



# Political Developments and The Struggle for Independence in Kenya (1919-1963)

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# INTRODUCTION

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The quest for political freedom started when Kenya was declared a British protectorate **in 1895.**

Africans experienced social, economic and political problems as a result of colonial dominion. Africans began to struggle for independence through



# **EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS IN KENYA UP TO 1939.**

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## **Reasons why the Early Political Organisations were formed after the First World War.**

- 1) The ex-soldiers and porters had acquired leadership skills that were useful in the struggle for independence.
- 2) Africans realized that Europeans were killed by the same bullets that killed Africans
- 3) African ex-soldiers were not compensated for having served in the war unlike their European counterparts.
- 4) The war united the Africans who realized they

# CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

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1. Were mainly ethnic based (lacked a national outlook)
2. Led by mission educated young men e.g. Harry Thuku.
3. Addressed similar grievances e.g. land alienation, forced labour
4. Non-militant/non-violent and expressed their grievances through delegations and petitions
5. Did not demand for political independence
6. Did not attract large membership
7. Often poorly organised
8. These organizations got both material and moral support from Asians.

# EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS UP TO 1939

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- I. Kikuyu Association (KA), 1920
- II. East African Association (EAA), 1921
- III. Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), 1924
- IV. Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), 1921
- V. Kavirondo Taxpayers and Welfare Association (KTWA), 1921
- VI. Ukamba Members Association (UMA), 1937
- VII. Taita Hills Association (THA), 1939
- VIII. Coast African Association (CAA), 1943.



# **KIKUYU ASSOCIATION (KA)**

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- 1) Pioneer African political organisation
- 2) Formed in 1920 by loyal Agikuyu chiefs, under the leadership of chief Kinyanjui wa Gathirimu and Koinange wa Mbiyu
- 3) Other members included:
  - i. Philip Karanja
  - ii. Mathew Njoroge
  - iii. Josiah Njonjo
  - iv. Waweru wa Mahui



# ITS GRIEVANCES

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- I. Opposed land alienation
- II. Against proposed reduction of African wages
- III. Introduction of the kipande.

# YOUNG KIKUYU ASSOCIATION (YKA)

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- ❑ Formed in 1921
- ❑ Led by Harry Thuku

## **Its grievances:**

- I. Opposed land alienation
- II. Wanted African land owners to be issued with title deeds
- III. Demanded for an improved African kipande system
- IV. Opposed reduction of African wages
- V. Demanded a cut in the poll tax
- VI. Demanded better labour conditions.
- VII. *Note:*
- VIII. YKA was later renamed the East African Association (EAA).

# THE EAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION (E.A.A)

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- ❑ Formed in 1921 to replace the disbanded YKA
- ❑ Broadened its membership to include other parts of East Africa (E.A)
- ❑ Founder members
  - Harry Thuku (Chairman)
  - Johnstone Kamau (Jomo Kenyatta)
  - I.M. Ishmael
  - Norman Mboga
  - Abdalla Bin Assumah
  - Kibwana bin Kombo
  - Jeseo Kariuki
  - Z. K. Sentongo
  - Molanket ole Sempele
  - Mohammed Sheikh

## ITS DEMANDS

- 1) Kenya to cease being a colony
- 2) Elections to the legco to be held on a common roll
- 3) Return of all African alienated land
- 4) Abolition of all forms of taxation
- 5) Creation of more educational opportunities for Africans
- 6) All labour to be paid for
- 7) End of compulsory labour for women
- 8) Opposed wage reduction for African workers
- 9) Opposed compulsory selling of cattle
- 10) Ban on corporal punishment

Note:

The activities of the E.A.A. culminated in the arrest and deportation of Harry Thuku to Kismayu at the Somali coast in 1922.



# KIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION (KCA)

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- ❑ Formed in 1924 at Kahuhia, Murang'a
- ❑ Founder members included:
  1. Joseph Kang'ethe (President)
  2. Jesse Kariuki (vice president)
  3. Henry Gichuru (secretary)
  4. Job Muchuchu (treasurer)
  5. Henry Mwangi
  6. Henry Kiiru
  7. John Mbutia
  8. James Njoroge
  9. Kumo Kabacho

## ITS DEMANDS

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- 1) Return of African alienated land
- 2) Abolition of the kipande system
- 3) End of forced labour
- 4) African representation in the legco
- 5) Release of Harry Thuku
- 6) End to racial discrimination
- 7) Appointment of a paramount chief for the Agikuyu
- 8) Agitated against the inadequate educational *opportunities* for Africans

- 9) Opposed the ban on Africans against growing cash crops
- 10) Issuing of title deeds to African land owner
- 11) Proper demarcation of African land
- 12) Opposed the arbitrary drawing of reserve boundaries
- 13) Revision of the 1915 Crown Lands Ordinance
- 14) Equal pay for equal work.

