The serving president may die while in power.
- c) The president may resign.
- d) If the president becomes physically /mentally incapacitated.
- e) Parliament may pass a vote of no confidence in the president /government.
- f) If the serving president deserts/defects from the party that sponsored him to parliament.
- g) If the serving president ceases to be a Kenyan citizen.

THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT

The deputy president is nominated by the presidential candidate during a general election.

The process of Electing and swearing in of a Deputy President in Kenya.

- a) A candidate, (qualified for nomination for election as President) is nominated by each candidate in a presidential election.
- b) The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission then declare the candidate nominated by the person who is elected as the President as the Deputy President.
- c) The swearing in of the Deputy President-elect is before the Chief Justice or, in the absence of the Chief Justice, the Deputy Chief Justice and in public.
- d) The Deputy President-elect assumes office by taking and subscribing;
 - a) The oath or affirmation of allegiance.
 - b) The oath or affirmation for the execution of the functions of office.

Under the following circumstances, one can cease to hold the office of the Deputy President

- a) At the end of term of office when the person next elected President at an election is sworn in.
- b) When the Deputy President assumes the office of President.
- c) On resignation, death or removal from office of the Deputy President

Functions of the Deputy President in Kenya.

- a) The Deputy President is the principal assistant of the President and shall deputize for the President in the execution of the President's functions.
- b) The Deputy President performs the functions conferred by the Constitution and any other functions of the President as the President may assign.
- c) When the President is absent or is temporarily incapacitated, and during any other period that the President decides, the Deputy President shall act as the President.

NB-The Deputy President is not permitted to hold any other State or public office.

The cabinet.

The composition of The Cabinet in Kenya.

The Cabinet consists

- of a) the President;
 - b) the Deputy President;
 - c) the Attorney-General; and
 - d) Not fewer than fourteen and not more than twenty-two Cabinet Secretaries.
- The President nominates and, with the approval of the National Assembly, appoints Cabinet Secretaries.

A Cabinet Secretary should not be a Member of Parliament.

Secretary to the cabinet.

This office is an office in the public service.

The office holder is nominated and appointed by the president, with the approval of the

national assembly. He/she has the following responsibilities;

- a) Taking charge of the cabinet office.
- b) Arranging the business of the cabinet subject to its directions.
- c) Keeping minutes of the cabinet.
- d) Conveying decisions of the cabinet to the appropriate persons or authorities.
- e) Serving other functions as directed by the cabinet.

Principal Secretaries.

Each state department is under the administration of a principal secretary. He/she is nominated and appointed by the president from among persons recommended by the public service commission and approved by the national assembly.

This office is an office in the public service.

General Functions of the cabinet.

- a) The cabinet Advises and assists the president in governing the country.
- b) The cabinet Discusses matters of national and international concern with the president.
- c) The cabinet Formulates government policies and programmes.

During parliamentary

debates, the secretaries defend the same policies, interpret them to the people and ensure their implementation.

- d) The cabinet initiates new bills and table government bills in the National assembly.
- e) Cabinet secretaries on their individual capacity give direction to operations within their ministries.
- f) The secretary for finance formulates and prepares the national budget which he/she then presents to the National Assembly.

The principle of collective responsibility of the cabinet.

- a) The cabinet does not work in the light of day. Cabinet must abide by oath of secrecy.
- b) It requires that the cabinet must act together as a team. The cabinet must speak together with one voice on all matters of government policy.
- c) All cabinet members are collectively responsible to parliament and to the people through parliament. One act of a cabinet secretary is taken to be an act of all the members of the cabinet.
- d) A minister would resign if in his conscience he cannot abide by the principle of collective responsibility.

The functions of the Attorney-General in Kenya.

- a) The Attorney-General is the principal legal adviser to the Government.
- b) He represents the national government in court or in any other legal proceedings to which the national government is a party, other than criminal proceedings.
- c) He performs any other functions conferred on the office by an Act of Parliament or by the President.
- d) The Attorney-General has authority, to appear as a friend of the court in any civil proceedings to which the Government is not a party.
- e) The Attorney-General has duty to promote, protect and uphold the rule of law and defend the public interest.

The Director of public prosecutions.

The DPP is nominated and with the approval of the National Assembly is appointed by the

president to hold office for a term of eight years and can't be re-appointed.

He/she does not require the consent of any person or authority for the commencement of criminal proceedings. His/her powers may be exercised in person or by subordinate officers acting under general or special instructions. A person qualified to be appointed a DPP should have the qualifications to be appointed a judge of the High Court.