Note:

KCA was proscribed/ banned in 1940.

# KAVIRONDO TAX PAYERS WELFARE ASSOCIATION (KTWA)

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- ❑ Preceded by the Young Kavirondo association. (YKA) formed in 1921
- ❑ The YKA was founded by:-
  - I. Jonathan Okwiri (chairman)
  - II. Benjamin Owour (Secretary)
  - III. Simeon Nyende (treasurer)
  - IV. Ezekiel Opindi
  - V. George S. Okoth
  - VI. Joel Omino
  - VII. Mathew Otieno
  - VIII. Jeremiah Awori
  - IX. Reuben Omullo



# ITS DEMANDS:

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- 1) Revocation over the change of status of Kenya from a protectorate to a colony
- 2) Establishment of a government school in Central Nyanza
- 3) Introduction of higher education for Africans
- 4) Issuing of title deeds to African landowners
- 5) Abolition of the kipande system
- 6) End of forced labour

- 1) Dissolution of labour camps
- 2) Creation of paramount chiefs for central and south Nyanza
- 3) Establishment of a separate Legislative Council for Nyanza
- 4) Women to be exempted from taxation
- 5) An increase in wages
- 6) Abolition of hut tax.

## Note:

1. July 1924, a missionary, Archdeacon Owen took over the leadership of the YKA
2. The name of the association was changed to Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTW)
3. It was transformed into a welfare association with emphasis on welfare matters i.e.:
  - A. Better housing facilities
  - B. Better education
  - C. Tree planting
  - D. Clean environment
  - E. Use of pit latrines

- F. Safe drinking water
- G. Adequate health facilities
- H. Better farming methods
- I. Using beds for sleeping
- J. Controlling plague by killing rats
- K. The association thus lost its militancy and became a moderate organization
- L. Due to internal squabbles and ethnicity, it split in 1931
- M. It collapsed in 1944.



# ***UKAMBA MEMBERS ASSOCIATION (UMA)***

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- ❑ Formed in 1938
- ❑ Founder members
  - ❖ Samuel Muindi Mbingu (chairman)
  - ❖ Elijah Kavula (vice chairman)
  - ❖ Isaac Mwalonzi (secretary)
  - ❖ Simon Kioko (treasurer)

## **Grievances**

1. Land alienation at Mua Hills, Kiima Kiu, and Donyo Sabuk for European settlement
2. Forced labour
3. Heavy taxation
4. Government destocking policy.

Sole:

- ❑ Muindi Mbingu was arrested and deported to Lamu for 8 years. The UMA was proscribed in 1940.

## ***Taita Hills Association (THA)***

- Formed in 1938 at Voi
- Founder members:-
  - I. Woresho K. Mengo (chairman)
  - II. Jimmy Mwambichi (secretary)
  - III. Paul Chumbo (treasurer)
  - IV. Grievances
  - V. Alienation of Taita land

- VI. Forced labour on settler coffee farms
- VII. Government destocking policy in the Taita Hills Region
- VIII. Introduction of the kipande system
- IX. Threat of forceful removal of the Wadawida from the Taita Hills to Samburu
- X. May 1940, leaders of THA were arrested and deported
- XI. June 1940, THA was proscribed.

# ***THE COAST AFRICAN ASSOCIATION (CAA)***

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- ❖ Formed in 1943
- ❖ Leaders:-
  - Noah Mwanasele (president)
  - E.W. Timothy (general secretary)
  - H.G. Banks (honorary treasurer) Committee members included: -
    - Mohammed bin Omar
    - Enoch Benjamin
    - H.J. Harrison



## ITS DEMANDS:-

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1. Removal of uneducated chiefs in the local native councils and their replacement with educated Africans
2. The appointment of African administrative officers
3. Profits from beer halls to be spent on African welfare
4. Improvement of African education
5. Shimo la Tewa to be elevated to a high school
6. Establishment of evening classes to enable African adults to pursue basic western education

7. Revocation of land allocated to Arabs and Asians and its return to the Mijikenda
8. Later demanded the representation of the coastal region in the legco
9. Equal employment for equal wages
10. Improved farming methods
11. Provision of adequate water supply
12. Formation of co-operative societies by African traders.

# DEMANDS OF EARLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS UP TO 1939

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1. Return of alienated land
2. Removal of kipande system
3. Abolition of poll and hut taxes
4. Better/increased wages for African labourers
5. Abolition of forced labour
6. More and better educational opportunities for Africans

7. Ban on corporal punishment on Africans
8. Removal of the destocking policy
9. Africans to be allowed to grow cash crops
10. African representation in the legco
11. Better/improved working conditions for Africans
12. Protection of African culture
13. End to racial discrimination.



# ACHIEVEMENTS OF EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

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- 1) Publicizing African grievances to the outside world e.g. Kenyatta presented KCA grievances in London
- 2) In the absence of formal trade unions, these political organizations championed the welfare of African workers
- 3) Raising the African political awareness
- 4) Conveying African feelings to the colonial government through memoranda and publications

- 5) Defending African culture
- 6) Educating the masses on the unjust, exploitative and oppressive colonial government
- 7) Promoting wider nationalism by encouraging inter-community cohesiveness in the struggle for independence

# **PROBLEMS FACED BY EARLY POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS**

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- 1) Harassment by the colonial government
- 2) Arrest of leaders e.g. Harry Thuku, demoralized the members
- 3) Political wrangles between members
- 4) Lack of funds to run the organizations
- 5) Were ethnic based and characterized by disunity
- 6) Inexperienced leaders.

# THE EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

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## Causes of the Rise of Independent Churches and Schools

- 1) Africans were against the westernizing influence of Christian missionaries who taught against African customs e.g. female circumcision, polygamy, payment of dowry
- 2) Africans were discriminated in church leadership and held low positions
- 3) Reaction against colonialism and its injustices e.g. bad alienation, forced labour etc.



- 5) Independent churches and schools served as centres where nationalism was born and nurtured
- 6) Missionaries were perceived as agents of colonialism
- 7) Some Africans felt dissatisfied with the interpretation of Christian scriptures
- 8) Africans wanted to express their Christianity freely and to accommodate their expression at worship e.g. dancing, drum beating
- 9) Africans disliked the new ways of

- 10) Many Africans did not accept the principle of celibacy among priests
- 11) Competition and rivalry among missionary societies. This made African Christians to become suspicious of the sincerity of Christian missionaries
- 12) Africans detested the inconsistency between what missionaries preached and what they practiced
- 13) Some missionaries denied Africans freedom of expression e.g. in 1928 in Embu, a missionary John ruled that a KCA member could not serve as a church leader.

# CHARACTERISTICS OF INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

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1. Led by Africans
2. Adopted doctrines of mission churches but allowed some traditional African customs e.g. polygamy, female circumcision
3. Worked closely with African political associations
4. Different independent churches adopted specific attire (clothing) for their members
5. Adopted the use of drums and African musical instruments in their worship
6. Valued Christianity and western education but were against the westernizing influence by missionaries.



## **MAJOR INDEPENDENT CHURCHES THAT EMERGED**

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1. Nomiya Luo mission - founded in 1910 by John Owalo and Yonah Ramogi
2. Mumboism - Among the Luo and Gusii in the 1920s
3. Dini ya Roho (Holy Spirit Church) - Founded among the Luhya in 1927
4. Joroho church - founded among the Luo in 1932 by Alfayo Odongo Mango



5. Dini ya Msambwa - founded in early 1940s by Elijah Masinde
6. The Christian Universal Evangelical Union (CUEU) - Founded in Siaya in 1938 by Ishmael Noo
7. The African Independent Pentecostal Church (AIPC) - Founded at Gituamba (Kiambu) by pioneers like Peter Gathecha and Musa Muriithi
8. The African Orthodox Church - started at Gituamba by breakaways from AIPC such as Arthur Gathuna Gatungu and Philip Kiande

# Independent Schools

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- ❖ They were run by independent schools associations i.e.
- ❖ - Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) founded in 1929 and linked to AIPC  
Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association (KKEA) founded in 1933 and linked to African Orthodox Church.

# Problems faced by Independent Churches and Schools

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- 1) Constant harassment from the government and missionaries
- 2) Shortage of funds
- 3) Leadership squabbles
- 4) Lack of trained personnel
- 5) Competition between mission churches and schools and independent ones
- 6) Closure during the emergency in 1952.