The functions of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

- a) The Director of Public Prosecutions has power to direct the Inspector-General of the National Police Service to investigate any information or allegation of criminal conduct.
- b) The Director of Public Prosecutions exercises State powers of prosecution and may institute and undertake criminal proceedings against any person before any court (other than a court martial) in respect of any offence alleged to have been committed.
- c) He has powers to take over and continue any criminal proceedings commenced in any court (other than a court martial) that have been instituted or undertaken by another person or authority, with the permission of the person or authority.
- d) He has powers to discontinue at any stage, before judgment is delivered, any criminal proceedings instituted by the Director of Public Prosecutions or taken over by the Director of Public Prosecutions.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

The public service includes all state organs in both levels of government and all state corporations.

Values and principles of public service

- a) High standards of professional ethics.
- b) Efficient, effective and economic use of resources.
- c) Responsive, prompt, effective, impartial and equitable provision of services.
- d) Involvement of the people in the process of policy making.
- e) Accountability of administrative acts.
- f) Transparency and provision to the public, of timely, accurate information.
- g) Fair competition and merit as the basis of appointments and promotions
- h) Representation of Kenya's diverse communities.
- i) Providing adequate and equal opportunities for appointment, training and advancement at all levels of the public service, for women and men, members of all ethnic groups and persons with disability.

The Public Service Commission.

This is the body charged with the responsibility of recruiting, promoting and managing the affairs of the public servants in Kenya in order to make it a motivated and an efficient workforce.

The commission consists of a chairperson, a vice chair person and seven other members appointed by the president with the approval of the National Assembly.

The commission has a secretary who is the CEO and is appointed by the commission for a term of five years and is eligible for re-appointment.

The following persons do not qualify for appointment to the commission;

A person who in the proceeding five years, held office, or stood for elections as;

- i. A member of parliament or the county assembly.
- ii. A member of the governing body of a political party.

- iii. If the person holds any state office.
- iv. A holder of an office in a political organization that sponsors or supports a candidate for election as Member of Parliament or county assembly.

Functions and powers of the Public Service Commission.

- a) The Commission is responsible for establishment and abolishment of offices in the public service.
 - b) It appoints persons to hold or act in *Offices* in the public service and confirm appointments.
 - c) It exercises disciplinary control over and removes persons holding or acting in public offices.
 - d) *It* promotes the values and principles throughout the public service.
 - e) *It* investigates monitors and evaluates the organization, administration and personnel practices of the public service.
 - f) It has the duty to ensure that the public service is efficient and effective.
 - g) It develops human resources in the public service.
 - h) It reviews and makes recommendations to the national government in respect of conditions of service, code of conduct and qualifications of officers in the public service.
 - i) *It* evaluates and reports to the President and Parliament on the extent to which the values and principles that govern public service are complied with in the public service.
 - j) *It* hears and determines appeals in respect of county governments' public service.
- Offices in the public service that are exempted from the regulation and control of the public service commission;
- a) State offices.
 - b) An office of high commissioner, ambassador or other diplomatic or consular representative of the republic.
 - c) An office or position subject to:
 - ~ The Parliamentary Service Commission.
 - ~ The Judicial Service Commission.
 - ~ The Teachers Service Commission
 - ~ The National Police Service Commission.
 - d) An office in the service of a county government, with the exception of powers to create and establish offices.

The commission can not appoint a person to hold office or act in any office on the personal staff of the president or retired president, except with the consent of the president or retired president.

Ways in which a public officer is protected by law while in service.

- a) A public officer shall not be victimized or discriminated against for having performed the functions of office in accordance with the Constitution.
- b) He/she shall not be dismissed, removed from office, demoted in rank or otherwise subjected to disciplinary action without due process of law.

Organs of national security.

National security is the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity.

Principles that promote and guarantee national security in Kenya.

- a) National security is subject to the authority of the constitution and parliament.

- b) Operations of national security must be consistent with the law and must respect the rule of law, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- c) In performing their functions and exercising their powers, national security organs must respect cultural diversity of the communities within Kenya.
- d) Recruitment by the national security organs must reflect the diversity of the Kenyan people in equitable proportions.

National security organs in Kenya.

The national security organs are;

- a) The Kenya Defence Forces.
- b) The National Intelligence Service.
- c) The National Police Service.

National Security Council

This is a body whose main responsibility is to exercise supervisory control over national security organs

Composition of the National Security Council

The Council consists

- of a. The President.
- b. The Deputy President.
- c. The Cabinet Secretary responsible for Defence.
- d. The Cabinet Secretary responsible for foreign affairs.
- e. The Cabinet Secretary responsible for internal security.
- f. The Attorney-General.
- g. The Chief of Kenya Defence Forces.
- h. The Director-General of the National Intelligence Service.
- i. The Inspector-General of the National Police Service.

Functions of the National Security Council in Kenya.

- a) It exercises supervisory control over national security organs.
- b) It has duty to integrate the domestic, foreign and military policies relating to national security in order to enable the national security organs to co-operate and function effectively.
- c) It makes assessment and appraisal, the objectives, commitments and risks to the Republic in respect of actual and potential national security capabilities.
- d) The Council reports annually to Parliament on the state of the security of Kenya
- e) With the approval of Parliament, The Council is responsible for deploying national forces outside Kenya for regional or international peace support operations; or other support operations.
- f) It approves the deployment of foreign forces in Kenya.