## **POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND MOVEMENTS AFTER 1945**

### ***FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THEIR FORMATION***

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- 1) Raising of African awareness through acquisition of western education
- 2) Experiences of World War II. African ex-servicemen. They realized that Europeans were not invincible. They were not rewarded on their return to Kenya
- 3) Acquisition of independence by India, Pakistan and Ghana inspired African nationalists
- 4) The signing of the Atlantic Charter which advocated for self determination of colonilised people



- 5) Lack of support for colonies by taxpayers in Europe who were hard hit by economic hardships
- 6) The labour party in Britain which assumed power after 1945 favoured decolonization
- 7) The Pan-African movement inspired African nationalists to struggle for independence
- 8) Emergence of USA and USSR as superpowers after 1945. USA favoured decolonization in order to secure raw materials for her industries while USSR wanted to weaken the capitalist nations
- 9) The Mau Mau uprising which forced Britain to decolonize

- 10) Formation of UNO in 1945 which favoured decolonization
- 11) Return of Jomo Kenyatta in 1946 strengthened the nationalistic movement.
- 12) Nomination and election of Africans in the Legislative Council provided them with a forum to agitate for independence
- 13) Activities of trade unions
- 14) Establishment of nationalist parties e.g. Kenya African Union (KAU).

# EXAMPLES OF POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND MOVEMENTS FORMED AFTER 1945

## Kenya African Union (KAU)

- ❖ Formed in October 1944
- ❖ Founder members include-
  - ❑ E. Mathu
  - ❑ J. Otiende
  - ❑ Henry mwaniki
  - ❑ James Gichuru
  - ❑ Jonathan Njoroge
  - ❑ Francis Khamisi-
  - ❑ Ambrose Ofafa
  - ❑ S Mutandi
  - ❑ Albert Awino

# KASU (KENYA AFRICAN STUDY UNION)

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In November 1944, KASU was formed

## Its aims

1. To study African problems
2. To instruct people on public affairs
3. In January 1945, Harry Thuku resigned as the president of KASU and James Gichuru assumed leadership
4. Under Gichuru, KASU published a news paper 'Sauti ya Mwafrika' (voice of the African) edited by Khamisi. It articulated African grievances
5. In February 1946, KASU dropped the name study and reverted to its original name KAU.



## **DEMANDS OF KAU**

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1. Abolition of kipande
2. Abolition of taxation
3. Free and compulsory education for Africans
4. Self-government for Africans
5. Return of alienated land
6. improved working conditions and equal pay for equal work

6. Lack of African representation in the Legco
7. Issuing of title deeds to Africans
8. Against undermining of African cultural practices
9. Africans to get more land including white highlands
10. End to racial discrimination
11. Compensation for African ex-servicemen
12. Release of African political prisoners.

# **PROBLEMS FACED BY KAU**

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- 1) Hostile colonial administration
- 2) Inadequate funds
- 3) Lack of effective leadership
- 4) Conflicts between radicals such as Fred Kubai who advocated the use of force versus moderates e.g. Mathu who favoured peaceful means in the attainment of independence
- 5) Lack of political awareness among the Africans due to illiteracy
- 6) Seen as a kikuyu dominated party
- 7) Widespread ethnic divisions
- 8) Arrest and detention of leaders.

# MAU MAU

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## Its causes

### Long-term *causes*

- I. Land alienation
- II. Forced labour
- III. Kipande system
- IV. Lack of African representation in the legco
- V. Interference in African culture by die colonial government and missionaries
- VI. Poor living and working conditions for Africans



- VII. Colonial brutality e.g. flogging of chiefs
- VIII. Destocking policy
- IX. Low wages
- X. Unemployment
- XI. Arrest and detention of leaders
- XII. Banning of political parties
- XIII. Racial discrimination in the provision of social amenities.

## ITS AIMS INCLUDED:

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- A. Assisting Eliud Mathu in representing African interests in the legco
- B. Coordinating African nationalist activities
- C. Pressurizing for more constitutional reforms for Africans
- D. Demanding for improved working conditions for African workers.

# IMMEDIATE CAUSES

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- A. Plight of world war II Soldiers who were embittered due to lack of compensation/reward after the war
- B. The Upland Bacon Factory massacre in 1947 of striking African workers
- C. Closure of Karatina vegetable factory after 1945 led to unemployment of workers
- D. The Olenguruone episode of October 1947 whereby squatters were brutally evicted from Olengu-ruone settlement scheme to Yatta, a semi-arid area. This triggered the mau-mau war.

# FACTORS WHICH FACILITATED THE MAU MAU WAR

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1. Oathing unified the fighters
2. Use of guerilla warfare
3. Natural forests which provided good hide-out-to the fighters
4. Able, resourceful, inspiring and courageous-leaders e.g. Dedan Kimathi
5. Provision of foods, arms and ammunition as well as information by the civilian people
6. Military experience due to participation in world war II
7. Availability of swords, guns and ammunition.



# PROBLEMS THAT FACED THE MAU-MAU FIGHTERS

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- 1) Inadequate transport facilities
- 2) Poor coordination by guerillas
- 3) The forested and mountainous terrain
- 4) Attacks by wild animals
- 5) Arrest and killing of their leaders
- 6) Cold temperatures in the forests and attack by disease
- 7) Lack of proper fighting equipment

- 8) Traitors/spies revealed their strategies and hideouts to the colonial authorities
- 9) Lack of support from many ethnic communities
- 10) Lack of food and other basic needs
- 11) Torture of family members of mau-mau followers
- 12) Brutality of the British scared many
- 13) Lack of dedication by some members who had been forced to join mau mau

## MEASURES USED TO CURB MAU MAU UPRISING BY THE BRITISH

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1. Declaration of the state of emergency in 1952
2. Banning of KAU
3. Use of military force by the British
4. Arrest and detention of leaders
5. Denial of access to food and ammunition
6. Use of spies to give information to the colonial government.

# CONSEQUENCES OF THE MAU MAU UPRISING

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- 1) Heavy casualties in terms of loss of human lives
- 2) Arrest and detention of thousands of Africans
- 3) Destruction of farms and villages
- 4) Establishment of emergency villages to alienate civilians from fighters
- 5) Widespread suffering among Africans
- 6) Division of communities e.g. Agikuyu, Aembu, Ameru between loyalists and mau mau supporters
- 7) Widespread fear and insecurity in central Kenya which interfered with economic and social activities



- 8) Reduction of the power and influence of settlers

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- 9) The war was costly. It depleted the resources of the colony and Britain
- 10) Lifting of the ban on political organizations
- 11) It demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the minority settler government and its inability to rule Kenya, hence accelerated the pace of attainment of independence
- 12) It drew the attention of the international community to the plight of Kenyans
- 13) It proved that Africans could unite and organize themselves for a cause
- 14) Led to political awakening of Africans
- 15) The British granted more constitutional reforms to Africans in the 1950's.

# KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

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- ❑ Formed on 27th March 1960 at Kirigiti stadium in Kiambu
- ❑ Officially launched in May 1960.

## Objectives

1. To attain independence for Africans in Kenya
2. Work with other African countries to end imperialism
3. Encourage peaceful relations in the East African region
4. Eradicate ignorance, disease and poverty
5. Get back all alienated African land
6. Achieve national unity
7. Create a society based on African socialism
8. To ensure the release of all political detainees.

# CHALLENGES THAT KANU EXPERIENCED DURING THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

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- 1) Inadequate funds
- 2) Undermining of its operations by the colonial government
- 3) Leadership squabbles
- 4) Hostility from the settlers
- 5) Minority ethnic groups were suspicious of KANU as a party of majority ethnic groups
- 6) Inability to mobilize a large following due to the colonial policy of divide and rule
- 7) Rivalry from other political parties e.g. KADU.



## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF KANU IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**

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1. Mobilizing and uniting Africans in the liberation struggle
2. Providing political education to Africans in Kenya
3. Participated in the constitutional talks in 1962 that formulated the independence constitution.



# KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (KADU)

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Formed in June 1960 in Ngong.

## Objectives

1. To safeguard the interests of minority tribes
2. To provide an efficient organ that represented all areas of Kenya
3. To push for a federal constitution
4. To formulate domestic and international policies for Kenya
5. To organize and maintain a political democratic union in the LEGCO and the country
6. Demand for the release of political prisoners
7. Demand for constitutional reforms.

# ACHIEVEMENTS OF KADU

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- 1) Uniting the minority tribes
- 2) Fighting against colonial domination
- 3) Participated in the formulation of the independence constitution
- 4) As an opposition party, it provided checks and balances to the KANU government
- 5) Provided political education to Africans.

# CHALLENGES FACED BY KADU

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1. Inadequate funds to run the party
2. Illiteracy among members
3. Manipulation of the party by the colonial government
4. Suspicions that some ethnic groups were dominating the party
5. Leadership wrangles
6. Rivalry from KANU.

# **AFRICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (APP)**

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- A. Formed in February 1962 by Paul Ngei
- B. Membership was mainly from Kamba land
- C. Dissolved itself in 1964 and joined KANU.

## **Trade Union Movement**

1. Trade Unions formed in Kenya during the Colonial period
2. Indian Trade Union (ITU)
3. Kenya Indian Labour Trade Union (KTLTU)
4. Labour Trade Union of Kenya (LTUK)
5. Labour Trade Union of East Africa (LTUEA)
6. The African Workers' Union (AWU)
7. The Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL).



## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS IN KENYA

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- A. Mobilized by the educated elite in urban areas
- B. Formed by those who engaged in direct employment e.g. clerks, teachers, doctors
- C. Existed where there was money or a wage earning labour force.