The Kenya Defence Forces.

The Kenya defence Forces comprises;

- a) The Kenya Army, established in 1963 and which protects the country against external land-based aggression.
- b) The Kenya Air force, established in 1963, disbanded in 1982 and renamed 82 Air

force. It helps in the control of locust invasion.

- c) The Kenya Navy, based in Mombasa and created in 1964, patrols Kenya's territorial

waters and is always on the alert for sea-borne invasions, and for illegal landings and departure, and unauthorized fishing by foreign vessels in Kenyan waters.

Functions of the Kenya Defence forces.

- a) The Defence Forces are responsible for the Defence and protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic.
- b) They assist and cooperate with other authorities in situations of emergency or disaster.
- c) They may be deployed to restore peace in any part of Kenya affected by unrest or instability only with the approval of the National Assembly.
- d) The forces also assist in the preservation of internal security. For example the handling of the attempted coup by the Kenya Army in 1982.
- e) They participate in nation building activities such as road and bridge construction.
- f) The military also assists the public during emergencies and calamities such as floods, famine, fire outbreaks, landslides and other disasters. For example during the El Nino rains-construction of mobile bridge on Mombasa-Nairobi highway.
- g) The Navy specializes in detecting and fighting off criminals who use water masses like the Indian Ocean to commit crimes within the Kenyan territory. E.g. Somali Pirates.
- h) The Kenya Army takes part in peacekeeping Missions, such as the United Nations peace keeping operations in different parts of the world and also the African Union and Commonwealth.

The Kenya Defence Council.

Its composition is as follows;

- a) The cabinet secretary responsible for defence is the chairperson.
- b) The Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces.
- c) The Three Commanders of the defence forces.
- d) The Principal Secretary in the ministry responsible for defence.

Functions.

It is responsible for the overall policy, control and supervision of the Kenya Defence Forces.

Challenges facing the Kenya Defence Forces.

- a) There has been cases of indiscipline, such as the abortive coup attempt in 1982.
- b) There have been rampant cases of corruption facing some members of the Kenya Defence Forces, especially on matters of recruitment of new members into the defence forces, purchase of military and police equipment and deployment of officers on specialized duties.
- c) Tribalism, regionalism and nepotism have also been experienced in the Kenya Defence Forces, thereby demoralizing hardworking officers who are left out unfairly during promotions.
- d) Sometimes the Kenya Defence Forces faces the problem of lack of adequate funds to equip the forces with good equipment to facilitate their work.
- e) The majority of the military personnel are not provided with opportunities to acquire further education.

- f) Piracy and militia attacks and raids at the Kenyan Borders also present a major security challenge to the Defence Forces.
- g) Invasion of Kenya's territorial waters by foreign fishermen and foreign fishing vessels from the big nations challenges the ability of the Kenya Navy to curb illegal fishing.

h) The location of Moi Airbase at Eastleigh presents a big challenge to the air force. The Airbase was built by Britain in 1964 when the population in the area was scarce. Today the area has human congestion

i) The defence forces also face challenges related to allegations on violations of human rights.

After the 2008 elections violence, the Kenya Army was deployed to restore peace in Mt. Elgon, where they were accused of violating human rights by killing people, destroying property, and sexually assaulting women.

The National Intelligence Service.

Initially called the Special Branch, This is an independent civilian government agency dedicated to protecting the national security interests of Kenya and safeguarding its citizens from threats such as terrorism and corruption.

Function of the National Intelligence Service

a) It is responsible for security intelligence and counter intelligence to enhance national security.

b) It liaises with the National police CID to investigate some of the threats that have criminal

implications e.g. terrorism. And lay the appropriate charges.

c) Information gathered by the NIS assists the government in decision –making and planning. d) The NIS in its operations protects human rights issues and the individual freedoms. **Challenges facing the National Intelligence Service.**

a) Lack of trust from Kenyan citizens. The citizens are reluctant to provide information to NIS as they view it not to be any different from the former Special Branch which was known to be a tool of oppression and torture.

b) The body lacks financial credibility and political independence. The extent to which NIS is

Neutral in its handling of sensitive affairs is questionable.

c) Lack of a clear distinction between accountability and necessary secrecy has sometimes brewed tension. It is difficult to audit the activities of the Body just like any other government organization, due to the nature of its tasks.

d) The growing volumes and complexity of communications presents a significant security challenge for national intelligence and government agencies that seek to intercept, process monitor and analyze it.

e) External and internal threats for example Al-shabaab militia from Somalia, Merille Warriors from Ethiopia and Al-Qaeda attacks. Internally, the refugees hosted in Kenya and the illegal migrants from Somali and Sudan are also a threat. The problem of drug trafficking is also a threat.

f) Continuous capacity building training is a necessity, given the complexity of the task. However this remains a challenge.

g) Limited financial and human resources since inadequate funds are allocated to the service.

This limits its operations. Sometimes even the staff employed is incompetent.

h) Political interference- with the aim of using the service to gain political mileage.

i) Ignorance of the Kenyan people on the kind of tasks the service undertakes and the advice it gives to the government. For example, anytime the country has been faced with tension or violence as was the case in 2008, the public seem not to

understand the role of NIS.

- j) The organ does not have implementation powers and is limited in terms of the ability to follow up an implementation of the advice given to the government.

The National Police Service.

The East African Protectorate Police was first created in the 1890s. In 1920, it was renamed the

Kenya Police. In 1953, control of the entire police force was placed under the Commissioner of Police. The National Police service was established in 2010 with a mandate to function throughout Kenya.

It is headed by the *Inspector-General* who appointed by the president with the approval of the parliament.

He / She exercises independent command over the national police service

The National polices Service Consists of;

- a) *The Kenya Police Service*, headed by a *deputy inspector general* also appointed by the president in accordance with the police service commission recommendations.
- b) *The Administration Police Service*, headed by a *deputy inspector general* also appointed by the president in accordance with the police service commission recommendations.

Functions of the National Police Service

- a) The National Police Service is responsible for the operations of the Kenya police service and the Administration police service in Kenya.
- b) It has the duty of ensuring the highest standards of professionalism and discipline among its members.
- c) It has the duty to prevent corruption and promote and practice transparency and accountability.
- d) It has the duty to ensure that organs operating under it comply with constitutional standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- e) It ensures that the staff is trained to the highest possible standards of competence and integrity and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and dignity.
- f) It fosters and promotes relationships with the broader society.

Functions of the police service (Kenya police service and administration police service).

- a) The police maintain law and order to ensure that those who break the law are arrested.
- b) The police protect the law in order to safeguard both life and property.
- c) It investigates crime and prosecutes offenders in the court.
- d) The police confines suspected criminals in remand as they await the hearing and judgment of their cases in the court.
- e) The police regulate traffic and arrests traffic offenders. They also check for defective or unroadworthy vehicles on the road in order to safeguard life.
- f) Provides assistance and relief services to victims of natural calamities such as floods, fire outbreaks and other emergencies.
- g) Takes part in national projects such as road construction, bridges, hospitals and other national facilities.
- h) The police take a leading role during public holidays. They control the crowd and entertain people.

- i) They liaise closely with international police (Interpol), in order to investigate and arrest international criminals such as terrorists and notorious Somali pirates.

Challenges facing the National Police Service

- a) The police lack adequate transport and communication equipment necessary to discharge their duties. Lack of facilities such as radios, motor vehicles etc.

- b) Frequent road accident and congestion on roads add pressure to police work.
- c) Many members of the public in Kenya have Negative attitude towards the police making it difficult for them to discharge duties.
- d) Poor conditions of work and remuneration demotivates the police force.
- e) The police force has been accused of Corruption, sometimes demanding for money from the public. This undermines the maintenance of law and order.
- f) Easy access to dangerous and sophisticated weapon by criminals makes police work more difficult.
- g) Terrorism is a serious challenge to the police in Kenya. Some of the terrorists have targeted members of the police force.
- h) Political interference in the work of the police compromises the integrity of the police force.
- i) Modernization and advancements in ICT also come with major challenges for the police.

Incidents of cyber crimes have escalated in the world, including Kenya.

- j) Lack of regular – in service training for police officers to cope with emerging challenges. This challenge is even compounded by the problem of recruiting of people with low academic qualifications into the force and who can't deal with sophisticated cases.

The National Police Service Commission.

The structure of the National Police Service Commission.

The Commission consists of the following persons, each appointed by the President;

- a) A person who is qualified to be appointed as a High Court Judge, and who is appointed by the president.
- b) Two retired senior police officers, each of whom is appointed by the president.
- c) Three persons of integrity who have served the public with distinction, each of whom is appointed by the president.
- d) The Inspector-General of the National Police Service.
- e) Both Deputy Inspectors-General of the National Police Service.

Functions of the National Police Service Commission

- a) The Commission recruits and appoints persons to hold or act in offices in the service.
- b) The commission confirms appointments, and determines promotions and transfers within the National Police Service
- c) It observes due process, exercises disciplinary control over and removes persons holding or acting in offices within the Service.

Possible solutions to challenges facing the national security organs.

- a) The security organs have acquired modern telecommunication equipment and vehicles to improve transport and communication in the security force.
- b) Introduction of the post of public Relations Officer/ Spokesman in the organs to coordinate and disseminate information.
- c) Raising of qualification requirements for anybody aspiring to join the security organs.

This

has paved way for employment of university graduates in the forces.