## **FACTORS THAT LED TO FORMATION OF TRADE UNIONS IN KENYA**

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- 1) Laws enacted by the colonial government to legalize the provision of labour e.g. Hut Tax Ordinance - 1901, Native Registrative Ordinance - 1915
- 2) Introduction of poll tax
- 3) Racial discrimination
- 4) Partiality and disrespect shown to African workers
- 5) Increased prices of essential commodities
- 6) Food shortages

- 7) Arrest and detention of leaders
- 8) Banning of political associations
- 9) Lack of allowances
- 10) Low wages
- 11) Poor working and living conditions (poor housing)
- 12) No provision for old age security
- 13) No guarantee for continuity of work.

# AFRICAN WORKERS FEDERATION

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1. It was formed by African workers in Mombasa and was initially known as the African Workers Union
2. It spearheaded several strikes e.g. in July 1936 and January 1947

## **Its grievances included:**

1. Lack of an equal labour code
2. Partiality and disrespect shown to African workers
3. Impoverishment of Africans
4. Lack of allowances for African wives and their children
5. High cost of living
6. It changed its name to the African Workers Federation (AW/F) on 24th January 1947



# ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

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Included:

- 1) Educating African workers on their rights
- 2) Agitating for better living and working conditions for African workers
- 3) Exposing the plight of African workers to the international community
- 4) Securing better wages and salaries for African workers as well as allowances for their wives and children
- 5) Mobilizing African workers to unite and fight for better wages
- 6) Introducing the concept of collective bargaining to the African workers
- 7) It pressurized the colonial government to change its attitude towards trade unions and give more attention to the grievances of African workers.

# THE KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

1. It was formally called the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU)
2. It changed its name to the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL) in September 1955
3. It was led by Tom Mboya

## **Its aims included:-**

- 1) Protecting workers against victimization
- 2) Fighting against racial discrimination in employment
- 3) Opposing high prices of goods
- 4) Opposing racial discrimination in social places e.g. schools

## PROBLEMS IT FACED

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- 1) Harassment and negative attitude by the colonial government towards the KFL
- 2) Lack of funds
- 3) Petty squabbling with affiliated unions
- 4) Existence of racial unions which only addressed Asian and European grievances
- 5) Personality differences among the leaders



# Achievements

1. Africans were protected against victimization
2. Increase in wages of African workers
3. It united African peoples in the struggle for independence
4. It liaised with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which accorded it international recognition
5. When African political parties e.g. *KAU* were banned, it kept the spirit of African Nationalism alive
6. It prepared African Nationalists for leadership positions in the liberation struggle
7. It educated African workers on their rights



8. It raised the political consciousness of the Africans.
9. Helped to unite Africans in their struggle for independence
10. Promoted regional co-operation within East Africa
11. Led to the spirit of mutual/social responsibility within the movement
12. Promoted cooperation between employers, employees and the government through consultation
13. Raised African political consciousness

## ***ROLE PLAYED BY TRADE UNIONS***

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- I. Contributed to improvement of African wages and working conditions
- II. Enabled workers to bargain collectively
- III. Minimized victimization of African workers
- IV. Provided a training ground for national leaders' e.g. Tom Mboya
- V. Educating Africans about their rights
- VI. Opposed colonial rule.

# ***PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY TRADE UNIONS DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD***

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1. Harassment and fear of victimization by the settlers and the colonial government
2. Personality differences among leaders
3. Leadership wrangles among the leaders
4. The migratory nature of the African workforce
5. Inadequate funds
6. The colonial government had a negative attitude towards trade unions
7. Incompetent leadership due to lack of trained personnel
8. Ignorance of Africans on the role of trade unions.



## ***CONTRIBUTION OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA***

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- 1) Sensitizing workers on the need for joining political parties
- 2) Organizing strikes, go-slows, sit-ins and boycotts to oppose some policies of the colonial government
- 3) Served as a training ground for nationalist leaders
- 4) Kept the spirit of African nationalism alive after the banning of political parties
- 5) Demanded for the release of political leaders
- 6) Raised funds to sustain political parties.



# ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

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They participated in various ways:

## In African Resistance

- 1) Chief Mang'ana of Kadem - A brave and fearless woman leader led her people in resisting the British.
- 2) Kobilu Kwondoat Kimosop - a Tugen medicine woman, who provided herbal medicine for wounded warriors
- 3) Moraa Moka Ngiti - a Gusii prophetess who mobilized her people against the colonialists
- 4) Syotune Wakithuke - Ukambani prophetess who used the kilumi dance in 1911 to mobilize Kambas against colonial rule

- 5) Mekatilili wa Menza - a Giriama who led her people against the British

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- 6) Ciokalaine M'Barungu of the Ameru. In Political Associations
- 7) E.g. Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru - From Murang'a who mobilized women to demand the release of Harry Thuku in March 1922. She was a staunch supporter of the E.A.A
- 8) Aoko - Who was a co-founder of Legio Maria. Played a role in the establishment of Independent churches and schools
- 9) 1930 - Formation of Mumbi Central Association by a group of women to liaise with KCA
- 10) KAU - Enjoyed the support of women e.g. Sarah Karai, who was detained in 1952 due to her nationalistic activities.

# IN THE MAU-MAU MOVEMENT

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## Wanjiru Nyamarutu

### *Her roles*

- a. Supplying food to the freedom fighters in Njoro and Nakuru
- b. She set up a special house in Nakuru to nurse wounded guerillas
- c. Oversaw the administration of the oath
- d. Helped to dispatch new recruits
- e. Member of the judges in Mau Mau court (for judging anti-mau-mau crimes).

# Alice Kimathi

- Wife of Dedan Kimathi
- Led a group of freedom fighters.

# Wamuyu Gakuru From Nyeri

- Stole guns for freedom fighters. Wambui Otieno
- Provided food and security to freedom fighters
- Detained in Manyani detention camp on account of her activities.



# ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE MAU MAU MOVEMENT

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- 1) Supplying food, guns, ammunition, clothing, medicine to freedom fighters
- 2) Fighting in the mau-mau war
- 3) Acted as spies
- 4) Administered the oath
- 5) Coordinating networks to supply provisions to the freedom fighters
- 6) Composing songs to mobilize support for mau mau and ridicule home guards
- 7) Providing vital information to the fighters
- 8) Mobilizing men and women to join the movement.

## WOMEN APPOINTED TO JOIN THE LEGCO

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- ❑ Jemimah Gechaga - in 1958
- ❑ Priscilla Abwao - in 1960.

## The Role of women in the Struggle for Independence

1. Cared for children and families of freedom fighters and educated them about the liberation struggle
2. Conveyed arms and supplied military logistics and intelligence to freedom fighters on government operations
3. Providing food to mau mau fighters

4. Joining the mau mau as fighters e.g. Field Marshall Muthoni

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5. Boosted the morale of freedom fighters
6. Participated in anti-colonial demonstrations
7. Participated in conference meetings to discuss the granting of independence e.g. Priscilla Abwao
8. Kept their homes and families intact as their husbands engaged in war or were jailed
9. In 1960, African women led by Jane Mbogo, Phoebe Asiyo and Ruth Habwe formed the Maendeleo ya wanawake



# CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA

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- I. African Representation in the Legco
- II. 1944 - Ehud Mathu was nominated to the Legco
- III. 1946 - B.A. Ohanga was nominated to the Legco
- IV. by 1948 - The number of nominated Africans rose to four
- V. By 1952 - The number of nominated Africans had risen to six
- VI. 1954 - Ohanga was appointed Minister for Community Development and African Affairs
- VII. 1955 - Daniel Moi and others were nominated to the Legco



**VIII.** March 1957 - 1st direct elections for Africans were held in eight constituencies i.e.

Constituency	Elected Member
Coast	Ronald Ngala
Ukambani	James Muimi
Central	Bernard Mate
Nairobi	Tom Mboya
Rift Valley	Daniel Arap Moi
North Nyanza	Masinde Muliro
Central Nyanza	Oginga Odinga
South Nyanza	Lawrence Ogunda

**NOTE: The 8 formed the African Elected Members Organization (A.E.M.O.) with Oginga Odinga as chairman and Tom Mboya as the secretary.**

# **ROLE OF THE AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**

1. Pressurized for independence
2. Made known the African grievances in international forums
3. Sought for release of imprisoned and detained nationalists
4. Demanded for greater political rights for Africans
5. Made Kenyatta popular as a nationalist hero
6. Participated in the formulation of the independence constitution
7. Enlightened African masses on the liberation struggle
8. Formed nationalist political parties e.g. KANU and KADU which spearheaded the country to independence.

# THE LYTTTELTON CONSTITUTION (1954)

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## ***Note:***

**Oliver Lyttelton** was the British colonial secretary by then.

## **His recommendations:**

- ❑ The existing Governor's executive council be transformed into a multi-racial council of ministers
- ❑ Elections to be held in 1956/1957 in which African members for eight constituencies should be elected.