- d) Introduction of professional training programmes for officers with the aim of improving the effectiveness of the organs of national security.
- e) The terms and conditions of service for the members of the security organs have been

improved

- f) Community policing has been introduced to help the security forces to get information from the public through hotlines and suggestion boxes.
- g) There is increased patrolling by the Kenya navy as far north as Somali border to address maritime defence more seriously.
- h) The aviation experts have recommended the relocation of Moi Airbase from its current location which is congested.

Correctional services.

The Correctional service Department in Kenya has its origins in the adoption of the India Prisons

Act in Kenya in 1894 by the colonial government. Initially, prisons were under the supervision of the provincial Administration.

In 1963 the Prisons Act was enacted to harmonize the treatment and conditions of offenders in

Kenya's penal institutions. The Act's milestone provisions were;

- a) Youth corrective training centres
- b) Extra-mural and penal employment
- c) Provision for organization, discipline, power and duties of prisons

officers. Correctional services in Kenya are provided by the former Kenya Prisons Service.

The Kenya Prisons Reform Programme in 2001 adopted The Open Door Policy under which the following reforms were initiated.

- a) Interactive collaboration with all stakeholders in the administration of criminal justice such as courts of law and members of the National Police Service.
- b) Improvement in the management and conditions of the prisons, including rehabilitation programmes, with a view to empower prisoners with knowledge and skill, hasten their re-integration into society and empower them to be law abiding citizens upon release.

The functions of Correctional Services in Kenya.

- a) They Rehabilitate/correct criminals through counseling.
- b) They deter known criminals from committing other crimes.
- c) They administer Punishment to sentenced criminals as prescribed by the court rulings- implement the decisions of the courts regarding treatment of prisoners.
- d) They confine prisoners convicted by the courts of law to ensure that the rights and freedoms of the public are protected.
- e) They provide vocational training for prisoners in fields that they make them productive citizens of the country at the end of their jail term.
- f) They keep watch over the behaviors of suspected criminals whose cases are still pending in the law courts.
- g) They take care of the welfare of prisoners by providing them with the necessary medical attention.
- h) They confine suspected dissidents who are a threat to state security.

Challenges facing correctional services in Kenya

- a) The challenge of overcrowding in prisoners on the rise, overcrowding in correctional facilities has been inevitable. This results in poor living and

sanitation conditions for inmates.

- b) Disease outbreak is a very common problem in our prisons mainly caused by inadequate and congested facilities. HIV and AIDS is rampant in prisons
- c) Mistreatment of inmates by warders. This has once happened at Kingongo when some

inmates were allegedly tortured and killed by warders when they attempted to escape. d) Food shortage, inadequate medical facilities and poor clothing further compound the

situation in prisons.

The following reforms have been undertaken to improve the conditions of correctional services in Kenya.

- a) Improvement in the quality of food, medical services and living conditions for prisoners.
- b) Provision of sufficient beddings and clothing.
- c) Introduction of extra-mural Penal employment for petty offenders to ease congestion in the prisons.
- d) There has been supply of new and comfortable motor vehicles for efficient transport in the correctional services department.
- e) Petty offenders have been constantly released to ease congestion in prisons. For example the release of a record 11,500 prisoners in December 2003. Death row inmates who have also been in jail for over ten years have been released.
- f) Easing of access to prisons/visits by members of the public/relatives.
- g) Introduction of public Relations office to disseminate information.
- h) Streamlining the hearing of cases with a view of keeping prisoners in remand for a short period before sentencing them.
- i) The national government has also become directly involved the affairs of those receiving correction services.

THE JUDICIARY.

Judicial authority and legal system

Judicial Authority is derived from the people and is vested in courts and tribunals established by the constitution.

Principles that guide Judicial Authority in Courts and Tribunals in

- Kenya.** a) Justice must be done to all, irrespective of status.
- b) Justice shall not be delayed.
- c) Alternative forms of dispute resolution must be pursued including reconciliation, mediation, arbitration and even traditional dispute resolution mechanism.
- d) Justice shall be administered without undue regard to procedural technicalities.
- e) The purposes and principles of the constitution must be protected and promoted.

Ways in which the traditional Dispute resolution is limited in Kenya.

- a) The mechanisms used in traditional dispute resolution should not contravene the Bill of RIGHTS.
- b) The traditional court should not operate in a way that is repugnant to justice and morality or results in outcomes that are regnant to justice or morality.
- c) The operations of the traditional courts should not be inconsistent with the constitution.

The structure of the judicial system in Kenya.

The Hierarchy of the court system in the Kenyan judiciary is in accordance with;

- a) The seriousness of the cases the courts handle.
- b) The punishment they give out
- c) The geographical area of operation.

The courts have either original or appellate jurisdiction.

Difference between original and appellate jurisdictions.

- ~ Original jurisdiction refers to the ability of a court to hear cases brought to a court for the first time.
- ~ Appellate jurisdiction is the powers of a court to hear appeals brought in from a lower court.

The Judiciary consists of the judges of the superior courts, magistrates, other judicial officers and staff.

The Head of the Judiciary is the Chief Justice with the Deputy Chief Justice as the Deputy Head of the Judiciary.

Chief Registrar of the Judiciary is the chief administrator and accounting officer of the Judiciary. The System of courts is as follows

1. Superior Courts

Supreme Court consisting of the Chief Justice who is the president of the court, the Deputy

Chief Justice-the vice-president of the court; and five other judges.

Appointment to the Supreme Court requires the following qualifications;

- a. Degree in law from a recognized university or an advocate of the high Court of

Kenya.

- b. Atleast fifteen years experience as a superior court judge or a distinguished academic, judicial officer, legal practioner and or other relevant legal field.

c. High moral character, integrity and impartiality. Supreme Court Judges retire at the age of seventy Five Years. **Functions of the Supreme Court of Kenya.**

- a) The Supreme Court has exclusive original jurisdiction to hear and determine disputes relating to the elections to the office of President.
- b) It has appellate jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals from the Court of Appeal; and any other court or tribunal.
- c) The Supreme Court gives an advisory opinion at the request of the national government, any State organ, or any county government with respect to any matter concerning county government.
- d) It has of right in any case involving the interpretation or application of the Constitution.
- e) All courts, other than the Supreme Court, are bound by the decisions of the Supreme Court

2. Court of Appeal consisting of judges, not fewer than twelve, a president of the Court of Appeal elected by the judges of the Court of Appeal from among themselves. (The court of Appeal has membership of 30 Judges currently). Each judge to be appointed to the court of Appeal should have ten years experience as a superior court judge or atleast ten years as a distinguished academic or legal practioner.

The court of appeal does not have original jurisdiction except on an application for a stay of execution pending appeal to it on contempt proceedings.

Function of the Court of Appeal in Kenya.

The Court of Appeal has jurisdiction to hear appeals from the High Court; and any

other court or tribunal as prescribed by an Act of Parliament.

3. High Court headed by a Principal Judge of the High Court, who shall be elected by the judges of the High Court from among themselves.

Functions of the high court of Kenya.

a) The High Court has unlimited original jurisdiction in criminal and civil Matters.

- b) It has jurisdiction to determine the question whether a right or fundamental freedom in the Bill of Rights has been denied, violated, infringed or threatened.
- c) It has jurisdiction to hear an appeal from a decision of a tribunal appointed to consider the removal of a person from office. For example, appeals from the courts martial, Business and rental Tribunals on matters related to the constitution.
- d) It has jurisdiction to hear any question respecting the interpretation of the Constitution including the determination of the question whether any law is inconsistent with or in contravention of this Constitution;
- e) It determines any matter relating to constitutional powers of State organs in respect of county governments and any matter relating to the constitutional relationship between the levels of government.
- f) The High Court has supervisory jurisdiction over the subordinate courts and over any person, body or authority exercising a judicial or quasi-judicial function, but not over a superior court
- g) It listens to appeals from the lower courts when the parties involved are not satisfied. h) It deals with disputes that take place outside Kenya's territorial waters/maritime.
- i) It hears appeals from decisions made by professional disciplinary tribunals involving advocates of the high court and other members of the profession.
- j) It acts as a constitution court by determining whether a case brought before it is constitutional or unconstitutional.
- k) It listens to appeals from special courts when the parties are not satisfied with the decision made.
- l) It corrects/amends the irregularities in decisions made by lower courts. m) It hears cases that carry death sentences / involve large sums of money. n) It deals with cases that concern land/succession disputes.
- o) It hears election petitions.
- p) It exercises divorce jurisdictions in matrimonial matters,
- q) It hears appeals from tribunals E.g. Rent Restrictions, Business Premises Rent Tribunal.

Termination of the services of a judge from office.

A judge can be dismissed from service on the following grounds.

- a) Inability to perform the functions of the office arising from mental or physical incapacity.
- b) A breach of a code of conduct prescribed for judges or superior courts by an act of parliament.
- c) Bankruptcy.
- d) Incompetence.
- e) Gross misconduct or misbehavior.

The process of removal of a judge from office.

Such a process is initiated by the Judicial Service Commission on its own initiative or on petition of any person to it based on any of the dismissal grounds.

The commission, if satisfied with the petition or initiative, forwards the matter to the president, who will suspend the said Judge, within Fourteen Days after receiving the petition and on advice of the Judicial Service Commission.

A tribunal is then appointed to determine the case. If the Judge is aggrieved by the decision of

the Tribunal, he/she may appeal to the Supreme Court within ten days after the tribunal has made its recommendation.

The president will finally act in accordance with the recommendation of the tribunal.

4. Subordinate courts.

a) The Magistrates courts.