# REFORMS INITIATED BY THE LYTTTELTON CONSTITUTION

1. Establishment of a multi-racial council of ministers comprising of officials and 6 unofficial members (1 African, 2 Asians, 3 Europeans)
2. B. A. Ohanga (nominated African Member) was appointed Minister for Community Development and African Affairs in 1954
3. In 1955, Africans were allowed to form district-based political organizations (except in Central Kenya)
4. Formation of an advisory council to discuss government policies
5. Election modalities were worked out
6. Voting rights for Africans were limited to those with certain incomes, property or educational qualifications
7. March 1957, the first African elections were held in 8 constituencies.



# THE LENNOX-BOYD CONSTITUTION -1957

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Note:

Lennox-Boyd succeeded Lyttelton as the British colonial secretary.

## His recommendations/proposals:

1. The number of African elected members be raised from 8 to 14
2. Doubling of the number of African ministers from 1 to 2
3. Introduction of multi-racial representatives in the Legco by providing for 12 specially elected members, 4 from each of the 3 races.
4. Reforms initiated by the Lennox-Boyd proposals:

5. Creation of 6 more African constituencies
6. Elections were held in March 1958, increasing the number of African elected members in the Legco to 14
7. The AEMO opposed the idea of the specially elected members, but they were appointed without their participation
8. The second African minister, Musa Amalemba was appointed as Minister for Housing.

# LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCES

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## First Lancaster House Conference (1960)

### ***Note:***

Ian Macleod was the then colonial secretary.

- ❖ Convened at Lancaster House in London in January - February 1960
- ❖ Attended by African and European nationalists  
African delegates were led by Ronald Ngala (Chairman) and Tom Mboya - (Secretary)
- ❖ European delegates were led by Captain Briggs and Sir Michael Blundel
- ❖ They came up with a compromise constitutional change as follows:

- ❖ The 12 specially elected members to be retained

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- ❖ The Legco was enlarged, to comprise of 33 open seats and 20 reserved seats (10 for Europeans, 8 for Asians and 2 for Arabs)
- ❖ Alteration in the composition of the council of ministers to include
  - 4 officials only
  - among the unofficial, there would be 4 Africans, 3 Europeans and 1 Asian hence Africans assumed a measure of control over the Legco
- ❖ Africans could now form countrywide political parties
- ❖ Introduction of elections on a common roll

The introduction of a common roll for all races was a significant step towards



# REFORMS ARISING FROM THE 1ST LANCASTER HOUSE

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## ***Constitutional changes:***

1. Preparations for elections to be held in 1961
2. Formation of KANU and KADU
3. 1961 elections - KANU won 19 seats and KADU 11
4. 4 of the African elected member of the Legco were appointed ministers
5. James Nzau Muimi - Minister for Health and Welfare
6. Ronald Ngala - Minister for Labour, Social Security and Adult Education

7. Musa Amalemba - Minister for Housing, Common Services, Probation and Approved Schools.
8. Julius Gikonyo Kiano - Minister for Commerce and Industry
9. Formation of new ethnic alliances (due to fear of ethnic domination by large ethnic groups)
10. The Kalenjin Political Alliance led by Taita Towett
11. Coast African Political Union by Ronald Ngala
12. Kenya African People's Party by Masinde Muliro
13. Africans acquired a measure of control in the Legco
14. Settlers and other Europeans resented these reforms and began to sell their property, ready to leave the country.

# **The Second Lancaster House Conference(1962)**

Note:

- ❑ Convened in Lancaster House in London between February and April 1962
- ❑ Presided over by Reginald Maudling, the then colonial secretary.

## **Its objectives**

- 1) Work out the final steps to self-governance
- 2) Draft the independence constitution
- 3) Sort out the differences between KANU and KADU.
- 4) Note:
- 5) It settled for a federal (Majimbo) constitution known as the independence constitution which provided for the following:-
- 6) A federal government with 6 regions each retaining internal powers



7. A strong central government led by a Prime Minister

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8. A Governor-General as the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces
9. The party with majority seats would form the government
10. A bicameral (2-house) legislature with
11. The House of Representatives (lower house) - having 117 members
12. The Senate (upper house) - with 41 members
13. Spelt out the rights and obligations of citizens
14. Spelt out the powers and responsibilities of the central and regional governments.



# REFORMS INITIATED BY THE 2ND LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE:-

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- A. Holding of 1963 elections. KANU won 73 seats while KADU got 31 seats and APP won 8 seats
- B. June 1963 - Jomo Kenyatta became the first Prime Minister of Kenya
- C. 1st June 1963 - Kenya attained responsible self-government (Madaraka)
- D. 12th December 1963 - Kenya attained full independence (Jamhuri).

## Note:

- The Queen of England remained the Head of State
- 12th December 1964 - Kenya was declared a sovereign republic with Kenyatta as the 1st president.

# KCSE SAMPLE QUESTIONS

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