Its jurisdiction in both Civil and criminal cases is limited to geographical areas.

However the courts have unlimited Jurisdiction in proceedings concerning claims under customary law such as dowry, divorce, legitimacy, inheritance and the administration of estates of the deceased person.

They have unlimited jurisdiction in dealing with matters related to land, adultery and inheritance.

These are the courts responsible for sentencing persons who have broken law of the land. Reasons why a person who has broken the law should be sentenced by a court.

- i. To deter the criminal from future crimes.
- ii. To deter others from committing similar offences since they would have known the punishment for breaking the law.
- iii. To secure for the public a period of protection from the offender who is in prison.
- iv. To reform the criminal through counseling and corrective training
- v. To satisfy the demands of the people for retribution through punitive justice.

b) The Kadhis' courts.

The courts are headed by a Chief Kadhi and not fewer than three Kadhis

Qualifications for appointment as a Kadhi.

- a. One must profess the Muslim religion.
- b. One must possess such knowledge of the Muslim law applicable to any sects of Muslims. The jurisdiction of the Kadhis Court is limited to the determination of questions of Muslim Law relating to personal status, marriage, divorce or inheritance in proceedings in which all concerned parties profess to the Muslim religion.

c) The Courts Martial.

This is a subordinate court that was established under the Armed Forces Act after the abortive

'82 Air force coup. It has penal or disciplinary powers to ensure discipline within the armed forces. they try cases involving assisting an enemy, cowardice, desertion, insubordination, neglect of duty, drunkenness, malingering and absence without leave.

There is no right to appeal to the high court against the decisions of the courts martial unless they involve constitutional cases.

Industrial Court

Juvenile Court

The Judicial Service Commission.

Membership of the JSC is as follows.

- a) The Chief Justice who is the Chairperson of the Commission.
- b) One Supreme Court judge elected by the judges of the Supreme Court.
- c) One court of appeal judge elected by the judges of the court of appeal.
- d) One High Court Judge and one magistrate, of whom one must be a woman and one a man elected by members of the association of judges and

magistrates.

e) The attorney General.

- f) Two advocates , one woman and one man each with atleast fifteen years of experience, elected by members of the statutory body responsible for the professional regulation of advocates (LSK)
 - g) One person nominated by the public Service Commission.
 - h) One woman and one man to represent the public, not being a lawyer, appointed by the president with the approval of the national assembly.
 - i) The chief registrar of the Judiciary, who will be secretary to the commission.
- Members, except the AG and Chief Justice hold office for a term of 5 years and can be re- appointed for one further term

Functions of the Judicial Service Commission

- a) The Judicial Service Commission promotes and facilitates the independence and accountability of the judiciary and the efficient, effective and transparent administration of justice.
- b) It recommends to the President persons for appointment as judges.
- c) It reviews and makes recommendations on the conditions of service of judges and judicial officers, other than their remuneration; and the staff of the Judiciary.
- d) It appoints, receives complaints against, investigates and removes from office or otherwise discipline registrars, magistrates, other judicial officers and other staff of the Judiciary.
- e) It prepares and implements programmes for the continuing education and training of judges and judicial officers.
- f) It advises the national government on improving the efficiency of the administration of justice.

The concept of "Independence of the Judiciary" in Kenya.

- a) In the exercise of judicial authority, the Judiciary is subject only to the Constitution and the law and not to the control or direction of any person or authority.
- b) The office of a judge of a superior court cannot be abolished while there is a substantive holder of the office.
- c) A member of the Judiciary is not liable in an action or suit in respect of anything done or omitted to be done in good faith in the lawful performance of a judicial function. The Judicial Act protects Judges and Magistrates against any form of victimization and molestation.
- d) There is a separate system of command for the judiciary unlike other government departments.
- e) Appointment of the magistrates is done independently by JSC, which is independent of PSC.

The president in consultation with the Judicial Service Commission appoints the Judges. f) The judges are bound by the Oath of Allegiance to perform their duties without fear or favour.

- g) Judges enjoy security of tenure.
- h) Statutes fix salaries and allowances of Judges.

Challenges facing the judiciary in Kenya.

- a) There is constant Conflict between the three arms of government. This hinders the just operation of the judiciary. Too much interference from the Executive has

undermined the independence of the Judiciary.

- b) The long court processes have always delayed dispensation of justice in Kenya.
- c) Corruption. This is common among the Judges who sometimes compromise their integrity due to greed/ Public doubts of its impartiality due to rampant corruption
- d) Inadequate personnel. There are few qualified judges. For example in 2002, there were 47 judges serving a population of 30 million people. This causes delay in hearing of cases.
- e) There is constant termination of cases by the Attorney General thereby denying justice to some genuine cases.
- f) Poor co-ordination within the court system
- g) Incompetence of some judicial officers. E.g. poor and inconsistent judgments. This has been attributed to flawed appointments and promotion procedures.
- h) Lack of adequate funds to cater for the needs of the judiciary. This has led to inadequate court structures and facilities such as equipment, chairs, libraries etc.
- i) Lack of continuous legal education to keep them abreast of the latest legal development and skills in information technology.
- j) There is a lot of ignorance among the public in Kenya on judicial affairs and their legal rights/ignorance on the legal rights. Members of the public fear the courts and the court language.
- k) Information on the judiciary has not been made available to the public and it appears to be a preserve of a few.
- l) Litigation fees are high limits public's access to the courts. Solutions to the problems facing Kenya's Judiciary.
 - a) There has been increased legal education given to officers and members of the public by the judiciary and other bodies like Kituo Cha Sheria, which releases information booklets and offers free legal advice to people.
 - b) The terms and conditions of service for judges and other officers were improved in 2002 in order to make them work better.
 - c) The government also set up a committee led by Justice Aaron Ringera in what was famously referred to as Judicial Surgery, to investigate the conduct of judges. Those who were adversely mentioned in the report were suspended.
 - d) The government has recruited more legal officers to reduce the backlog of cases in courts.
 - e) The passing of the Vetting of Judges and Magistrates Act, 2011 (VJM Act) In March 2011, established the Judges and Magistrates Vetting Board, chaired by Sharad Rao, which is carrying out the vetting exercise to restore public confidence in the Judiciary.

Some of the mile stone decisions undertaken to restore public confidence in the judiciary include;

- ~ The suspension of Deputy CJ Nancy Baraza and her final resignation for harrassing an innocent security guard.
- ~ Dropping of President of the Kenyan Appellate Court Justice Riaga Omollo for political bias and authoritarian demeanor while carrying out his activities on the bench.
- ~ Dropping Judge Samuel Bosire for condoning torture of suspects during Coup

trial in
1982.

~Dropping of Court of Appeal Judge Emmanuel Okubasu for being unsuitable to
continue holding office. Joseph Nyamu

- ~Justice Mohammed Ibrahim, though Praised as impartial and immune to corruption, was dropped for having an overflowing in-tray of cases
- ~Appellate judge Roselyn Nambuye was kicked out due to delays in delivering more than

270 judgements and being too wordy in her ruling.

However Nambuye and Mohammed Ibrahim successfully appealed against the decision which once more saw their reinstatement on 21st September 2012 pending further investigations.

The Rule of Law.

Meaning of 'the Rule of Law'.

This is the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to arbitrary power. The concept is associated with the view of Albert Venn Dicey who published a book, *The Law of the Constitution* in 1895, in which he presupposes the supremacy of the law. That all persons whether individual or in government, are subject to the law. In Kenya, all citizens and residents are subject to and governed by the same law irrespective of their status, race and religion

Elements of the rule of law.

- a) *The principle of legality.* The state can only exercise those powers granted to it by the law. It should be a government of laws and not of men.
- b) *Separation of powers of the three arms of government.* This refers to the practice of dividing the powers of government into the executive, legislature and judicial functions equally and putting in place a system of checks and balances to ensure they control each other. The three functions are to be independent of each other.
- c) *Equality before the law.* Everyone should be treated equally under the law.
- d) *The judiciary must work without favour or the fear of intimidation in the administration of justice.*

The principles of the Rule of Law.

Joseph Raz in an article titled, *The Rule of Law and its Virtues* outlines the following eight principles of the rule of law.

- a) All laws should be prospective and open. A new law should only apply in future.
- b) Laws should be durable and not changing every other day.
- c) No centre of power, and specifically parliament, should enjoy monopoly right in making laws for citizens of a country, the judiciary should scrutinize parliament.
- d) The independence of the judiciary should be protected.
- e) The principal of natural justice should form an important element in the judicial system of a country.
- f) There must be easy accessibility to the courts of law. They should neither be expensive nor intimidating.
- g) The security forces should not use force in contravention of the law.

Meaning of the concept of Natural Justice.

it refers to the requirement that the bodies that resolve disputes adhere to at least minimum standard of fair decision making

Two principles govern the Concept of Natural Justice.

1. The person affected by an impending decision must have the right to a fair hearing prior to the decision being made.

2. The person or body hearing the case should act in good faith and without Bias. The right to fair hearing
- a) The accused must be given prior notice of the case against him and given a chance to respond.
 - b) The accused must be given chance of knowing the case against him and stating his own case.
 - c) The person charged should have opportunity to consider, challenge, and contradict any evidence, being fully aware of the allegations levelled against him.
 - d) The person has a right to legal representation by a legally qualified person.
 - e) All legal decisions should have reasons within the law..

The rule against Bias.

Full inquiry must be conducted into the circumstances involved before the Arbitrator makes a decision. The decision made should be impartial with the adjudicator lacking interest in the outcome.

A person is presumed innocent until proven otherwise and the police have no right to beat up suspects.